THE

EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

THE

EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

FROM HIS EARLIEST LETTERS TO HIS FIFTY-FIRST YEAR

ARRANGED IN ORDER OF TIME

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS

FROM THE EARLY CORRESPONDENCE, WITH A COMMENTARY CONFIRMING THE CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT AND SUPPLYING FURTHER BIOGRAPHICAL MATTER

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ERRATA.

Introduction, p. xxx, line 15. *For* 712 *read* 707.

„ „ p. liv, line 16. *For* Cornelius *read* Cornelium.

„ „ p. lxix, note, first line. *For* le *read* les.

Register of Epistles, p. (13), line 12. *Omit* C. iv. 23.

At beginning of Section XXII add

280 To Wolsey, Bishop of Lincoln [London, Jan. 1514] *Plutarchi Op.* Basel, 1514; xxix. 50; C. iv. 23

and correct numbers to foot of page.

Register of Epistles, p. (14). *Omit first line.*

P 15, last line but one. *Omit* See Chapter xxx.

P 31, line 8. *For* scoliast *read* scholiast.

P 32, first note. *For* Inghivami *read* Inghirami.

P 34, line 23. *For* John *read* Bruno.

P 65, line 5. *For* sentences *read* thoughts.

P 82, lines 10, 11. *Read* Unseasonable discourse is as Music in mourning.

P 105, line 1. *For* last *read* eighteenth.

P 129, line 9. *For* Strasburg *read* Basel.

P 137, line 2. *For* See Chapter xviii. *read* See Academy (Journal), vol. xlviii. p. 317, 318.

P 141, line 4 from foot of page. *For* began *read* begun.

P 170. Epistle 79 is misplaced. It should be the second Epistle in Chapter vii. See Register of Epistles.

P 242, line 27, and p. 255, line 25. *For* Dibden *read* Dibdin.

P 288, line 8. *For* 109 *read* 110.

P 340, line 5. *For* 363 *read* 361.

P. 402, line 15. *For* 157, 158 *read* 140, 141.

P 460, line 21. *For* 277 *read* 278.

P 465, last line but one. *For* 265 *read* 264.

P 467, line 7. *For* 170 *read* 166.

P 480, in Index, *under* Boece. *For* 141 *read* 146, 147

PREFACE

THE present work on the Epistles of Erasmus has a two-fold object. The more important purpose of its publication is to answer a demand, which was first made by the author's personal friends in his lifetime, and has been repeated by four centuries of students, who have regretted their inability to read his correspondence in the order in which it was written. The Epistles have always constituted the principal authority for his biography, both literary and personal, but the uncertainty of their dates and order, especially in the case of the earlier letters, has impeded their use. The Chronological Register which forms the first part of this work extends as far as the end of the year 1517, and comprises more than seven hundred epistles. Dedications and Prefaces in epistolary form are included in the series, some of these compositions having been already admitted among the collected Epistles. The epistles of a later time are more numerous, but their dates do not give rise to the same difficulty.

The other purpose of the book is to enable English readers of every country to follow the author through the earlier years of his life, by means of translations from his correspondence, accompanied by a commentary, in which the date assigned to each letter, or its place in the chronological series, is explained, and further illustrative matter

is supplied. The translations here published do not cover the whole period included in the Chronological Register; neither do they include every registered epistle for the period to which they extend; but to complete the epistolary narrative for this period, every letter not represented by translation is described or mentioned in the commentary, with its number in the Register, the word EPISTLE being printed in capital letters to call attention to it. The omission from translation is seldom found among the earlier letters, not on account of their relative importance, but because they are generally short, and their translation affords the easiest means of justifying the position assigned to them. The judicious reader will pass with a rapid glance over the Epistles contained in the two first chapters, the arrangement of which in their probable order has nevertheless cost no little consideration. Where for economy of space in the later chapters some abbreviation is necessary, it has been thought better to give an accurate translation of part of an epistle, omitting the passages of less personal interest, than to attempt an abstract of the whole, in which the spirit of the original would be lost. If the part omitted contains matter of any importance, the omission is marked by asterisks; but when it is immaterial, the reader is not troubled with these signs. No passage having an important bearing on the mind or history of the writer is suppressed. It must not therefore be regarded as a fault of the translator, if in some of his pages Erasmus falls short of the ideal presented by biographers, who have had more liberty in the selection of their documents; and the reader must make allowance for the unsparing light thrown upon his character by the perusal of epistles, some of which acquire for the first time their full significance by being arranged with other letters in the order in which they were written.

In order to complete the early biography of Erasmus, a Preliminary Chapter is inserted, including a translation

of the *Compendium Vitæ* attributed to his own pen, autobiographical extracts from his works, relating to his childhood and early writings, and the biographical portions of two Prefaces written by his friend Beatus Rhenanus.

The Register of Epistles terminates with the year 1517. The public life of Erasmus divides itself distinctly into two parts. In the first he pursues his career of Apostle of Humane Letters, of Social Satirist, of Political Theorist, of Liberal Theologian, unconscious, as were those around him, of the religious storm which was about to break over Europe. His outspoken opinions about abuses of all kinds, and also his enlightened comments on the New Testament, to the study of which his labours gave a new stimulus, had raised a host of censors, against whom, however, he was still able to make head, having secured the support of influential patrons, including the reigning Pontiff, and princes, nobles, and ecclesiastics of the highest rank in every country of Western Christendom. This was his position when, at the close of the year 1517, being then in his fifty-second year, he kept the Christmas festival at Louvain. In the course of the following year the name of Luther appears for the first time in the Erasmian Correspondence. A revolution was at hand, for which the writings of Erasmus had undoubtedly prepared the way, but in which he was not fitted to take the leading part. During the period extending from January, 1518, to his death on the 12th of July, 1536, he carried on a voluminous correspondence with the most important personages of Europe, as well as with his private and literary friends, and some of his epistles form part of the history of the Reformation. The end of our Register coincides nearly with the close of the earlier period above described, when the most important religious and literary movements of the time were combined, and Erasmus was still at their head.

The present volume of translations, terminating at an earlier date, embraces a long period of acquisition of

knowledge, the protracted Lehrjahre and Wanderjahre of Erasmus, extending from his school-days to his journey to Italy, and culminating in the production of the revised *Adages*, a monument of laborious and wide-reaching study. The nine years following his return from Italy,—a period of unbiassed literary effort, mainly directed to the establishment of a Theology founded upon a fresh study of the New Testament and the early Fathers,—may furnish the materials for another volume, in completion of the present work.

The periods chosen for our Register and translations have not however been mainly determined by the changes which we have observed in the life of Erasmus. To deal with the entire series of Epistles upon the present plan would be a labour far surpassing the translator's powers; and, with regard to their chronological order, the analysis of every letter, which is required for the satisfactory arrangement of the earlier correspondence, has ceased to be necessary before the time when our Register terminates. The letters of this period and onward are more generally dated, and the year-dates, as well as the dates of day and month, are for the most part original, not, as in the earlier letters, subsequently added and consequently untrustworthy. The difficulty in placing the Epistles arises therefore only in exceptional cases, occurring most frequently in letters dated between Christmas and Easter, owing to the various commencements of the *Annus Domini*.

Some observations on the interpretation of these dates will be found in the Introduction, which also deals with the history of the collection and publication of the Epistles of Erasmus, both in his lifetime and since, and with the questions that have arisen respecting the authenticity of some of the letters attributed to him.

The reasons, which have guided the Editor in determining the dates and chronological arrangement adopted in the Register, are explained, so far as the present volume extends,

in the commentary which accompanies the translations, and the footnotes to the same part of the book; where the reader will find the original date, if any, assigned to each Epistle on its first publication, and the additions, if any, made to the date in the later authorized editions of the Latin text. It should be observed, that at the head of each translation, the reference which immediately follows the number of the Epistle, is to the first book in which the original letter is known to have been printed. The same order of reference is observed in the Register of Epistles, the letter D being prefixed where the Epistle was printed from the Deventer Manuscript.

Before concluding my Preface I am bound to acknowledge my obligations to many benefactors,—some of them only known to me by their handwriting,—who have helped me in my researches. Among these I must be permitted to name first my friend, the Rev. John M. Heald of Ventnor, who when I began this work in the Isle of Wight, far from all public libraries and from my own study, assisted me from his stores both of books and learning. To my friend, Mr. Percy Stafford Allen of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and now Professor in the Government College at Lahore, a devoted student of the Epistles of Erasmus, I am indebted for much valuable advice and aid. I hope that some day he may be encouraged to give to the learned world a new and more worthy edition of these celebrated Epistles, to which I may have contributed my mite by facilitating the chronological arrangement of some of the earlier materials. To Mr. James Hutt and Mr. Strickland Gibson I am indebted for assistance in the Bodleian Library Mr. Ferdinand Vander Haeghen, the learned librarian of the University of Ghent, who, with the concurrence of his colleagues, has begun to publish a bibliography of Erasmus of exemplary completeness, has been always ready to spare some of his valuable time to answer the many questions

wherewith I have troubled the best authority to which I could apply. Dr. Bernoulli, the Librarian of the University of Basel, has most kindly helped me on more than one occasion. I am indebted for like assistance to Prof. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, the Librarian of the Public Library of Dresden, to Dr. Albert, Keeper of the Archives at Freiburg, to Dr. Otto von Heinemann, the Librarian of the Grand-ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel, and to Dr. Gény, the Librarian of the Town of Schlettstadt, which still possesses the library of its old citizen, Beatus Rhenanus, the intimate and trusted friend of Erasmus. And among those who have kindly contributed their aid, I must not forget my friend, the Rev. J C. van Slee, the Librarian of the Public Library of Deventer, from whom I have received much useful information, and who has under his charge a manuscript collection of correspondence which has evidently come from Erasmus's own hands, and of which some account will be found in the following Introduction.

My work is incomplete, even as compared with what I myself proposed. A second volume, of which most of the materials are collected, was intended to accompany this, and to carry my translations and commentary to a later period. But I am advised, I believe wisely, to publish the volume which has been printed. In the absence of the intended commentary on the later Epistles, I have added a few notes to the latter part of my Register, where the order of the Epistles appeared to require explanation.

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INTRODUCTION

IN this Introduction it is proposed to give a short account of what is known concerning the composition and preservation of the Epistles of Erasmus, from which the principal materials of the following work have been drawn, concerning the transcription and circulation in manuscript of some of his epistles; and finally concerning the publication of his correspondence in various collections and editions by means of the Press. In connexion with this part of our subject we shall have to deal with the questions suggested by modern criticism concerning the authenticity of Epistles which have been accepted as coming from the hand of this writer, but are not authenticated by his own imprimatur or that of his literary executors; and to take note of the various kinds of composition,—some genuine epistles, some only epistles in name,—which are included in the published series. It will be also our business to inquire into the extent and causes of the uncertainty as to the dates and order of these epistles, which has been so frequent a cause of complaint with biographers and students, and to explain what has been done, both by former editors and in our own work, to make these matters more clear. Lastly, at the end of the Introduction it is proposed to give translations from the Prefaces to the successive collections of epistles, as they were originally published.

It is important to bear in mind that during the early years of Erasmus's life the Printing-press,—of which he, among all his contemporaries, was to make the most extensive use,—was still in its infancy. This art had been already invented before the birth of Erasmus, but until near the close of the fifteenth century the learned reader, especially in the north of Europe, was dependent upon the transcriber for most of the authors that he required; the early printed books of Germany being mainly of a popular, educational or religious character. The monastic library, which was so useful to Erasmus in his student days, possessed a store of books, of which during his residence in the Convent he and his friend William Herman were assiduous readers (see pp. 9, 26, 51, 81); and among these books there were probably no printed volumes at all; or if there were any, they were regarded as something new and rare. In the Catalogue of Lucubrations Erasmus himself describes this state of things in very few words: "In my boyhood, Printing being either not discovered or little known, no new books reached us." See p. 20. Hence the idea of multiplying copies by transcription still remained, until near the close of the fifteenth century, more familiar to the student. Among the circle of Erasmus, Georgius Hermonymus, from whom he had some Greek lessons at Paris in 1501, was a transcriber of books in that language, and John Reuchlin, the most learned of German scholars, is said to have supported himself by his transcriptions. Mr. Hallam has somewhat hastily observed, that the invention of Printing put a sudden stop to the occupation of the transcriber (Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. chap. 3, p. 243). Those who remember the early days of railways may recall the expectation which was entertained, that the mechanical means of locomotion would soon diminish the demand for horses, and how completely that expectation was falsified, so far as any immediate effect was

concerned. A similar observation may be made respecting the introduction of printing. This invention was in the first instance an effort to meet the increased demand of the new generation for copies of the books most in use for purposes of devotion and scholastic teaching; and during the early years of its existence it could do little more than imperfectly satisfy this demand. Copies of books less generally required were supplied by the transcribers, for whom there was still abundant employment. Erasmus in 1511 complains of the want, at Cambridge, of transcribers ready to earn money by making fair copies of his works.

The father of Erasmus had been a skilful transcriber and had gained his living by that profession (pp. 6, 40); and Erasmus himself, for the purpose of supplying his own needs and sometimes of obliging a friend (Epistle 30, pp. 77, 130, 155), pursued in his early years his father's occupation, which had probably included the decoration of books with ornamental capitals and borders, as well as the transcription of the text. Pp. 54, 55. When recommended by a correspondent in his Convent days (perhaps about 1490) to read the Epistles of Jerome, he answers, that he has not only read them long ago, but has copied them out with his own fingers. See p. 75. This assertion furnishes a striking illustration of Erasmus's independence of printed copies at this period, as the work transcribed was one of the books most frequently reproduced by the early Press, not only of Italy but of Germany, no less than five editions having been printed before the end of 1490 on this side of the Alps, and still more in Italy Some years later, being intent on the study of Greek, and finding it difficult to procure copies of Greek authors, he had recourse to his old accomplishment, and spent nights and days in copying some books that he had borrowed. P 313. When in his young days he had become an author himself, we may assume that his works were for some

time distributed in manuscript. See pp. 86, 122, 123, 177, 178. He had at an early age achieved some distinction as a Latin poet (Epistle 61); and his poetry was doubtless circulated in this way. His earliest prose work, for which there was any considerable demand among purchasers, was the useful abridgment of the *Elegantiæ* of Laurentius Valla, made apparently about 1485; and there are several traces in his early epistles of this work being transcribed for the purpose of sale. Pp. 86, 121, 123, 177, 182. As late as August, 1500, he proposed to send some of his books, including the first rudiments of the *Colloquia* and the Treatise on Letter-writing, to his friend Batt for transcription. See p. 266. Of his familiar epistles, which he also learned at an early period to regard as part of his literary stock, we shall presently speak more fully

The first printed work of Erasmus appears to have been an epistle inserted at the end of Gaguin's History of France, published in September, 1495 (Epistle 45); and towards the end of the next year Erasmus superintended the printing of a little volume of Poetry by his friend, William Herman (published 20 Jan. 1497), which included a Dedication written by Erasmus (Epistle 50), and one poem of his composition. In Epistle 94, dated the 2nd of May, 1499, we find him for the first time writing familiarly about printers and printing. See pp. 195, 196. This was probably after the publication by the Press of a small collection of his own poetry; an important event in his life, of which an account is given in the Catalogue of Lucubrations. See pp. 22, 198. But in spite of his increased familiarity with the Press it was still his practice in the earlier years of the following century to present his shorter works in manuscript to his patrons, accompanied with dedicatory epistles. This was the case with the translation of the *Hecuba* of Euripides inscribed to Archbishop Warham in January, 1506 (p. 395), and various translations from Lucian dedicated about the same period to several patrons. Pp. 370, 391, 408, 409.

On his return to France from England in January, 1500, Erasmus brought back with him part of the materials of the first edition of the *Adages*, which was published at Paris by means of the Press in the middle of June, with a Dedicatory Epistle to Lord Mountjoy, first presented to him in a printed form, Epistle 121. The same volume contained the Poem entitled *Prosopopœia Britanniæ*, with the accompanying Epistle to Prince Henry, which had been already presented to the Prince in manuscript. Epistle 97, pp. 202, 245. We may presume that soon after this time, with his various experience of the Press, the idea of multiplying copies of his own works by transcription, for the purpose of sale, passed out of Erasmus's mind. Even before any copyright was thought of, the printing-press secured a great advantage to the author or editor, by enabling him to supply a number of copies more rapidly and at a cheaper rate than the transcriber.

To turn to the genesis of the epistles, there can be no doubt that Erasmus took great pains in his boyhood to acquire an easy epistolary style ; but his writings appear to furnish little information respecting the studies which were so successfully directed to this object. We have already mentioned one collection of Epistles,—those of St. Jerome, —which Erasmus had not only read through in his youth, but had transcribed with his own hand (Epistle 29), and there can be no doubt that he highly appreciated the vigour and purity of language of this author. His funeral oration in honour of Bertha van Heyen was expressly modelled upon an epistle of St. Jerome (see p. 87) ; and the epistolary form adopted in one of the most elaborate of his early prose compositions, the defence of Monastic Life, entitled *De contemptu Mundi* (see p. 88), may be attributed to his familiarity with the same work. But although the influence of Jerome may be traceable in the ideas of Erasmus and in the structure of his works, it was not from him that he derived that inimitable epistolary style, the

prevailing character of which is its lightness and flexibility, passing readily from grave to gay, and reflecting every shade of feeling, with a charming air of confidence in his correspondent. In the treatise entitled *De conscribendis Epistolis*, he refers his readers to the works of Cicero, of Pliny, and of Politian, for their models; and in the Epistle to Beatus Rhenanus, which serves as a preface to the collection of epistles published in 1521, and also to later collections, he recommends among modern writers, the epistles of Aeneas Silvius (Pope Pius II.), as belonging to the more interesting class of letters, which reflect both the sentiments of the writer, and the circumstances of the time in which he lived. There can be little doubt, that Erasmus had read these authors with attention, and with a special view to the improvement of his own style. Of the pains which he took in the acquisition of this talent, he speaks in the same Preface. "As a boy, and also at a riper age, I wrote a vast number of letters, but scarcely any for the purpose of publication. I practised my pen, I beguiled my leisure, I made merry with my acquaintance, I indulged my humour, in fine, did nothing but exercise and amuse myself, without the least expectation that friends would copy out or preserve such trifles." In these words he gives a happy picture of the long practice by which he acquired his consummate skill, somewhat exaggerating perhaps the absence of any thought of publication, and without any further hint of the masters under whom he was silently studying. In a later part of the same Preface a sentence escapes him, which shows that he was not unconscious of his success. "As a writer of epistles, I may perhaps have seemed not altogether incapable." See more of this Preface, pp. lxxvii-lxxxiii.

The Epistles of Erasmus, some of which are among his earliest prose compositions, constitute, as a whole, his most attractive literary work, and the style which he formed in the production of them became his easiest and most natural

manner of writing. Not only the early works already mentioned, but many of the literary essays of his mature period, as the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* and the discourses *De Virtute amplectenda*, and *De Ratione Studii* are thrown into the epistolary form.

The epistles written during the latter part of the Conventual period (Chapter II.), though they have not the charm of his later letters, are among the principal literary remains of his early manhood, but with two exceptions, they were not published until long after his death. In making the above assertions about them, I am assuming the authenticity of this collection, as I have done in the chapter in which translations of them are given. Upon this point some observations will be found in page xlvi. Some of the early epistles appear to have been among the works of Erasmus circulated in manuscript before they were multiplied by the Press. How soon this practice began it is impossible to say, but we may observe that Beatus Rhenanus, in speaking of the introduction of Erasmus to the Bishop of Cambrai, appears to imply, that while Erasmus was still in the Monastery, his elegantly written epistles had already obtained some reputation, p. 26. We have evidence that some years after he had left the Convent he was collecting his compositions of this kind (p. 390), and when he was in Paris in 1499, a collection of his correspondence with Herman was already in the hands of Batt for transcription, pp. 178, 197. The greater part of this collection, which would have been of more interest than much that has been preserved, has apparently been lost. See p. 94. Two letters to Herman, printed in the *Farrago Epistolarum* of 1519 (Epistles 51 and 79 of our series), seem to be the only part of this correspondence which was printed with the sanction of Erasmus. Epistles 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41 (the first of Erasmus, and the rest of Herman), all published for the first time in 1703, may possibly have been included in the collection of 1499.

Epistle 163 (Herman to Servatius) also first published in 1703, and Epistles 168 and 174 (Erasmus to Herman), published in the collection of 1607, belong to a later date.

We find in the earlier letters, that Erasmus employed his friends, including Herman and Batt (pp. 123, 178, 235), to make transcripts of his works. That some of his epistles were published in this form is shown, not only by the allusions to their transcription in his early letters (pp. 197, 317, 339), but by the facts which he mentions in the Preface addressed to Beatus Rhenanus, from which it appears that manuscript collections of his epistles were not uncommon in Germany, and that one such collection at least had been brought under his notice in Italy in 1509. P. lxxviii.

The views of Erasmus concerning the preservation and publication of his epistles may very well have changed at different periods of his life. When he was first aware in his younger days, that his letters might become a valuable part of his literary stock-in-trade, he set to work to collect and preserve them. But in later times, when his epistles were addressed to more important correspondents, he did not care to publish those early productions. Only two epistles earlier than his thirtieth year (Epistles 26, 27) are included in the *Farrago Epistolarum* of 1519; and none others were published by the Press in his lifetime. It was apparent before long, that if all his epistles were preserved, the mass would be too great for publication. "I have written and am still writing," he says in 1523, "such a quantity of letters, that two waggons would scarcely be equal to carry them." (*Catalogus Lucubrationum*, Jortin ii. 441).

It is of some interest to enquire by what means the early epistles actually contained in our printed collections have survived. The correspondence with Herman, apparently preserved for a time by Erasmus, but for the most part lost, has been already mentioned. See p. xxi. Assuming the authenticity of the epistles of the conventual period printed by Merula in

1607 and included in our two first Chapters, we may attribute their preservation either to the care of Erasmus himself, or possibly to the exertions of Francis, who, if we can trust Epistle 185, was asked in 1505 to collect such letters, and whose efforts for this purpose may have been made both in that and the following years. It has been already observed that only two of these earliest epistles (Epistles 26, 27) were published by Erasmus himself, being included in the *Farrago Epistolarum* (1519), which also contains several familiar letters of the period of Erasmus's student life at Paris from 1496 to 1499, of his first visit to England (1499-1500), and of his subsequent residence in Paris, Orleans, and Artois from 1500 to 1502. These latter letters could not well have come into Francis's hands, and may perhaps be attributed to a collection made by Erasmus himself. For a considerable time after his removal to Brabant (August, 1502, to December, 1504), no further private letters appear in the collections published during his life or by his literary executors, the few familiar epistles that we have of this period being found in the later publication of Merula, which was possibly indebted to the collection of Francis, as the letters are addressed to friends in Holland. After an interval of two years and a half, the scanty contributions from the *Farrago* begin again by three letters written during Erasmus's short stay at Paris in the spring of 1505; but they cease entirely during the English visit of about a year (1505-6), the few private letters that we have of this period being contributed by Merula (1607), and having apparently been part of the collection made by Francis, a letter addressed to him, requesting him to collect, being one of them. We have, next, in the *Farrago* three farewell letters to English friends written upon Erasmus's arrival at Paris on his way to Italy in June, 1506. During his Italian journey, lasting about three years from this time,—June, 1506, to June, 1509,—the only familiar epistles of Erasmus that

have been preserved are four short letters dated from Florence and Bologna, first published by Merula (Epistles 198-201), which, being addressed to correspondents in the Low Countries, may have formed part of the assumed collection of Francis, and four others (Epistles 204, 206, 208, 209), lately printed for the first time by M. de Nolhac from the originals preserved by Aldus and now at the Vatican. See pp. 428, 432, 451. It may be conjectured that during the greater part of his stay in Italy, being busily engaged in his studies, and in the completion of the *Adages*, and having no clerks or assistants at command, Erasmus omitted to preserve copies of his correspondence. If any were preserved, they have been entirely lost. The contributions from the *Farrago* come in again with two letters addressed to Erasmus by Mountjoy and Jacobus Piso at the close of his residence in Italy; and after another pause of nearly two years,—June, 1509, to April, 1511,—they are continued by the correspondence with Ammonius, during Erasmus's short journey to Paris in 1511, and with the same friend as well as Colet and others during his residence at Cambridge (with intervals in London) during the years 1511, 1512, 1513, and 1514. The correspondence with Ammonius produced some of the most charming epistles of the collection, and probably led to a more careful preservation by Erasmus both of his own familiar letters and of the letters of his friends. From this time we may perhaps assume that he habitually kept a letter-book, in which he caused the most interesting and scholarly of the epistles of his correspondents to be entered together with his own.

Erasmus left England in July, 1514, and a few weeks later settled himself for the work of several months at Basel. His journey and change of residence led to a great increase in the number of his learned friends, but he was too busy to devote much time to correspondence. Of the thirty-eight published letters attributed in our Register to the period between his departure from England for Basel in July, 1514,

and his second departure for the same place in June, 1515, six are Dedications or complimentary Epistles written for the press; three are part of the correspondence with the Pope and Cardinals, which were among the first printed epistles of Erasmus (see p. xxviii.); two are long controversial epistles exchanged between Dorpius and Erasmus on the proposed printing of the New Testament in Greek; one is the disputed Epistle to Servatius (see p. xli.); eight only are familiar epistles (five of Erasmus and three addressed to him), included in the collections of his epistles published in his lifetime; one other epistle of Erasmus, addressed to Pirkheimer, is taken from the posthumous publication of Scriverius (1615), two epistles of Erasmus were first published in the book entitled *Illustrium virorum Epistolæ ad Ioannem Reuchlin*, 1519; and one addressed to Zasius is from a recent publication. The fourteen that remain are epistles addressed to Erasmus, which were first printed by Le Clerc in 1703 from a letter-book which will presently be described.

The above sketch of the preservation of the epistles from Erasmus's childhood to the time of his leaving England for Basle in 1515 comprises all the correspondence described in the first twenty-four sections of our Register, which are made up, beside the Prefatory Epistles (see note p. xxvii.), 1. of epistles taken from *Farrago*, with a few printed in the other early authorized collections; 2. of epistles published by Merula (including most of the early letters of the first two chapters), and one published by Scriverius; 3. of nineteen epistles of, and to, Erasmus, all except one (Epistle 163) earlier than 1500, first printed by Le Clerc in 1703, the previous history of which is not known, and which, assuming their genuineness, may have been part of the old collections of Erasmus or of Francis; 4. of twenty-two epistles addressed to Erasmus, first printed by Le Clerc out of the letter-book described in the following paragraph; 5. of four unimportant letters found in the English Record Office.

We have referred to letter-books assumed to have been kept by Erasmus for the preservation of his correspondence. It is of more interest to observe, that the existence of such collections is not a mere matter of conjecture. The Library of Deventer still possesses one of Erasmus's original letter-books, or collections of Epistles, in which his own handwriting frequently appears. It contains, in two parts, 186 epistles of his own and 173 epistles addressed to him. The epistles belong for the most part to the years 1514 to 1518, with a few of earlier years, those of Erasmus himself being principally of the years 1517 and 1518, and are entered in such order, or disorder, as suggests rather the binding together of detached copies, than the regular transcription of epistles at the time when they were composed or received. Some of the epistles are among those printed in Erasmus's lifetime, but by far the greater number had not been published when Le Clerc was preparing in 1703 the third volume of the Leyden edition of the *Opera Erasmi*, and,—the manuscript book having been placed at his disposal,—were included by his editor in the *Appendix epistolarum quæ loco suo reponi non potuerunt* (C. 1522-1776),* or in the later Appendix of undated letters alphabetically arranged by the names of the correspondents (C. 1775-1922). It is to this accession that the reader has to attribute the large proportion of epistles of Erasmus's correspondents which is found among the *Epistolæ Erasmi* from 1514 to 1517; the additional epistles of Erasmus being mostly later. This may be seen by a glance at the lines in italics, pp. (14) to (27) of our Register of Epistles. The manuscript volume above referred to is more fully described by Professor Kan of Rotterdam in a publication entitled *Erasmiani Gymnasii Programma*, Rotterdam, 1881

We may now direct our attention to the first printing of

* Throughout this work the third volume of the *Opera Erasmi*, ed. Clerici, is cited as C. and the London edition of Epistles, as Ep.

the Epistles. It has been already observed, that the earliest printed work of Erasmus was in the form of an epistle to Robert Gaguin. Epistle 45. It is not however a private letter, but an elaborate commendation appended to the original and to several subsequent editions of Gaguin's History of France, first published at Paris on the last day of September, 1495; the Epistle has no date of its own. This was the one prose writing of Erasmus with which Colet was acquainted, when the two men met at Oxford in 1499. Before this publication several private letters had already passed between Gaguin and Erasmus, three of which are preserved in a little volume of Epistles and Orations of Gaguin first printed at Paris in 1498, and twice reprinted; but unfortunately Gaguin published his own compositions without those of his then obscure correspondent. These letters of Gaguin (Epistles 42, 43, 44) belong apparently to the years 1494 and 1495.

During the twenty years following this correspondence and ending in July, 1515, the only epistles of Erasmus which are known to have been committed to the press are the dedicatory Epistles prefixed, first to Herman's *Silva Odarum*, 1496, and afterwards to a long succession of publications of Erasmus himself, and a prefatory Epistle contributed in 1503 to a book by James Middelburg on the Imperial Power. We should add to the above list one of the theological discourses exchanged with Colet in 1499 (Epistle 106), and two complimentary Epistles of James Wimpfling to Erasmus and of Erasmus to James Wimpfling, dated 1 and 21 Sept. 1514 (Epistles 295 and 298), which were written for publication and printed by Schürer at Strasburg in his edition of the *Copia* of that year.*

* These numerous Epistles, Prefaces and Dedications, are placed in our series with the following numbers: 45, 50, 74, 87, 97, 106, 121, 147, 160, 170, 173, 176, 177, 178, 182, 186, 187, 191, 192, 193, 202, 205, 207, 212, 213, 226, 247, 248, 249, 258, 259, 274, 279, 291, 295, 298 302, 303, 315, 316, 320.

The first book of Erasmus separately printed under the name of Epistles was a small 4to volume issued by Froben, in August, 1515,* which contained the Epistles to Leo X. and to the Cardinals Grimani and Riario, dated in April and March, 1515, afterwards the first three letters in the Second Book (Epistles 323, 318, and 319), and an *Epistola Apologetica ad Martinum Dorpium* on the subject of the Moria, apparently written in March, 1515, which was not included in the larger authorized collections of Epistles, but is in the London Collection. Ep. xxxi. 42 (Epistle 317).

The same Epistle to Dorpius (Epistle 317) was also printed, together with the epistle of Dorpius to Erasmus (Epistle 314) to which Epistle 317 was the reply, in a pamphlet, published at Louvain by Thierry Martens in October, 1515 ;† which also contained *Erasmi Enarratio in primum Psalmum*, and the accompanying dedicatory letter to Beatus Rhenanus (Epistle 320), both already printed in the preceding month by Schürer at Strasburg.‡

A volume entitled *Epistolæ aliquot* etc. was printed at Louvain by Thierry Martens in October, 1516.§ On this occasion Erasmus thought it more becoming to remain in the background himself, the responsibility for the publication being thrown upon Peter Gillis. 'I was myself,' he says after-

* *Erasmi Rot. Epistola ad Leonem X. P.M. Epistola ad Cardinalem Grimanum: Epistola ad Cardinalem Raphaelem Riarium: Epistola Apologetica ad Martinum Dorpium de suarum lucubrationum aeditione.* Basileæ, Frobenius, Mense Augusto, M.D.XV. 4to. This little book, which is in the British Museum, contains some other matters beside the Erasmus epistles, the first thing appearing in the title being *Iani Damiani ad Leonem X. Elegia.*

† *Erasmi Enarratio in primum Psalmum; Martini Dorpii Epistola de Moriæ Encomio deque Novi Testamenti emendatione; Erasmi ad Dorpium Apologia.* Lovanii, Theod. Martinus, mense Oct. 1515. 4to. In British Museum.

‡ *Erasmi Lucubrationes.* Argentorati, M. Schurerius, mense Sept. 1515. 4to. In British Museum.

§ *Epistolæ aliquot illustrium virorum ad Erasmum et huius ad illos.* Lovanii, Theod. Martinus, 1516, mense Oct. 4to. In British Museum.

wards in a letter to Budé (Epistle 467), 'rather a conniving than a consenting party.' A translation of the Prefatory Epistle, which was addressed by Gillis to Gaspar Halmal, 26 Sept. 1516 (Epistle 457), will be found near the end of our Introduction. This collection contains the epistles to the Pope and Cardinals already printed, followed by epistles of Pope Leo X. to Erasmus and to Henry VIII. (Epistles 328, 329), and an answer of Erasmus to the Pope (Epistle 434), with twelve other letters,—all included, in slightly different order, in the Second Book of the later collections of Epistles, and three letters forming the commencement of the correspondence with Budé, included in the First Book.* All these epistles were of recent date, none of them being earlier than October, 1514.

This collection of Epistles had scarcely been published when Gillis was occupied with an enlarged edition. In forwarding some letters to him (Epistle 466), Erasmus adds: 'I admit no embellishments anywhere. Please put in a preface, addressed to some one else rather than to me; Busleiden would do very well; in every thing else do the work of a friend.' This enlarged collection, entitled *Aliquot Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* etc.† was issued from the Louvain press in April, 1517, with a prefatory letter by Peter Gillis to Antonius Clava, dated 5 March, 1517. The printing of this work appears to have been superintended by Rutger Rescius, who wrote to Erasmus, then at Antwerp, to solve a difficulty arising out of his handwriting. Epistle 532. This collection was reprinted by Froben in the following January. Containing all the epistles printed in the collec-

* *Epistolæ*, ed. Lond. ii. 1—18; i. 6-8. The numbers of the Epistles in these and similar references are taken from the London edition. In the collections printed at Basel the Books are numbered, but not the Epistles.

† *Aliquot Epistolæ sane quam elegantes Erasmi Roterodami et ad hunc aliorum* etc. Lovanii, Th. Martinus, 1517, mense Aprili. 4to. Reprinted by Froben at Basel, January, 1518. The latter in the British Museum.

tion of the previous year, and also including the correspondence relating to an invitation sent to Erasmus by order of Francis I., and several additional letters which had passed between Erasmus and Budé, and other correspondents about the same period, it comprises the First Book of the Epistles, as afterwards arranged (with the exception of the first three letters), and the Second Book as far as Ep. ii. 18. The Prefatory Epistle of Gillis to Clava, which will be found among the translations at the close of our Introduction, contains an allusion to the old practice of publication by transcription; which, the writer observes, would on this occasion be insufficient to meet the demand, even if a hundred transcribers were employed. In an epistle to Berus of the same year, preserved in the Deventer manuscript and first printed in 1703 (Epistle 712), Erasmus disclaims responsibility for the epistles published by Peter Gillis while he himself was visiting his patrons in England. C. 1645 E. He appears to have gone to England about the time of its publication.

The next published collection of Epistles of Erasmus was issued by Froben at Basel in August, 1518, with the title *Auctarium* etc.* preceded by a prefatory epistle of the editor, Beatus Rhenanus, to Michael Hummelberg, dated 22 Aug. 1518, in which Beatus represents himself as venturing to publish this selection from the letters of Erasmus without his authority. An extract from this preface will be found at p. lxxvi. In a letter to Mountjoy, first printed in the Leyden collection from the Deventer manuscript, where it is by mistake addressed to Warham, Erasmus, while he disclaims all liability for the intended publication, invites his correspondent to send any epistles that he may have, to be published after due revision, commutatis quæ erunt com-

* *Auctarium Selectarum aliquot Epistolarum Erasmi Rot. ad eruditos et horum ad illum.* Basileæ, Frobenius, mense Augusto, 1518, 4to. The *Auctarium* was reprinted at Basel in March, 1519, and with some alterations at Venice in 1524. Both these later editions are in the Bodleian Library.

mutanda. C. 1695 A. The epistles here published are (in the later collections) Ep. ii. 20 (Budé to Erasmus) followed by Erasmus's answer (afterwards Ep. iii. 51), with the other eight epistles which complete the second Book, and those of the third Book as far as Epistle iii. 50.

The *Auctarium* was soon followed by a larger collection, entitled *Farrago Epistolarum* etc.* published by Froben in October, 1519, without preface. It was apparently with reference to the *Farrago* that Erasmus wrote to Gerard Lystrius on the 22nd September [1519], in the following terms. "At this next Fair, a new volume of Epistles is to come out, of considerable size. We shall revise those already printed, and with the addition of others make a proper volume." † This collection comprises, first, Ep. iii. 51 (already in a different place in *Auctarium*) and the later epistles of the Third Book as far as Epistle 62 (except Ep. iii. 56, which comes in afterwards between Ep. iv. 5 and 6); then Ep. iii. 64, and an epistle to Richard Pace (Ep. iii. 14); then the epistles contained in Books iv to xii., as far as Ep. xii. 7, an epistle of Erasmus to Budé in Greek and two epistles of Budé to Erasmus in Latin (afterwards Ep. iii. 67, 66, 65) being inserted between Ep. xi. 11 and Ep. xi. 12; and two other epistles addressed to James Hoogstraten and Edward Lee, afterwards Ep. xvi. 19 and xvii. 1, being added at the end. One epistle (Epistle 535), which is found in *Farrago*, p. 229, is omitted in all the later collections. It is a confidential letter concerning his Dispensation, addressed by Erasmus to Ammonius and dated Antwerpiæ, Id. Mart. [1517], which appears to have been incautiously published. See pp. lxi., lxxvii.

* *Farrago nova epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami ad alios et aliorum ad hunc: admixtis quibusdam quas scripsit etiam adolescens.* Basileæ, Frobenius, mense Octobri, 1519. In British Museum.

† Ep. xiii. 9; C. 265 B. With two epistles (Ep. xiii. 31 and 34, C. 382 E, 409 C), written from Louvain some three months later, Erasmus sends his *volumen Epistolarum* to two friends at Brussels.

Two years later, on the last day of August, 1521, appeared a further collection, entitled *Epistolæ ad diversos* etc.* with a prefatory epistle of Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus, dated 27 May, 1521, which in the later collections was retained as the first Epistle of the first Book (Ep. i. 1). From this preface, a translation of which may be found at p. lxxvii., it appears that all the three collections hitherto printed at Basel were edited by Beatus. The prefatory epistle was followed by two letters not before printed (Ep. i. 2, 3). Then followed the epistles already published in the previous collections, *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, *Auctarium*, and *Farrago*, the correspondence with Budé mentioned in our description of the contents of *Farrago* being put into the earlier position, which it afterwards occupied, and the general arrangement of the epistles comprised in the earlier publications being altered to that followed in the *Opus Epistolarum* and later collections. The Epistle to Urbanus Regius (Ep. ii. 18), which is not in *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* nor in *Auctarium*, is first printed here, p. 98; and an epistle to Longolius (Ep. iii. 63), which is not in *Farrago*, is also found here in the position which it retains in *Opus Epistolarum*. The large addition of letters not hitherto published, which follows, fills nearly two hundred small folio pages. They are, in the later collections, Book xii. Epistles 8 to the end, Books xiii. to xvi. and Book xvii. Epistles 1 to 26. These epistles belong for the most part to the years 1519 to 1521; but several letters of an earlier date are interspersed among them.

Among the epistles included in the two important publications of 1519 and 1521, there are some, which had been already published in a separate form. This was the case with the two epistles addressed, one to Luther, 29 May, 1519, (*Farrago*, p. 136; Ep. vi. 4; C. 444), and the other to the

* *Epistolæ D. Erasmi Roterodami ad diversos et aliquot aliorum ad illum per amicos eruditos ex ingentibus fasciculis schedarum collectæ.* Basileæ Frobenius, 1521. Pridie Cal. Septembris. Fol. Copy in Bodleian Library.

Cardinal of Mainz, 1 Nov., 1519 (*Ep. ad div.* p. 474; Ep. xii. 10; C. 513), the publication of which by means of the Press is mentioned by Erasmus in his Epistle to Cardinal Campeggio, 6 Dec. 1520, as a thing done without his approval, and, as he suspected, for the purpose of injuring him. C. 596 A. And in his Epistle to Mosellanus, 31 July, 1520, Erasmus ascribes the publication of the epistle to the Archbishop of Mainz to the admiration of German friends, which was more injurious to him than the hatred of his enemies. Ep. xiii. 5; C. 560 F. In the same letter he refers to the collection of epistles then in preparation (*Epistolæ ad diversos*), and declares his intention to reject some epistles already published and to modify others. C. 561 A. I do not think that any important alterations were made in any epistle already published.*

In February, 1524, an unauthorized collection of Epistles of Erasmus was published by Gregorius de Gregoriis at Venice, for which two titles were borrowed from the authorized collections, the title in the opening page being, word for word, that of the *Auctarium*, while in the colophon we read: *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Epistolarum ad diversos et aliquot aliorum ad illum Finis.* This book appears to contain a short selection from the epistles in the authorized collections.

Another unauthorized publication, entitled *Breviores aliquot Epistolæ*,† published by Savetier at Paris in December, 1525, also contains selections from the Epistles of Erasmus already published, concluding with the dedication of the early treatise *de Conscribendis epistolis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521, Epistle 74 of our series, slightly altered, and addressed to Peter Paludanus. Erasmus, in his address *amicis lectoribus* (Ep. xxvii. 42, C. 1527 E; see p. lxxxviii.), notices an epistle inscribed to Peter Paludanus, as prefixed

* One omission is mentioned in p. xxxi.

† *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Breviores aliquot epistolæ.* Paris, Nic. Sauetier 13 Cal. Jan. 1525. 4to. Copy in British Museum.

to a pirated edition of the book on Letter-writing, printed at Leyden; with the observation that he never knew any person of that name. See pp. 169, 467.

In August, 1527, a volume was published by Froben, containing a treatise of St. Chrysostom in Greek, entitled *de Babyla Martyre*, printed between two epistles of Erasmus, the first being a Preface to the work of St. Chrysostom, dated 14 August, 1527, and addressed to Nicolaus Marvillanus, President of the Busleiden College at Louvain (Ep. xxviii. 24), the other addressed, in the same month, 23 August, 1527, to Robert Aldrige, defending a passage in the author's New Testament, which had been attacked by an English preacher. Ep. xxiii. 8.*

Some time in the year 1529 a small volume was published by Peter Quentell at Cologne, entitled *Selectæ Aliquot Epistolæ*, etc.† containing an epistle of Germanus Brixius to Erasmus, another of Erasmus to Brixius, two epistles of Erasmus addressed "Ioanni Gac," and one to Martinus Lipsius. All these letters are dated in 1528, and were included in 1529 in the Twenty-second Book of the *Opus Epistolarum*, Ep. xxii. 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

In the latter part of the same year appeared the first edition of the Epistles of Erasmus arranged in Books, as they are found (with additions) in the subsequent authorized collections. This volume, entitled *Opus Epistolarum* etc.‡ contains twenty-four Books, which are made up of the same letters as the first twenty-four Books of the later editions, except that

* *Epistola Erasmi de modestia profitendi linguas; Libellus D. Ioan. Chrysostomi Græcus de Babyla Martyre; Epistola Erasmi in tyrologum quendam impudentissimum calumniatorem.* Basileæ, mense Augusto, 1527. 8vo. Copy in British Museum.

† *Selectæ aliquot Epistolæ Des. Erasmi Rot. nunquam antea evulgatæ.* Coloniæ, Pet. Quentell, 4to, 1529. 4to. Copy in British Museum.

‡ *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami per autorem diligenter recognitum et adiectis innumeris nouis fere ad trientem auctum.* Basileæ, Frobenius, Hervagius et Episcopius, 1529. Fol. Copy in British Museum.

the last Book ends with Ep. xxiv. 15 (Erasmus to Botzem), followed by another long epistle to the same correspondent, omitted in the later *Epistolarum Opus*, but inserted in the London collection as the second epistle in the Thirtieth Book. The order of the epistles follows that of *Epistolæ ad diversos* as far as Ep. xvii. 26. But in this edition many epistles, which in the earlier collections were undated or without year-dates, are provided with dates of place and year. To this alteration, which was probably the work of Beatus Rhenanus, Erasmus alludes in his Preface, inscribed *Des. Erasmus Roterodamus Lectori s. d.* and dated at Freiburg on the 7th of August, 1529, which is reprinted at the beginning of the London edition, and in C. Præf. 2 *dors.* A translation of this preface will be found at p. lxxxiii. The additional epistles, completing Book xvii., and filling the remaining Books (xviii. to xxiv.), are 407 in number, and are mainly derived from the correspondence of Erasmus, while residing at Basel between 1522 and 1529, and at Freiburg in the summer of the last named year.

In September, 1531, was published the book entitled *Epistolæ Floridæ* etc.* the materials of which,—being, with the exception of the letter to Hutten, Ep. xxvii. 3, epistles of Erasmus dated from Freiburg in 1529, 1530, and 1531,—were sent from that town with a prefatory epistle addressed to Johannes Hervagius of Basel (the successor of Froben), by whom the volume was printed. An extract from this epistle will be found at p. lxxxv. The contents of the volume appear in the later collections as part of the Twenty-fifth Book (Ep. xxv. 8 to the end), the whole Twenty-sixth Book, and part of the Twenty-seventh (Ep. xxvii. 1-4). But, if my observation is right, two epistles contained in *Epistolæ Floridæ* are missing in the later Collections. The first, at p. 60, addressed *Simoni Pistorio*, and dated, Friburg. Prid. Id., Mart. M.D.XXXI,

* *Des. Erasmi Roterodami, Epistolarum Floridarum liber unus, antehac nunquam excusus.* Basileæ, Io. Hervagius, Septemb. 1531 Fol. Copy in British Museum.

begins with the words, Quum semper intellexerim. The other, at p. 129, addressed *Haioni Hermanno Phrysio*, LL. Doctori, Senatori, and dated, Friburg. Prid. Calend. Februar. M.D.XXX, begins with the words, Petis prolixam epistolam. At p. 119 an epistle to Nicolas Winmannus (Ep. xxxi. 56 in the London collection) occurs between Epistles xxvi. 41 and 43 instead of the Epistle to the Archbishop of Besançon's officials, which is in this place in the later collections. Ep. xxvi. 42. And at p. 134, the Epistle to Gerardus ab Herema (Ep. xxxi. 57 in the London book) comes in between Epistles xxvi. 59 and 60. It should also be observed that an epistle of Erasmus addressed in later editions, *Lucæ Bonsio*, Ep. xxv. 33, C. 1297 (1119), is here, p. 53, addressed, *Ioanni Dantisco episcopo, regis Poloniæ Oratori*, probably its true address; the name of Bonsius is not otherwise known to us.

The correspondence of Longolius, published at Basel in 1533,* contains epistles of Peter Bembo, Sadoletus, Budé and Erasmus; but there is only one epistle of the last; which had been already printed in *Epistolæ ad diversos*. Epistle iii. 63, C. 425 (402). See p. xxxii.

One more edition of the collected Epistles of Erasmus was published during his life, about five months before he died.† To this he contributed a spirited Preface, addressed, *Des. Erasmus Roterodamus amicis lectoribus*, a translation of which will be found at p. lxxxvii. I have not seen this edition, but I presume that the epistles contained in it correspond with those of the editions published by his literary executors after his decease.

The death of Erasmus occurred on the 12th of July, 1536. But before turning our attention, as we shall have to do, to the publications to which this event gave occasion, it will be well to complete our account of the authorized collections

* *Christophori Longolii Epistolæ*. Basileæ, Io. Valderus. Septemb. 1533.

† *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*. Basileæ, 1536. Fol. Copy in Bodleian Library.

of Epistles, edited by his literary executors during the few years that followed. These several editions, each in a folio volume, printed at Basel by the press of Froben, have four different dates of time, 1538, 1540 (vol. iii. of the *Opera*),* 1541 and 1558.† I have seen only the second and fourth, which resemble each other, page by page; and I presume that the contents of all these editions, as well as the *Opus Epistolarum* of 1536, are the same, that of 1541 being probably the third volume of the *Opera* with a different title. Beatus Rhenanus, who appears to have edited the collections issued at Basel during his life, died in 1547. In all these editions the epistles are arranged in twenty-eight Books, the first twenty-four of which correspond with those of *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529, except that the last epistle of the twenty-fourth Book is suppressed (see p. xxxv), and several additional letters dated at Freiburg in the years 1531 and 1532 are added to that Book, and at the beginning of the twenty-fifth. Ep. xxiv 16-31, xxv. 1-7. The last Book is made up of a selection of Prefatory Epistles and Dedications.

We have now before us one of the most difficult subjects with which we have to deal in this part of our work,—the question of the genuineness of epistles attributed to Erasmus, but not published with his sanction or that of his literary executors. Among the writings which were circulated in his name but without his authority, while he was still living, we may allude in passing to an epistle, which has found a place in several of the Collections of his correspondence

* *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Operum Tertius tomus Epistolas complectens universas quotquot ipse autor unquam evulgavit aut evulgatas voluit quibus præter nouas aliquot additæ sunt et Præfationes quas in diuersos omnis generis scriptores non paucas idem conscripsit.* Basileæ, Frobenius et Episcopius, 1540. Fol. Copy in Bodleian Library.

† *Des. Erasmi Roterodami Epistolarum Opus complectens universas quotquot* etc. Basileæ, Frobenius, 1558. Fol. The title-page also contains a warning against unauthorized Epistles. Copy in the British Museum.

(including the publication of Merula, the London volume of Epistles and the third volume of Le Clerc), as an Epistle of Erasmus to Peter Cursius. Merula, p. 124; Ep. xxx. 68; C. iii. 1496.* This is neither a genuine epistle of its assumed author, nor properly speaking a forgery, but the witty composition of a Roman satirist, broadly caricaturing the manner of Erasmus, by whom it is described with some vexation in his genuine *Responsio ad Petri Cursii Defensionem*, printed in 1535. C. x. 1756 F. He also mentions in one of his letters some fictitious epistles written in his name by a young man named Sylvius, who imposed them in Rome on his friend Paulus Bombasius and on Pope Leo X. C. 1478 D.

The death of Erasmus furnished an occasion to the booksellers for the publication of commemorative volumes, which would naturally be in some demand. An official work was prepared at Basel under the editorship of his testamentary heir, Boniface Amerbach; and while this book was in hand, Erasmus's edition of the works of Origen, with a Dedicatory Epistle of Beatus Rhenanus to the Bishop of Cologne, containing some particulars of Erasmus's life (see p. 23), was published by Froben in time for the September Frankfort fair. Before the fuller authorized memorial of him was ready at Basel, a rival publication was issued from the press of Josse Lambert of Ghent, with the following title: *Epistola quædam D. Erasmi Rot. nunquam ante hac ædita rationem fere totius vitæ eius continens. Epitaphia nonnulla in eundem* [etc.]. *Gandavi, excudebat Jodocus Lambertus*, 1536. The more important publication announced in this title was the Epistle of Erasmus to Servatius (Epistle 289), so often quoted as an authority for the biography of its assumed author. It is described in the title as never before published; and no previous publication of it is known, unless priority can be claimed

* It is amusing to observe that this Epistle is cited even by Bayle as a genuine letter. Bayle, *Dictionaire*, art. *Érasme* (first note).

for an undated printed sheet, which contains this document alone (in the form in which it is printed in C. iii. 1527, where the Greek phrases, found in other versions including that published at Ghent, are replaced by Latin), with the title: *Erasmi Roterodami Epistola qua se excusat, cur mutarit monasticam vitam, item habitum.* Of this little pamphlet a copy (perhaps unique) is preserved in the Grand-ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel. No printer or locality is named, but the printer's sign is a shield (bearing a rampant lion empaling a coat with two pallets) supported by two savage men with clubs.

The Basel volume devoted to the memory of Erasmus appears to have been issued in February, 1537 It was entitled *Catalogi duo operum D. Erasmi Roterodami ab ipso conscripti et digesti. Cum præfatione D. Bonifacii Amerbachii iuriscons. ut omnis deinceps imposturæ via intercludatur ne pro Erasmico quispiam ædat quod vir ille non scripsit dum viveret. Accessit in fine Epitaphiorum ac tumulorum libellus quibus Erasmi mors defletur cum elegantissima Germani Brixii Epistola ad clarissimum virum d. Gul. Langæum. Basileæ, Anno M D. xxxvii. Cum privilegio Cæsareo ad annos quatuor.* The book answers the description of the title, the two Catalogues being the so-called Catalogue of Lucubrations (Erasmus's Literary Autobiography), addressed to James Botzhem, printed at Basel in 1523, and revised in 1524, and the Epistle to Hector Boece, written apparently in 1530, accompanied by the Index of Works (both printed in C. i. Præf.), these being followed by a collection of Epitaphs, Poems, and Inscriptions in honour of Erasmus, with the Colophon: *Basileæ, per Hieronynum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, Anno M. D. xxxvi.* The true date of publication is shown by the date of the Preface to be not earlier than February, 1536-7. The Preface of Boniface Amerbach, dated Basileæ, Calend. Febr. Anno M. D. XXXVII., is addressed

to John Paungartner; and contains the warning against unauthorized publications attributed to Erasmus, to which attention is specially called in the title of the book, and which can scarcely be regarded as unconnected with the recent publication of the Ghent volume containing the Epistle to Servatius. This passage ought therefore to be before the Reader in forming his judgment of the authenticity of that epistle. It runs as follows. "It is not unknown, how often in the life of Erasmus he was compelled to ward off Calumny from the books he published. That she will be no less cruel to him now that he is dead, is shown by the *proœmia* of books published at the last Frankfurt fair. If the assumption of a false name or surname is punished by the Lex Cornelia, what shall be our judgment of him, who not only imposes on the reader by a false title, but attributes the name of an approved author to a writing which is not his, and by so doing renders that name invidious to some province or class of persons. Such a crime deserves still severer censure, when the name prefixed is that of a dead man, incapable of coping with the odium that may arise. * * * I desire that it may be everywhere known, that all the lucubrations of Erasmus which he left at his death are to be found in the two catalogues published by him in his life-time. If anything else be published in his name, let it be known by all to be spurious."

As the Memorial volume of the executors of Erasmus had been anticipated by the Ghent pamphlet, it was followed about the beginning of the following August by a still more audacious publication, printed at Antwerp by "the widow of Martin Cæsar at the cost of John Coccius." The long title of this book was taken word for word from that of the Basel volume, with the addition (in the middle) of the words *Accessit Vita Erasmi per Beatum Rhenanum ad Episcopum Coloniensem Monodia Frederici Nauseæ Erasmi vitam graphice depingens: Vita Erasmi ex ipsius epistola ad*

Ser patrem. The whole contents of Amerbach's volume were here reprinted, with additions mostly derived from the Ghent pamphet, including the Epistle to Servatius. Among other appropriations Amerbach's Preface was included at the commencement of the volume, with its solemn warnings against such works as that in which it was reproduced. The Epistle to Servatius, already once, if not twice, published, is described nevertheless as *nunquam antehac ædita.* It is printed with the Greek phrases,—in the form in which it had appeared in the Ghent pamphlet, and in which it is reprinted in Merula's *Vita Erasmi*, and in the Prefaces to the London Volume of Epistles, and to the first volume of Le Clerc's *Opera Erasmi.*

I have dwelt at some length upon these publications following Erasmus's death, which are not otherwise of much interest to us, in order that the reader may have before him the facts relating to the original circulation of the first-published of the epistles seriously attributed to Erasmus, for the authenticity of which we have not the assurance of himself or his literary executors. The Epistle to Servatius has been more often quoted by his biographers than any other, and it is therefore of considerable importance to form a judgment of its authenticity. If the somewhat vague denunciations of Amerbach are rightly interpreted as referring to the recent publication of Ghent, by which his own work was anticipated, they imply a denial, on the part of Erasmus's heir, of the genuineness of the lately published epistle. But I do not think that this statement concludes the question. The denial is conveyed in general terms; and it was obviously the interest, and might well be regarded as the duty, of those who represented the deceased scholar, to warn the public against unauthorized works attributed to him. The document in question is not expressly named, and there is no mention of the class of Epistles at all, of which it might be assumed that there was a great number, unknown

to the executors, in the hands of various persons over whom they had no control. If Erasmus did in fact write a letter to Servatius, when he was on his way to Basel in the year 1514, it need not have been among those of which the executors had drafts or transcripts; and their judgment as to the authenticity of a letter so described is not more conclusive than that of others, unless it was founded, which there is no special reason to believe, upon information derived from Erasmus. It seems therefore to be a question which still remains to be determined upon a criticism of the epistle itself. In forming a judgment upon it we should observe that this epistle has obviously not had the advantage, which the published Epistles have generally had, of careful correction and editing by the author or one of his literary friends. It is full of errors, which may be attributed to careless writing or ignorant transcription; but when such corrections have been made as it would under favourable circumstances have had, there is perhaps no conclusive reason why it should not be accepted as the work of Erasmus. On this assumption it would seem to have been written with a double object, its reasoning being quite as much intended for his friends and brother-theologians of Louvain, as for his old companions at the Convent. And this observation may perhaps account for what might otherwise appear strange, that in a letter addressed to Servatius, who was probably ignorant of Greek, the sentences which are intended to describe the monastic observances are ostentatiously expressed in that language. It may however be observed, that even among the monks of Stein there was at least one, William Herman, who was capable of interpreting this parade of learning. It is interesting however to observe, that the Epistle to Servatius has come down to us in two forms, in one of which all the Greek phrases are replaced by their Latin equivalents. If the epistle was intended for two audiences, it is possible that it may have been also originally transcribed in two

different copies, one for Louvain and the other for Stein, and that on the death of Erasmus some possessors of transcripts in either form found a favourable opportunity of making a profit out of its publication. It is perhaps more probable, that in the ruder impression the Greek words were replaced by Latin for want of Greek types.

Not to go into a detailed examination of the letter, there are two or three passages which claim to be noticed as bearing upon its authenticity, and the purpose for which it was written. One of these passages involves a question of language ; it runs as follows : Neminem adhuc reperi qui mihi consuleret [another reading, consuluerit] ut ad vos me reciperem. The word consulere used in this construction is not sanctioned by Cicero, and I am not able to cite any other example from Erasmus's writings.* But it was not his rule to confine himself entirely to Ciceronian precedent, and in his Epitome of the *Elegantiæ* of Valla occurs the following : Consulere cum dativo significat consilium dare, vel potius providere. C. i. 1079 E. With respect to the substance of the epistle, the following points may be observed. In the description of the English Universities, the Collegiate system is commended, which had the distinct approval of Erasmus's friends, Fisher and Foxe. Some inaccuracies of fact occur, which will be obvious to the reader ; as where he says, that he had himself taught Theology and Greek at Cambridge for some months, and that his teaching had been gratuitous in accordance with his constant practice. In this sentence the duration of his Cambridge professorship appears to be somewhat understated, and the conditions of his instruction are distinctly misrepresented ; but the reader of his Epistles will not be surprised at a certain freedom of assertion, which the writer may perhaps have justified to himself on the

* It occurs in the Epistle of a correspondent, Jacobus Piso, Epistle 211. C. 102 B.

ground that no one on earth was injured by it, while certain considerations, possibly connected with the rules or practice of his Order, may have made him unwilling to put his hand to a candid description of his profits as a Professor. Compare p. 54. Upon other matters this narrative is generally consistent with what we read in his other epistles. In the description which he gives of his studies of the New Testament, and of the theological apparatus which he was taking with him to Basel, he uses the following language: His duobus annis præter alia multa castigavi Hieronymi Epistolas, adulterina et substititia obelis jugulavi, obscura scholiis illustravi. Græcorum et antiquorum Codicum collatione castigavi Novum totum Testamentum, et supra mille loca annotavi non sine fructu theologorum. The interest of this passage for our present purpose is derived from a comparison of it with the (undated) Epistle of Martinus Dorpius to Erasmus, which appears to have been circulated in manuscript in the early weeks of 1515, and printed at Louvain together with an answer of Erasmus in October of the same year. The Epistle of Dorpius contains the following words: Audio te divi Hieronymi Epistolas a mendis quibus perscatebant repurgasse, adulterina injugulasse obelis, obscura elucidasse, rem profecto te dignam; sed Novum quoque Testamentum te castigasse intelligo et supra mille locos annotasse non sine fructu theologorum. If the Epistle to Servatius is a forgery, there is no doubt that the language above quoted from it was borrowed from the Epistle of Dorpius. But on the other hand the sentence contained in the latter epistle has so distinctly the air of a quotation from a letter or other writing of Erasmus himself, that it may be regarded rather as furnishing some confirmation of the genuineness of a letter assumed to have been written by him shortly before, in which we find these expressions used. I am disposed on the whole to acquiesce in the acceptance which has been accorded to this epistle by Erasmus's biographers.

After the death of Erasmus, and the publications that have been described, nearly half a century elapsed before any addition of importance was made to his published epistles. In the year 1606, Paul Merula, Professor of History at the University of Leyden, who had published in 1595 an edition of the remains of Ennius, among which he has been suspected of inserting some forged fragments,* was occupied with the preparation of a small 4to volume, which was issued from the Press early in the following year, with the title *Vita Erasmi*, etc.† This work included two books of unpublished epistles of Erasmus, with an introductory part, which will presently be described. The first book of Epistles, *continens quas ætate provectiore scripsit*, includes forty-two letters, thirty-nine of which, placed in order of time, and dated from 1518 to 1536, the year of Erasmus's death, are attributed to him ; eleven among these being addressed to Conrad Goclen. At the end are three epistles of others to Erasmus, dated in the years 1524, 1521 and 1530. The epistles contained in this book belong to a time of Erasmus's life which is well known to his readers, and appear, as far as my observation goes, to be for the most part free from suspicion ; but among them (p. 124) is included the so-called Epistle to Peter Cursius, already mentioned, which is not even a forgery, but a mere jeu d'esprit. See p. xxxviii. The inclusion of this epistle without any comment is not creditable to the perspicacity of the editor, and on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, or, with more reason, a forger to catch a forger, one can scarcely believe that the person who edited this letter as a genuine work of

* See Godofredus Hermannus, *Elementa dostrinæ metricæ*, Lipsiæ, 1816, pp. 628, 632 ; Jos. Lawicki, *De fraude P Merulæ Ennii editoris*. Bonn. 1852.

† *Vita Des. Erasmi Roterodami, ex ipsius manu fideliter repræsentata: comitantibus, quæ ad eandem, aliis. Additi sunt Epistolarum quæ nondum lucem aspexerunt, Libri duo quas conquisivit, edidit, dedicavit S. P. Q. Roterodamo Paullus G.F.P.N. Merula.* Lugduni Batavorum, Th. Basson. 1607. Small 4to.

Erasmus, was capable of forging a long series of letters which have been accepted by several generations of biographers as authentic.

This last description refers to Merula's second Book, which presents an altogether different collection of Epistles of Erasmus, *continens quas ætate Iuvenili scripsit.* It includes forty-two letters ; half of which supply the greater part of our first two Chapters, devoted to the boyhood and conventual period of his life ; the rest belong to the thirteen years that follow, including towards the end a batch of letters apparently sent from Florence and Bologna to the Low Countries in November, 1506. Epistles 198-201. The reader of our translations may distinguish these epistles, as they occur in our first six chapters, and in Chapters xiii, xv, and xvi, by the reference to Merula at the head of each. If there be any doubt of their authenticity, it will principally fall upon those contained in the first two chapters, where the reader who misses some of the spirit and elegance of the later epistles of Erasmus, may be disposed to ask, especially if he has been warned of the alleged character of their original editor, whether these letters may not be fictitious. I think, however, that there is not sufficient reason to reject them. If the reader will glance through our early chapters, or the early sections of our Register, observing the source from which each letter is derived, he will find that, together with the epistles of Erasmus published by Merula, there are other epistles, apparently part of the same series, either attributed to Erasmus or to some of the correspondents to whom the letters printed by Merula were addressed. There is no reason to suppose that Merula had anything to do with these other epistles, which were first printed by Le Clerc in 1703; and our opinion of the genuineness of Merula's letters is confirmed by observing that they appear to form part of a correspondence to which these epistles of Le Clerc also belong,

and not these epistles only, but also two others (Epistles 26, 27), included in the *Farrago*, which were the only epistles of this period published with the authority of Erasmus himself. It is worth while also to note, that the genuineness of some of the letters of Merula's Second Book is confirmed by comparing their details with extrinsic evidence not likely to have been known to a writer living in the next century See pp. 89, 116, 125, 161, and compare p. 171, where Merula appears to supply a more genuine text than *Farrago*. The collection and preservation of most of these early epistles may probably have been due to the care of Francis, one of Erasmus's monastic brothers. See p. xxiii.

We have yet to describe the first or introductory part of Merula's volume, to which its title, *Vita Erasmi*, is intended to apply It contains, after a formal Dedication of the work to the Senate and People of Rotterdam, an Epistle concerning the *Compendium Vitæ*, addressed by Merula to Otho Werckmann (partly translated at the end of this Introduction), and an Epistle to Merula by Dominicus Baudius upon the parentage, names, and genius of Erasmus. See p. 16. After these compositions and some complimentary verses in honour of Erasmus and of Merula, we have the Epistle of Erasmus to Conrad Goclen, dated Saturday after Easter, and the *Compendium Vitæ* which is mentioned in it (see pp. 4-13), followed by some other documents, already published elsewhere, relating to the biography of Erasmus.

The articles which claim our attention here are the *Compendium Vitæ* and its accompanying epistle, both of which, if genuine, are of the greatest interest in the history of Erasmus. It is impossible usefully to discuss the question of their authenticity without the Latin text before our eyes. But after several perusals of them at various times, and assuming the correction of such errors as may be fairly attributed to faults of transcription or of the Press, I am inclined to accept both the Epistle of Erasmus to Goclen and the

Compendium as genuine.* The former is a long and hastily written epistle, intended for the perusal of Goclen alone, composed under the influence of nervous excitement, mainly caused by the writer's suspicion of his former companion, Henry Eppendorf, the intimate friend of Ulrich von Hutten, whose controversy with Erasmus, followed immediately by the death of Hutten, had occurred in the preceding autumn. We must take into consideration the character of Erasmus. He readily made friends, but when once he distrusted them, there was no crime of which he was not ready to believe them guilty ; and his imagination was never so active as when his suspicions were aroused. His early relations with Augustine Caminad afford a remarkable example of this. See Epistle 125, and compare Epistle 122. His conviction of the villany of Eppendorf, by whose machinations he imagined his life to be in danger, influences the whole tone of the Epistle to Goclen, which, beside its narrative of Erasmus's last relations with Hutten, contains other important matters of personal interest. The fit of depression under which he was labouring made him anxious to complete some preparations for his own decease, which he apprehended might be near. With this view he proposed to inclose in his letter some memoranda relating to his life. He also sent to Goclen directions for the distribution after his death of a sum of money in various kinds of coin, which he had left in the care of his correspondent, proposing to include in his letter a more formal instrument (syngrapha) which might, if necessary, be produced after his death. The letter ends with a review of his immediate circumstances, alluding to a possible change of residence, to his invitation to France, and to his relations with his servants, one of whom, Levinus, was the bearer of the Epistle, which he had

* Professor Kan of Rotterdam, who has lately raised the question of the authenticity of these publications of Merula, appears to accept the Epistle as genuine, but to regard the Compendium as a forgery. See pp. 2, 3.

to deliver to Goclen before continuing his journey with other despatches to England. With respect to the hoard of money in Goclen's hands, we should remember, that Erasmus's will, dated 12 Feb. 1536, contains a mention of this fund, and of the directions which the testator had already given to Goclen about it. I do not remember that this will had been made public before the date of Merula's book, but a copy of it may well have been within his reach, since it was printed (not very correctly) in the little volume published at Leyden in 1615 under the sanction of Scriverius. A most accurate transcript of this document, with a photo-lithographic facsimile, has been published by Professor Kan, in a brochure entitled *Erasmiansch Gymnasium, Programma*, Rotterdam, 1881

The epistle to Goclen is dated on the Saturday after Easter [1524], and it is worth while to mention that we possess several letters of Erasmus written within a few days of this date ; in which no reference to the principal subjects of that epistle is to be expected ; but while these letters show, that the writer was not incapable of turning his attention to other matters, there are passages in some of them, which betray a condition of despondency quite consistent with that epistle. A letter to Guy Morillon, dated on Good Friday [1524] and preserved among the papers belonging to the Dutch Church in London, which has been printed by Jortin (*Erasmus*, ii. 414), contains the following expressions : Si mihi liceret per sycophantas tranquille vivere. Ego istas Præbendas nihil moror. Sunt lentæ spes et ego jam morior. In another letter written the next day (a week before the epistle to Goclen) to Nicholas de la Roche, Erasmus refers to his transactions with Hutten, and speaks of the satietas studiorum, by which he is overcome. Ep. xxi. 9 ; C. 793 c. And in a short note addressed to John de Hondt in the same Easter week, and probably despatched with the letter to Goclen, he says Ego puto

mortem esse leviorem his quæ patior, et si novissem statum hujus conjurationis, maluissem ad Turcas demigrare quam huc. Ep. xxx. 11 C. 795 B.

It may be observed that the *Compendium Vitæ*, published by Merula, does not answer the description contained in the Epistle to Goclen, which promises an abridgment of the whole life of Erasmus, whereas the narrative of the Compendium ends with his return from Italy to England more than twenty years before, referring only in three lines to his subsequent settlement in Brabant. See p. 11. But the words that follow, "the rest is known to you," are perhaps a sufficient explanation of this. Since his return to England his life had been mainly that of an author, its principal events being the publication of books which were read in every country of Europe; and for many years Goclen had been his intimate friend. The Compendium does in fact supply materials for that part of his biography, which was unknown to his friend, and would otherwise have been unknown to us. With respect to the question of its authenticity, some remarks may be found in our Preliminary Chapter, pp. 1—4. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that, if the Compendium, especially the early part of it, is not in Erasmus's ordinary style, neither is it such an imitation of his style as might be ascribed either to a skilful or a clumsy forger. It is begun in the fashion of rough notes intended to supply the materials for a biography; but not unnaturally, whether genuine or not, the notes, as they are continued, assume more and more the character of a narrative. The change of style appears rather favourable to its authenticity, as Erasmus, adopting at first an abrupt style to which he was unaccustomed, would naturally fall, as he went on, into one more like his usual manner, whereas a forger might be expected to adhere to the style he had purposely assumed. As to the facts narrated, we may observe, that the return of Erasmus to the Bishop of Cambrai after his illness at the college of

Montaigu (p. 10), is not mentioned by any other authority, but is in itself probable; and that he was welcomed at Bergen is also probable, when it is known (as it appears to have been to the author of the Compendium, but not to the later biographers of Erasmus) that the Bishop was at this time hereditary lord of the little principality of Bergen. See pp. 92, 109.* The assertion that during his subsequent residence at Paris he made a visit every year to the Netherlands is confirmed by the epistles that have been preserved (see pp. 122, 145, 160, 169, 189), but this would scarcely be known to any one who had not spent some pains in arranging his correspondence. Other examples might be pointed out, of statements which come naturally from the assumed author, and of accuracy where an imitator might well have tripped. On the whole I accept the Epistle to Goclen and the Compendium Vitæ as authentic works of Erasmus, for this reason, among others, that it appears extremely difficult to forge both these long documents without some betrayal of such fabrication, of which I find no distinct evidence.

The *Compendium Vitæ* was reprinted in a little volume, entitled *Magni Des. Erasmi Vita*, etc.,† issued from the same press in 1615, 'under the auspices of Peter Scriverius,' and dedicated by the printer to the magistrates of Rotterdam and their syndic, Hugo Grotius. In this volume the Epistle to Goclen is separated from the Compendium, and placed first among the epistles in the later part of the book. The

* M. Durand de Laur has assumed, that Erasmus in this visit to Bergen was the guest of Batt. *Érasme*, i. 24. And Mr. Drummond supposes, that both his former residence with the Bishop and this visit to him took place at Cambrai. Drummond, *Erasmus*, i. 36.

† *Magni Des. Erasmi Roterodami Vita, partim ab ipsomet Erasmo, partim ab amicis æqualibus fideliter descripta Acciedunt Epistolæ Illustres plus quam septuaginta quas ætate provectiore scripsit nec inter vulgatas in magno volumine comparent. P. Scriverii et fautorum auspiciis.* Lugduni Bat. Godf. Basson, 1615.

Epistles are not the same collection as that of Merula, all those in his second book with five out of his first being omitted, and thirty-five epistles of Erasmus to Bilibald Pirkheimer, two of which were already in the *Epistolarum Opus* (Ep. xix. 50, xxiv. 10), being inserted instead. The publisher explains in his Preface, that, according to the opinion of his learned advisers, it was enough that the earlier letters should have been once printed, not being such as their author would have acknowledged, although there were some of the same character in the *Epistolarum Opus* (see p. xxiii.); and that those which he was publishing in their stead were more correct and elegant. The volume published under the auspices of Scriverius was three times reprinted at Leyden, in 1617, 1642 and 1649. The edition of 1642 was dedicated to John Neale, an English gentleman, who appears from the dedication to have himself compiled a Life of Erasmus collected from his works, before he had become acquainted with the Compendium. Some of the copies have a portrait of Neale engraved by William Marshall.

The London volume of the Epistles of Erasmus, with which are included separate collections of the Epistles of Melancthon, More, and Vives, bears date in the year 1642,* and contains the best engraved portrait of Erasmus, by William Marshall after one of the Holbein pictures. After some twenty pages of biographical matter, derived from previous publications, this work contains thirty-one Books

* *Epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami libri xxxi, et Melancthonis libri iv. Quibus adiiciuntur Th. Mori et Ludovici Vivis Epistolæ. Vna cum Indicibus locupletissimis.* Londini. Excudebunt M. Flesher et R. Young. M.DC.XLII. Prostant apud Cornelium Bee in vico vulgo vocato *Little Britaine*. The book was entered in the register of the Stationers' Company of London, March 16, 1639 (1640), as *Opus Epistolarum Desideri Erasmi Roterodami*, in the names of Master Flesher and Master Young. Arber, *Register of Stationers Co.* iv. 475. Miles Flesher had printed in 1631 an edition of Erasmus's Colloquies, which appears to have been edited by John Clarke of Lincoln.

of Epistles, of which the first twenty-eight correspond with the twenty-eight Books of the *Epistolarum Opus* of 1558, with the addition, at the end of the twenty-eighth Book, of a Preface to the *Copia*, addressed to Colet. Of the three additional books, the twenty-ninth contains fifty-three Prefaces and Dedications not included in the twenty-eighth Book, or in the earlier Books; the thirtieth Book, after two controversial epistles, the first addressed to Hubert Barland, —I know not where first published, C. 1194(1055),—the other addressed to Botzem, formerly the last epistle in the *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529 (see p. xxxv), and an Epistle to the Nuns of a Convent near Cambridge (see p. 115 n.), which had been separately published by Froben in 1527, contains all the epistles published in the first Book of Merula and in the later Leyden collections, which are not already in the preceding Books. Ep. xxx. 4-80. The thirty-first Book contains, first, Merula's second book of early epistles (Ep. xxxi. 1-41), and afterwards (Ep. xxxi. 42-59) several epistles of a more or less public or controversial character,—all, I presume, previously published among the works of Erasmus,* — beginning with the Epistle to Dorpius in defence of the *Moria* (Epistle 317, see p. xxviii.) and ending with two epistles, or rather pamphlets, one addressed *Omnibus veritatem amantibus*, and the other *Fratribus Germaniæ inferioris et Phrysiæ orientalis*, which alone fill together sixty-eight columns. Ep. xxxi. 58, 59. It is a convenient improvement in this last edition of the Epistles arranged in Books, that the Epistles, as well as the Books, are numbered.

This edition of the Epistles of Erasmus, Melanchthon, More and Vives, contains no distinct mention of the name of its editor, who contributed nothing in the way of comment

* I have been unable to find Ep. xxxi. 58 in Le Clerc's *Opera Erasmi*. The last Epistle, addressed *Fratribus* etc. is in C. x. 1589.

to his useful work beyond a short preface of a page and a half prefixed to the Epistles of Erasmus, and a still shorter *Præfatiuncula* to the other collections. Both prefaces are without any signature, and contain nothing to reveal the personality of the writer, unless the use of the expression, nostra Britannia, in the first preface, may imply that he was an Englishman, or wished to be so considered. But another name, which is found, not on all, but on some copies of the title-page, throws an important light on the history of the book. Most of the copies which I have seen in this country have on the title-page, after the printers' names and the date, the name of a bookseller, Cornelius Bee, which itself appears to point to a Dutch origin; but in other copies, of which there is one in the Library of the University of Ghent, and another in my possession, the words, Prostant apud Cornelius Bee etc. (see note in page lii.) are replaced by the words: Sumptibus Adriani Vlacq. We appear to have here the name of the publisher who was responsible for the work, and who may very probably have been also its editor. Adrian Vlacq was a learned bookseller of Gouda, who published there in 1631 and 1633 some tables of logarithms, in which the Latin language appears to be used, and who is said to have come in 1633 to reside in England, —which country he left 'for political reasons' in 1642,—to have lived for the next six years in Paris, and to have died after 1655, probably at the Hague. *Algemeine Deutsche Biographie.* The two different title-pages of the volume of Erasmus may be either successive forms, the second adopted upon Vlacq's departure from England, or both original, the one being used for the copies intended for sale in London, and the other for those destined for export to the publisher's native country. I observe that my copy belonged in its earlier days to a Professor of Dordrecht.

The last important collection of the Epistles of Erasmus is that contained in the third volume of the *Opera Erasmi*

edited in 1703 by John Le Clerc.* To make this edition more complete, contributions were invited from the various public and private collections in which such epistles were preserved, with the result that, whereas the epistles in the London collection number 1463, those contained in the Leyden edition amount to 1816. But of the additional letters, a large proportion are not written by, but addressed to, Erasmus. This collection of the correspondence of Erasmus also differs from all the previous editions in its form, owing to the laudable ambition of its editor to introduce a chronological arrangement; which with the materials and leisure at his disposal could not but be very incomplete. The mass of letters is divided into three parts. The first part occupies 1521 folio columns and includes 1299 epistles, twenty-seven of which do not appear to be included in any earlier collection of the epistles of Erasmus.† In this part the earlier epistles are absent for want of date, and those of his middle life are in no very trustworthy order, owing to the uncertainty of the year-dates of this period, which are for the most part later additions to the letters. See p. xxxv But the epistles of the maturer years of Erasmus's life, say from 1517 to 1536, being generally provided with dates, supplied the materials for a chronological arrangement, which a careful revision might have made fairly accurate. The second part, which begins with a fresh numeration, includes 385 epistles, filling 254 columns, and is entitled, an Appendix of Epistles which could not be arranged in their proper place. The contents are dated epistles, some of which, being included in the

* *Erasmi Opera Omnia, Tomus tertius qui complectitur Epistolas.* Lugduni Batavorum, 1703. Folio.

† Of two of these, C. Nos. 334 and 705, there are copies in the Deventer MS. but I think that the copies here given are from another source. The twenty-seven epistles appear to be principally, perhaps wholly, derived from collections of Epistles already published, as the Epistles of Thomas More, of Peter Bembo, of Jacobus Sadoletus, of Luther and Melanchthon.

earlier collections, appear to have been omitted by oversight from the first part, but by far the greater number are epistles printed here for the first time and for the most part derived from the Deventer Manuscript, see p. xxvi. A Third Part follows, in which the foregoing numeration is continued, containing 131 undated epistles, arranged in alphabetical order by the names of the correspondents to or by whom the letters are written. It is in this part, that the letters of our early chapters, being undated, are to be found.

It is not worth while to point out the shortcomings of this, the last edition of the correspondence of Erasmus, with which the editor, Le Clerc, who probably did little for it himself, appears by his Preface to have been very well satisfied. Among other things he claims credit on behalf of his sub-editor, for having altered the original dating of the epistles by substituting the modern reckoning of the days of the month for the notation by Ides or Calends, or by reference to Church festivals, used by Erasmus.* He also calls attention to the full and accurate Index. This part of the work is indeed worth looking at, as one of the most remarkable indexes which have been ever prepared by the most ingenious of sub-editors. It occupies 372 folio columns, of which sixty-five are under the special head of *Erasmus*, followed in column after column by a series of questions, beginning with the words, *quid*, *cur*, *quem*, *quos*, etc., as *Erasmus, quid rogat Joannem Canonicum Bruxellanum?* 49 B. *quid sibi dolet?* ibid. E. *quid cupit?* 50 E. *quid non patietur?* ibid. *quodnam hominum genus describit?* 53 B.

We cannot part with the posthumous editions of Erasmus's Epistles, published by Merula, Scriverius and Le Clerc,

* The original words, which often, especially in the case of festivals, supply the materials for correction, should of course have been retained, and the additional dates found in any later authorized publication, appended. The date translated into modern reckoning, or suggested by the editor, might have been added at the end, or perhaps better at the beginning.

without some lingering glance at the quantity of fresh and autograph materials which were used in these several publications. What has become, we naturally ask, of these various manuscripts? I have not heard of any considerable collections of the kind existing in any of the public libraries of Holland, with the important exception of Deventer; and I am sorry to say that I have no information respecting private manuscript collections in that country How gladly should we find the *Compendium Vitæ*, with its accompanying Epistle to Goclen, in the manuscripts which were borrowed by Merula from the collection of Werckman. See pp. xlvii, xcii. But we may presume, that Professor Kan, who has specially occupied himself with the question of the authenticity of these very documents (see p. 2), would have discovered the originals, if they were still existing in Holland. It is to him that we owe a careful account of the Deventer Manuscript, from which, as we have seen, the greater number of the additional Epistles of Le Clerc's edition were derived.

To turn to the little that remains to be added concerning the publication and arrangement of the Erasmian correspondence, Dr. John Jortin's learned volumes on the Life of Erasmus founded upon his Epistles* can scarcely be regarded as a work bearing on their chronology, inasmuch as the author accepts without any criticism the arrangement of the epistles as published by Le Clerc. But his second volume contains a useful Appendix of extracts from Erasmus's works and other illustrative documents, including some epistles not so readily found elsewhere. See the list of documents in Jortin, *Erasmus*, vol. ii. 276.

Since the date of the Leyden edition of the works of Erasmus no general collection of his epistles has been published; but isolated letters, found either in manuscript collections, or in some of the early printed books overlooked by the editors of the Epistles of Erasmus, may be

* *Life of Erasmus.* 2 vols. London, Whiston and White, 1758, 1762.

found in some later volumes. Few of these letters belong to his first fifty years, but two epistles printed in the *Illustrium Virorum Epistolæ ad Joannem Reuchlin* in 1519, and reprinted in the recent collection of Reuchlin's Epistles (edited by Ludwig Geiger, Tübingen, 1875), may be mentioned here. The first (the date of which has required correction) is Epistle 315 in our Register, the other is Epistle 459. We are indebted to M. Pierre de Nolhac (*Érasme en Italie*) for the publication of some of the few remaining letters written by Erasmus in Italy. The autographs of these are preserved in the Vatican Library. Epistles 204, 206, 208, 209.

Before dismissing this part of my Introduction, I may mention two learned publications recently issued from the German press, which came to my knowledge after I had nearly completed my own arrangement of Erasmus's correspondence, and which might seem in some respects to have anticipated my labours in that direction. The first of these is entitled *Erasmus-studien*, by Arthur Richter, Dresden, 1891 ; the other, *Erasmus von Rotterdam, Untersuchungen zu seinem Briefwechsel und Leben in den Jahren* 1509-1518, by Dr. Max Reich, Trèves, 1896. These two dissertations deal with Erasmus's correspondence during two successive periods. The former relates to the time before his return from Italy in June, 1509, the period comprised in the present volume of translations ; and the latter work continues the same subject from the date last mentioned to the end of April, 1518, a little beyond the time chosen for the close of my own Register of Epistles and the further translations which I had proposed to publish.

Mr. Richter's essay is concerned with Epistles for the most part either not dated or not provided with trustworthy dates, and very difficult to arrange. Since I have had it in my possession, I have compared his work with my own, and though I have seldom, if ever, preferred his arrangement, I have found ample occasion to appreciate his care and dili-

gence in the illustration of his subject. The evidence relating to the birth-year of Erasmus has been carefully collected by this writer, to whose observations I have referred in my note on this subject at the end of this volume. See Appendix V. The work of Dr. Reich deals with a period in which the arrangement and chronology of the Epistles are for the most part no longer matters of conjecture, but of evidence and legitimate inference. I have with great advantage compared his Register with my own. If I am able to finish the second volume which I hope to prepare for the Press, I shall be able to state more fully the reasons which have led me in some cases to a different arrangement from that which he has adopted and explained with much ability and learning. I am bound to acknowledge my obligation to both these authors for references to works, of which I might otherwise have been ignorant.

A few pages have been already devoted to an imperfect discussion of the authenticity of some epistles, which have been received as compositions of Erasmus. See pp. xli.—li. It may be worth while to remember here, that with regard to works published as epistles there may be a question of genuineness as distinct from authenticity. A true epistle is a communication addressed by the author to his correspondent, and intended primarily, if not exclusively, for his reading. It is an interesting problem,—which may be better considered by some future editor with the whole series of Erasmian Epistles before him,—what epistles of those published under the authority of Erasmus himself are genuine letters, printed wholly or substantially in their original state, what may be assumed to have been subjected to considerable revision, commutatis quæ erant commutanda, as he says in his epistle to Mountjoy (see p. xxx), and what finally may be placed in the class of writings, in the form of epistles, composed originally for publication. Of the revision which some of the genuine epistles may have undergone

before they were published, we cannot expect to have much information. But the fact that Erasmus was obliged by circumstances, especially by his own absence from Basel, where the principal collections were printed, to leave the editing of them in a great measure in the hands of Beatus Rhenanus, was probably favourable to their publication without any considerable change or omission. Of a free revision, almost assuming the character of a fresh composition, by the author himself, we have an innocent and entertaining example in Epistle 122, of the genesis of which a conjectural account is given in the comment which precedes the translation.

Not to speak of several controversial pamphlets in epistolary form, which are printed among the Epistles of Erasmus, and of which the character is sufficiently apparent, a notable example of what may be called an epistolary fiction from his hand may be found in the well-known letter to Lambertus Grunnius with the answer of Grunnius to Erasmus. Of the character and history of this work, which is included in our Register (Epistles 443, 444), a few lines may be added to justify the position in which it is found there. The Epistle to Grunnius is as undoubtedly authentic as anything that we have of our author, but the correspondence must, I think, be regarded as pure fiction. The name of Grunnius, which is elsewhere given by Erasmus to an imaginary correspondent,* appears to have been suggested to him by his favourite author, St. Jerome, who mentions a comic piece, entitled *Grunnii Corocottæ Porcelli testamentum*,† to which Erasmus

* See the Epistle inscribed *Erasmus Rot. Grunnio S.* (which may be rendered, 'to Mr. Grunt,' apparently a Lutheran critic), which is printed in the ninth volume of the Basel *Opera Erasmi;* Ep. xxxi. 51; C. x. 1590. The word *Lamberto*, introduced into the address of this epistle in the London volume, is a mere mistake of that edition.

† *Hieronymi Commentaria in Esaiam*, lib. xii. ad init. This old jeu d'esprit has been disinterred and printed at the end of an edition of *Adagia*, sumptibus Ioan. Prescii, 1643, p. 775. Jerome gives the nickname of Grunnius to his opponent, Ruffinus. *Comm. in Ieremiam*, lib. iv. cap. 22.

cursorily refers in the Dedication of the Moria. Epistle 212. The object of the Epistle to Grunnius was evidently to serve as an apology for the bold step, which Erasmus had taken in rejecting his monastic profession and adopting a secular life. We have no certain evidence of the existence of this epistle before it was published in the *Opus Epistolarum* of 1529; but there is a passage,—in a letter which he received from Ammonius in August, 1516, when the latter was negotiating on his behalf with the Roman authorities,—which, if the epistle to Grunnius was composed at that time, may very probably refer to it. The object of these proceedings was to obtain a Dispensation on behalf of Erasmus, which would, in the first place, set his mind at rest with respect to his monastic obligation, and in the second place, serve as a defence to any objection which might be taken, on account of the circumstances of his birth, to the validity of his Orders, and consequently to his title to any benefice, which had been, or might be, conferred upon him. In the midst of this business Erasmus made a journey to England to confer with Ammonius, and while there, wrote a letter to Pope Leo X., which was probably placed in his friend's hands to be forwarded to Rome. Epistle 434. In his way back from London to Calais, Erasmus was detained for some days at Rochester by Bishop Fisher; and if the Epistle to Grunnius belongs, as appears likely, to this period of Erasmus's life, it was probably at Rochester that it was begun, if not entirely written. A letter of Ammonius to Erasmus, sent from Westminster during this visit, contains the following enigmatic words: "As for that fiction, I am still in favour of it;* but, for the caution that must be used about it, how I wish I was by you at both ears, as they say. I can assure you, no less care shall be taken by me about the matter than if my own head were at stake." Epistle 439.

* *Commentum illud constanter probo.*

The Epistle to Grunnius, if composed at this time, was probably written in the hope that, through the Bishop of Worcester or one of the author's other friends in the Papal Court, it might be privately submitted to the appreciative eye of Pope Leo, and assist in stimulating the interest felt by him in the cause of its author. The subject of the epistle was the sad history of Florentius, a tale founded upon the facts of Erasmus's own early life; and no better plan could have been devised for pleading the cause of the narrator. The suggested reply of the Papal Secretary, which was probably sent to Rome with the epistle, was of course conceived in the most indulgent terms. In the above explanation of these epistles, it has been assumed that *Lambertus Grunnius, scriba Apostolicus*, is an imaginary person. The name of Grunnius in some measure tells its own story. No such name occurs in Buonamici, *De claris pontificiarum epistolarum scriptoribus*. And some years ago I asked the late John Baptist de Rossi, then the greatest authority upon the ecclesiastical antiquities of Rome, whether any person of this name was known to have been employed in the capacity suggested. In a letter in reply he said that he knew of none, and added that the name was also unknown to Monsignor Carini, Prefect of the Vatican Library, who had long been interested in the history of the Pontifical Secretaries.

Professor Vischer of Basel, to whose care and learning we owe the publication of the Basel documents relating to Erasmus's Dispensation, is disposed to assign a later date to the Grunnius epistles.* I cannot find in their contents any evidence of a later composition, but we have no distinct proof of their existence before their publication in 1529. Assuming them to have had the origin I have suggested, we can understand that Erasmus, whose great desire at this time was to get his Dispensation quickly through, without the

* Vischer, *Erasmiana*, Basel, 1876, p. 20.

notice of his enemies being attracted to the scandals that it was intended to cover, might well, after the fulfilment of his object, put his own copy of this epistle at the bottom of one of his repositaries; from which, after his effects had been removed from Brabant to Basel, and from Basel to Freiburg, he appears to have taken it out with other documents of a more genuine epistolary character, and sent it for publication to Jerome Froben in 1529. See p. lxxxiii. Its publication now was not likely to do him any harm. The reader who knew enough to recognize Erasmus under the name of Florentius, would learn nothing from it, which would not serve rather to palliate than to darken the known circumstances of his early history. The obligation of Erasmus to the Roman pontiff for relieving his mind from an overwhelming anxiety may well have made him, a few years later, less willing to join with Luther in a sweeping condemnation of Papal pretensions.

We have now to add some observations upon the arrangement of the epistles of Erasmus and his correspondents in the present work, of which one of the principal objects is the determination of the chronological order, and of the true or approximate date of these epistles for the period to which it extends. As they are published in the various collections, some of the epistles are fully, some partially dated, others not dated at all.* Those belonging to the first thirty years of Erasmus's life are generally without date; and with respect to these the utmost that can be done is to conjecture from their contents, and from a comparison of one letter with another, their approximate period, probable order, and the place where they appear to have been written. This observation applies especially to the epistles contained in the first three sections of our Register (Epistles 1-41),

* In the latter part of this book the printed date, if any, of every epistle translated or recorded in it is mentioned either in text, comment, or note.

which correspond with the first three Chapters of our Translations, among which the only date found is in Epistle 21, which is dated, Ex Stein, Idus Maias.*

The primary object of dating a letter is to inform its receiver when and where it was written, and if these facts are otherwise perfectly known to him, it may well seem that no date is necessary This was the case with respect to the early epistles of Erasmus, written when he was living in his Convent, and generally addressed to other monks resident in the same or some other house of his Order, and delivered by some person attached to one of the houses. The further advantage of dating letters for the after information of the writer or receiver, or of other readers in case of later perusal or publication, had not yet occurred to Erasmus, who if he preserved his letters, valued them as literary compositions, and not as contributions to his own biography. This was afterwards shown by his preference of the miscellaneous disorder in which they were published during his life, to anything like a chronological arrangement. See pp. lxxxii, lxxxiv Nevertheless, in spite of the absence of dates in the early correspondence of Erasmus, the chronology of this part of his life will not be found to be so uncertain as his biographies would lead us to suppose. Among his intellectual gifts he had a memory of extraordinary power and exactitude, which gives a special value to the autobiographical reminiscences contained in his later works.

The general habit of not dating his epistles continued for some time after Erasmus had left the Convent, but change of residence naturally led to his occasionally supplying a date of place or of time in letters to distant correspondents.

* The form *Idus* for *Idibus* or *ad Idus* is found elsewhere, as in Epistles 21 and 170. As this date is an exception, we may conjecture that the writer had either some special reason for giving the information to his correspondent, or that the date was added to show the Roman manner of dating. But if it was given as an example, it is strange that the form is not altogether exemplary.

In Epistle 37 William Herman, who does not appear to have dated his own letters, begged Erasmus to add the day on which he despatched his. Epistle 49, dated from Paris, 13 September, is the earliest example, after Epistle 21, of a letter of Erasmus with a date both of place and time. But the year-date (probably 1496) is not given. The following epistle, being a Dedication, has a date including the year, which was commonly added, possibly by the Printer, in epistles intended for the Press. There is reason to think that the year-dates printed at the end of the earlier private letters are generally a later addition, made either on their first printing or in *Opus Epistolarum* (see p. lxxxiv.), and in many cases the place-dates also, since it would never occur to Erasmus, writing at Paris to friends in the same city, to put in such a useless address as Lutetiæ or Parisiis alone (Epistles 46, 47, 48, 56, 58), which might be usefully added by the editor, when the letters were published among those of various places and times in the mixed collections which Erasmus preferred. In the early years of the sixteenth century the dated epistles, rare at first, become gradually more frequent. During Erasmus's journey and residence in Italy, the letters that we have are few, but dated more often than not, and after his return to England in 1510, the practice of dating may be said to be fairly established, though undated letters are not uncommon.

When Erasmus first began to date his letters, he inserted for the most part, a date of place and day, or of the day only, without any indication of the year. This is in accordance with the practice still everywhere usual with respect to unimportant letters, no information on the latter point being required by the recipient of the letter. We may further suspect, that in Holland and Brabant, as in England, the practice of adding the current year of the Christian era, so convenient in case of the letter being for any reason preserved, had not yet come into use in the dating of private

letters ; the reader of the Paston Letters will have observed, that in English correspondence a year-date is rare, and if considered necessary, is expressed in the year of the king's reign,—the era still used in the date of our Acts of Parliament ; the only letter which I have observed in that collection dated by the Christian era being one of an ecclesiastic, who had spent many years of his life at Rome.*

It is not easy to trace with certainty what was Erasmus's own early practice in dating his letters with reference to the addition of a year-date, because in many cases where a year-date is found in the printed Epistles it is clearly a subsequent insertion of his editor, being often found in a later edition, but not in that in which the letter first appears. I think that at least up to the time of his first visit to Basel (1514-5) it may be safely said, that when he took the pains to date a letter, it was not his practice to add a year-date, except in the case of compositions obviously intended for publication, such as dedications, and solemn epistles occasionally addressed to important personages. See Epistles 50, 135, 137, 158, 160, 170. When during his visits to Basel his correspondence with the learned of Upper Germany becomes important, we find him among persons more directly influenced by the Roman or Italian usage, whose habit it was

* Paston Letters (Ed. 1875), iii. 363. The absence of dates, which we observe in Erasmus's early correspondence, is still more remarkable in the historical work of his companion, William Herman, where the chronology is of more vital importance. His little book, which was printed at Amsterdam in black letter, without date of publication, narrates the events of one campaign of Charles, duke of Guelderland, in which he attempted an invasion of Holland. The story being without dates, has been conjectured to relate to the occurrences of 1507. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, i. 407 ; Matthæus, *Analecta*, ed. 1738, i. 321. But supposing that the allusion of Erasmus in his *Panegyricus* to Herman as the historian of Holland (see pp. 87, 362) refers, as is probable, to this work, the incidents described belong to an earlier period. The emperor Max, who appears in Herman's narrative, was there in person on two different occasions.

to add a year-date,—anno Domini,—to their letters. The convenience of this usage, especially when the epistle was intended to be copied and preserved, could not fail to affect Erasmus himself, who appears after this time to have more generally adopted the same practice. The recognition of the fact, that year-dates appended to familiar epistles written by Erasmus before,—we may say,—the beginning of the year 1517, are for the most part not original dates, but later additions, is a very important condition of the true arrangement of these epistles. The year-dates so added may perhaps in some cases have been suggested by Erasmus, but may be assumed to have been generally contributed by his editor, who regarding the epistles as literary compositions, and not as biographical materials, was contented with an approximate indication of the period to which a letter belonged. Thus in the *Farrago*, and more freely in the *Opus Epistolarum*, the dates 1497, 1498, 1499 are thrown in at the end of letters belonging to the time of Erasmus's early residence in Paris ; and any of the years from 1510 to 1515 may mark a letter belonging to any one of those years. A good example of the wide margin allowed in affixing year-dates is found in Epistles 260, 261 (Ep. xiii. 3, vii. 19), the latter being an answer to the former, evidently written within a very few days. The former in *Epistolæ ad diversos* is dated, Cambridge, 1515 ; the latter, in *Farrago*, is dated, London, the 5th of February, the year-date, 1512, being added in *Opus Epistolarum*. These letters appear to have been written in January and February, 1513 ; so that allowing for the late commencement of the year then in use in England, the latter date may claim to be right.

When after his visits to Basel, Erasmus had adopted the habit of adding the annus Domini in the original dates of his letters, and had many correspondents whose epistles were so dated, a question sometimes arises respecting the interpretation of such dates in letters written between Christmas

and Easter. The meaning of a year-date, anno Domini, depends not only upon the epoch from which it is reckoned, but also to some extent upon the day on which each year begins. As to the epoch, there was no such variance in Christian countries as need claim our attention here. But the day on which the annus Domini began was not everywhere the same. The ancient Roman calendar, upon which the mediæval and modern calendars were founded, began the year on the 1st of January. But as the new era was reckoned from the birth of Christ, it might be expected that each year should begin on the Feast of the Nativity, which is celebrated seven days before the first day of the Roman year; and in early times,—say, in or before the tenth century,—the annus Domini appears to have been reckoned from this festival very generally throughout Christendom. At the time with which we are concerned, this commencement of the year still continued in use in a great part of Italy, including Rome. But at Florence the year began on the 25th of March, the Feast of the Annunciation, which was regarded as the anniversary of the Incarnation of Christ; and this computation, which was known as the era of Florence, is said to have prevailed there from the tenth century, and it remained in use until 1749; it was adopted at a somewhat later time in England, where it was used in the time of Erasmus, and continued until 1753. But when the year began on the Festival of the Annunciation, it might seem that the annus Domini should be reckoned from the 25th of March in the year preceding the ordinary epoch, and this mode of dating is said to have been in use at Pisa, but not apparently elsewhere. In Germany, where the year began at Christmas, the emperor Maximilian is said to have introduced into the Imperial Chancery early in the sixteenth century the commencement from the 1st of January; but the popular usage retained its relation to Christmas. In France also the ancient practice was to reckon the new year from

Christmas day, but in the time of Erasmus, both the official and customary commencement of the annus Domini at Paris appears to have been on Easter eve; while in Brabant, where Erasmus so frequently resided, it is said to have been on Good Friday.* And we are told in a letter of Erasmus to the chancellor of Poland, that in that country the year began at Easter. Epistle xix. 11; C. 979 A. It is of some interest however to add, that even where the annus Domini was reckoned from an earlier or a later date, the first of January was still regarded in some sense as New Year's day See Epistle 186. In his treatise *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, published in 1522, Erasmus lays down some rules for concluding and dating a letter, which are here given with considerable abridgment. The Epistle concludes, he says, with the word, *Vale*, which is followed in ancient authors by Place and Time. Of this he gives a variety of ancient examples. The public time, he continues, is added thus: "In the 1500th year from the birth of Christ," or by a similar phrase. Some, he adds, commence the year at Christmas, some from the First of January, some from Easter, some from the Feast of the Annunciation,—a variance, which gives rise to mistakes and ought to be abolished. The day is indicated either in Roman fashion by Ides and Calends, or by its number in the month, or by some Christian festival. C. i. 375, 376.

The above statement shows, that in the places where the epistles of Erasmus and his correspondents were for the most part written, the commencement of the year varied by

* See, for the whole of this paragraph, *L'Art de vérifier le dates*, Paris, 1783, tom. I. pp. ix.-xii. The proceedings at Ghent before the States General in 1537-1540, indicate an Easter commencement of the year, not without an eye to another practice, the number of the preceding year being continued, but the words *avant Pasques* and *stil de cour* being added to dates between Christmas and that feast. Gachard, *Relation des Troubles de Gand sous Charles V.* Bruxelles, 1846.

several steps from Christmas to Easter, and is of importance in interpreting the dates of some of the letters in the latter part of our Register, and of many more in the succeeding years of his correspondence. It may generally be presumed that a person writing a letter adopts the era of the place where he is residing; but even this is not always certain. In one of his epistles written from Freiburg, where the year was reckoned from Christmas, Erasmus in a letter dated the 31st of March, 1531 (Easter day being the 9th of April), reminds his correspondent, Andrea Alciati, then residing at Bourges, that his year-date is expressed according to the German reckoning. Ep. xxvi. 6; C. 1393 C. But in another letter, dated the 7th of February, 1531, he warns a French correspondent, Pierre Chastelain, that he is himself adopting the era of Paris, by adding, after the year-date, the words, iuxta vestram supputationem. Ep. xxvi. 24; C. 1353 B. If therefore this reading is right, this epistle belongs to 1532, instead of 1531, where it is placed by Le Clerc. But a letter to Mountjoy, printed by Merula, dated from Freiburg, 5 Cal. Aprilis (28 March), 1529, and placed by Le Clerc in that year, clearly belongs by its contents to March, 1530, and is therefore dated according to the French, and not the German, computation. C. 1176 (1034). Possibly the writer may have thought, that his correspondent was not familiar with the German usage, and therefore adopted the Easter reckoning. If so, he forgot for the moment, that the English changed their year-date on the 25th of March, and that consequently the 28th of March was in the same *anno domini* both in England and Germany. In the preceding year, 1529, the 28th of March was Easter day. These observations may serve to show the necessity of keeping in mind the various commencements of the year in interpreting the dates of correspondence of this period. The second part of our work contains full information concerning the first published dates of the epistles occurring in it, and those

added in the later authorized editions. This, with the translations and commentary, will in most cases enable the reader to form his own judgment upon the question whether the epistle before him is rightly dated, or has been placed in its most probable position in relation to the other letters.

The want of an express date in a letter may be more or less supplied by the mention of some event of which the time is otherwise ascertained. Such side-lights are necessary, when we have to determine not only the order of undated letters, but the period to which they belong; and the absence of any such lights makes it impossible to assign even approximate dates to the letters written during Erasmus's conventual life. Illustrations of this kind become more frequent as we proceed, and are seldom wanting at a later date, when he was living among statesmen and diplomatists, and persons whose movements can be traced. An accident which led the present writer some years ago to follow minutely the biography of Lord Mountjoy, has assisted in supplying dates to that otherwise obscure period of Erasmus's early life, when he was closely associated with his English pupil; and I was able to mention in a note printed in 1891, as a matter affecting the biography of Erasmus, that Mountjoy was twice at Paris under his teaching, first in 1496-7 before his marriage, and afterwards from about March, 1498, to about June, 1499; that Erasmus returned with him in 1499 to England, where he remained till January, 1500; and that he was at Oxford only during the October term of 1499; this first visit of Erasmus to England and his residence at Oxford, having been exaggerated in duration by his biographers.*

No complete biography of Erasmus, and no adequate estimate of his character, can be expected, until we have the whole series of his epistles in fairly chronological order before us But it is of interest to observe, that he himself appears rather to have shrunk from the searching light

* *The Hall of Lawford Hall.* Preface, p. vii.

which the indiscriminate publication of his correspondence might cast upon some transactions of his life, if the epistles were arranged in the order in which they were written, and to have preferred a mode of publication which afforded his admirers some agreeable reading without tempting them to scrutinize too curiously the motives of the author. See pp. lxxxii, lxxxiv. The arrangement here attempted sets before us upon the best authority the principal events of the earlier part of his life, and enables us to trace with accuracy his changes of locality. And it is of interest to observe, how many of the places which were familiar to him can still be identified, some of them remaining little changed since his eyes rested upon them. In Gouda I do not think there is any locality associated with its greatest townsman, and the site of the Monastery of Stein is scarcely to be found; but when we move to Bergen, we see, in the Markiezenhof still standing, the palace of its old lords, where Erasmus was probably received into his household by the Bishop of Cambrai. At Paris we sit in the Library of St. Geneviève on the site of Erasmus's College of Montaigu. Even at Tournehem we may spy some small fragment of the Castle, where he paid his court to the Lady of Veer; and at St. Omer the Abbey of St. Bertin, so often visited by him, is now an imposing ruin. In Italy, after the University of Turin, where an inscription records his degree, the first spot with which we can distinctly associate him is the house of Asulanus and Aldus at Venice near the Rialto Bridge, where he spent the greater part of one year, and got through the work of many. At Siena, though we still find ourselves in the same medieval city, we cannot distinguish the palace where he lived with his pupil, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's; but at Rome we follow him to the Vatican and to the Cancelleria,—then the palace of the Cardinal Riario,—and, with more distinct detail, to the Palace of Venice, the residence of Cardinal Grimani. See p. 461. At Freiburg

the two houses in which he lived, the one a mansion built by the emperor Maximilian, the other a smaller house in which Erasmus made some alterations himself, are still standing; and at Basel we may visit the localities, "Zum Sessel" and "Zum Luft," where he lived at different times with the two Frobens, father and son, and at the latter of which he died. At Lambeth we may well imagine ourselves in the manor house of Warham, though a great part of the building is not the same. The Bucklersbury of to-day does not retain many features of the street in which Thomas More received Erasmus as a guest; and the buildings which surround the former chapel of St. Stephen at Westminster but faintly recall the houses of the Canons of St. Stephen, in one of which, accessible from the river on one side and from Palace Yard on the other, Erasmus was entertained by Ammonius. At Oxford we come more closely upon his traces in the remains of St. Mary's College, where he lived during his short residence at that University, and at Cambridge his rooms at Queen's College are occupied by a student of the twentieth century. It would be difficult to find any other private person of his time, whose footsteps can be followed in so many places.

It only remains to add, as proposed at the beginning of this Introduction, some translations of the Prefaces by which the published Epistles were ushered into the world.

The first of the following compositions served as a Preface to the collection of Epistles entitled *Epistolæ aliquot* etc., which was issued from the press of Thierry Martens at Louvain in October, 1516, under the editorship of Peter Gillis, see p. xxviii. This Preface (Epistle 457 in our Register) is addressed to Gaspar Halmal, Doctor of Laws and one of the magistrates of the City of Antwerp. It is not reprinted in any of the collections of Epistles.

Peter Gillis to Gaspar Halmal.

I cannot say, most illustrious and learned Gaspar, how much I have been distressed by the news of your being laid up with fever As I think no less of your health than of my own, I pray Heaven to quell the disease without injury to the patient, who has been a loving friend to me from my boyhood. When I was considering by what sort of antidote I could relieve your sickness, it occurred to me to make a selection out of the great heap of Epistles, which Erasmus Roterodamus, that most learned and eloquent of theologians, has written to illustrious and distinguished men, and they to him; but only of a few, which I guessed would be most to your taste, although I know that nothing is not to your taste, that proceeds from Erasmus.

His rare accomplishments are so well known to the whole world, so celebrated by the testimony of eminent men, so approved by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, that he himself may well dispense with any supports of this kind. Nevertheless to provide you with the means of enjoyment I have put together this collection of letters. Such is your affection for the man, and such your delight when anything Erasmian is offered to you, that I hope and trust they will restore you to your old health. Do pray let us see you soon as hale and as hearty as ever. Farewell.

Antwerp, 26 September, 1516.

The larger selection of Epistles printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain in April, 1517, and reprinted by Froben at Basel in January, 1518, with the title *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* etc. has another short prefatory Epistle of Peter Gillis, which is addressed to Antonius Clava, Councillor of Flanders. Epistle 530. Attention has been already called to the allusion made in this letter to the practice of circu-

lating the correspondence of learned persons by means of written copies. This dedication is not printed in any of the later collections of Epistles.

Peter Gillis to Antonius Clava.

The same request which you make, most distinguished Antony, is pressed upon us by many others. Having lately published a few notable and learned letters, we are asked to do the same with some others, still more learned, which have followed them, and in which Erasmus and Budé are engaged in a friendly conflict. It is indeed an occasion for using the printer's assistance in place of the transcriber, as a hundred clerks would scarcely suffice to meet the demands of so many persons. I am prepared to comply, and while I perform this service on behalf of many, I inscribe it to Clava alone. In what I am doing I by no means expect to gratify my Erasmus, who is not so ready to consent to the general circulation of such trifles, as he is wont to call them, fearing they may afford some handle to detraction. But I know that it will be an extremely agreeable spectacle to all cultivated persons, and especially to one so erudite as you, to see two princes of Letters, one from France, the other from our own country, encountering one another in the lists of eloquence, and each so excelling by his own peculiar merits, that you may well doubt which to set above the other, while you admire each in turn as supreme. Farewell, most learned Clava.

Antwerp, 5 March, 1517

The epistle of Beatus Rhenanus to Michael Hummelberg, prefixed to the *Auctarium Epistolarum* (see p. xxx), need not be translated in full. The following extract from its commencement will show, how the writer enters, scarcely with sufficient seriousness, into Erasmus's wish to represent

the publication as made behind his back and without his consent. This epistle is reprinted in Horawitz und Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, p. 119.

Beatus Rhenanus to Michael Hummelberg.†

You must hear, my dear Michael, what an audacious transaction I have lately had in hand. I have committed a theft upon Erasmus, that incomparable champion of the best studies and of almost extinct theology. What new thing is this, you will say,—you are playing some trick upon me. No indeed; I am only relating a fact. A few words will explain the matter.

I have lately by the favour of Mercury obtained from Erasmus's library some Epistolary parcels, out of which I have forthwith chosen a collection of the greatest note, both epistles of his own, and others written by the most distinguished persons of this age in answer to his. I have been encouraged to commit this theft by the thought, that as those fortunate persons who are burdened with wealth of all kinds, are not aware of trifling depredations, so Erasmus, laden as he is with the Muses' treasures, will not blame me, if I have abstracted some portion of them. I believed him to have so sincere a love for me, however little I have deserved it, that he would readily forgive me, even if I committed a more serious offence against him. See what a confidence is bred by sincere friendship. After the departure of Erasmus, I delivered these Epistles to Froben to be printed. * * *

Basel, 22 September, 1518.

The *Farrago Epistolarum* was issued at Basel in October, 1519, without Preface. The following epistle of Erasmus to

† I take the spelling of this name from Horawitz and Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Rhenanus*, Leipzig, 1886, not from Horawitz, *Skizze von Michael Hummelberger*, Berlin, 1875. Erasmus writes Humelbergius.

Beatus Rhenanus, who appears to have been the editor of all the authorized collections of his Epistles published at Basel, was prefixed, by way of preface, to the collection entitled *Epistolæ ad diversos*, printed by Froben in 1521. See p. xxxii. It shows the anxiety of the author to have it believed, that the publication of his letters was contrary to his own wish ; and it also shows, that he had corrected or authorized the correction of them, when it appeared desirable to do so. This epistle became in the later *Opus Epistolarum* the first Epistle of the first Book. Ep. i. 1 ; C. Præf. * 2 dors.

Erasmus to Beatus Rhenanus.

I see, my good Beatus, that what you write is more true than I should wish. But then I wonder why my German friends insist so strongly upon that which brings down upon me such a burden of ill-will. For you know how unhappy was the issue of those epistles, of which you first undertook the editing, and still more unfortunate that *Farrago*, the publication of which was extorted from me partly by the importunity of friends, and partly by absolute necessity, when I saw there were persons prepared to publish the epistles they had of mine, whether I liked it or not, and who plainly threatened to do so in letters they wrote me. It was to prevent this, that I sent you a medley,* giving you authority to select, and even to make corrections, in case there should be anything that seemed likely to injure my own reputation, or seriously to embitter anybody's feelings. Nor do I doubt that you performed the duty of a sincere friend with a care proportioned to the affection you feel for us. And yet even in that collection enough was found to excite in some breasts animosities of quite a tragic sort. I had therefore made up my mind to desist entirely from this

* farraginem.

kind of writing,* especially now that affairs are everywhere in a marvellous state of agitation, and the minds of many so embittered by hatreds, that you cannot write anything so mildly, so simply or so circumspectly but they will turn it into a libel.

Though as a young man and also at a riper age, I have written a great number of letters, I scarcely wrote any with a view to publication. I practised my style, I beguiled my leisure, I made merry with my acquaintance, I indulged my humour, in fine, did scarcely anything in this way but amuse myself, expecting nothing less than that friends would copy out or preserve any such trifling compositions. When I was at Siena, that most courteous Piso, who was then Envoy for his King at the Court of Pope Julius, found a manuscript volume of Epistles of Erasmus for sale at a bookseller's, which he bought and sent me. And although there were many things in it which might perhaps seem not unworthy of being preserved, yet I was so shocked by the unexpected incident, that I devoted the whole volume to Vulcan. After my return to Germany I found that similar books were kept in several copies among a number of people ; and here too whatever I could procure from those I knew, was delivered to the flames. But I found at last by experience, that I had to do with a Hydra. I therefore permitted some to be published, first, in order that people, having their appetite satisfied, might cease from demanding more, or at any rate abstain from any intention of publication, when they saw that I had myself set my hand to the business ; next, that the letters might be issued with some selection, and in a more correct form than as they existed in several copies ; and finally, that they might contain less of the bitter ingredient. With this design I have revised the Farrago, cleared up some points which had been unfairly construed, expunged some passages by which the too tender and irritable minds

* ab hoc genere scripti desistere.

of some people had been offended, and softened others. But again the character of the time made me repent my decision. Formerly there was a burning hatred between the advocates of the learned languages and of Good Letters, and those who foolishly persuade themselves that whatever advance is made in the better literature is injurious to their own interests. And of late the Lutheran tragedy has kindled so fierce a strife, that it is neither safe to speak nor to hold one's tongue. Everything is misconstrued, although it has been written with the best intention. Even the date at which one wrote is not taken into consideration, but what was right at the time it was written is transferred to the most inappropriate season.

Having regard to these considerations, I wrote strictly to our friend Froben, to suppress entirely this part of my work, or keep it for some other time ; or at any rate put it off till my return ; and to hasten on the work of the Paraphrases, which I had not yet found to give offence to any one. But he, inconsiderate as I frequently find him, appears by what I hear to have postponed everything else and hurried on the work of the Epistles, and by this time to have reached the forty-first sheet without my hearing about it ; and nothing now delays the publication, except the Preface and final words. Moreover he declares that he will not keep the work back, even if I am disinclined to add anything, but will rather send it out ἀκέφαλον καὶ μείουρον, without head or tail, than put up with such a loss of expenditure. There is nothing for it but to let the man have his way ; and to secure his profit, I shall perhaps suffer some loss of reputation myself.

But seeing that what I wanted cannot be had, I shall trust, my Beatus, to your loyal care, to keep watch over the work, that its publication may do as little harm to my name as possible. I do not quite recollect what Letters I sent ; and for that reason I gave orders that he should send back

what was printed of the Epistles with the young man by whom I sent the first part of the New Testament. Why he has made a difficulty in doing this, I cannot guess. Therefore in this matter, most learned Beatus, I beseech you by our friendship, to do what I should do myself, if I were allowed. Act in every way as my second self, so that my absence from Basel may not be felt. Do not trouble yourself about any little loss that may be incurred by altering a few pages. I desire that any cost of that kind may be entirely charged to my account, and it is my order that Froben be put to no expense. I reckon it a gain, whenever money is lost to maintain honour. The trifling expense we shall easily make good; but when honour is affected, the remedy is not easy.

But even if my honour were not at stake, I still deem it part of a Christian spirit to endeavour to exert our abilities for the good of all in such a way as not to give offence, even unwittingly, to any. But it comes to pass by some evil destiny of mine, that I am driven by fortune from the pursuits for which I seemed naturally adapted into a widely different field, whether you regard my manner of life or the character of my studies. For, not to go into every particular, whereas I seemed to be born for that free and fluent kind of oratory which is used in speeches, debates and declamations, I have consumed a great part of my study in collections of proverbs, and in commentaries and annotations. As a writer of epistles I may perhaps have seemed to have some slight capacity; but there were many things which deterred me from this kind of composition. In the first place, if epistles are wanting in feeling and do not represent a man's real life, they do not deserve to be so called. Such are those of Seneca to Lucilius. So of the epistles written by Plato,* and of those which Cyprian, Basil, Jerome and

* The epistles ascribed to Plato are not now admitted to be his.

Augustine composed, apparently in imitation of the Apostles, there are few which you would not more properly call books. Those again which have been left us in the name of Brutus, in that of Phalaris, and in the names of Seneca and Paulus, can scarcely be regarded otherwise than as short declamations. But letters of that genuine kind, which represent, as in a picture, the character, fortune and feelings of the writer, and at the same time the public and private condition of the time, such as are most of the epistles of Cicero and Pliny, and among more modern writers those of Æneas Pius, involve considerably more danger than recent history, a work, as Flaccus says, full of perilous hazard.* Therefore if anything of this sort is to be published, I would not advise anyone to bring it out in his lifetime, but rather to commit it to some Tiro, although he† is thought to have shown more zeal than judgment in editing his patron's memoirs. Whether you praise or blame a person, some one is sure to take offence; not to mention, that there are people who cannot bear even to be praised in published books, whether it be that they disdain to be named by any one that chooses, or that they fear to be suspected of a love of flattery. Considering these objections, I am the more surprised that St. Bernard should have published his epistles, in which there are so many names marked with charcoal. In the present day, if any one mentions a Jacobite monk or a Carmelite without a long complimentary preface, even if the name is suppressed, it is thought a crime that deserves hanging. And there is this additional inconvenience, that in the present state of human affairs our greatest friends are sometimes turned into our greatest foes, and the reverse; so that one may regret both the praise bestowed on the one, and the reflections cast on the other. Finally the reputation of the author is apt to suffer, because most people form

* periculosæ plenum opus aleæ. Horat. Od. ii. 1, 6.

† Marcus Tullius Tiro, the freedman and secretary of Cicero.

an estimate of the whole character of the man from some single letter, whereas we sometimes write after taking a glass of wine, sometimes when sleepy, occasionally when wearied out, or even sick, or attending to some other matter, sometimes when not in the humour; and we frequently adapt our language to the capacity or judgment of the person to whom we are writing. Whence it happens that with inexperienced persons we fall under the suspicion of inconstancy, when the variation they observe is to be ascribed to a difference of age and of feeling, a change of persons and of circumstances.

The reasons I have given might well deter any other person, however fortunate, from publishing his letters. But in my case there was that, which might especially dissuade me from such a course. My fortune has not only always been humble, but has remained constantly depressed, and the tenor of my life has not been such as I should either care, or be able, to vindicate from every accusation. There was no reason therefore for me to wish, that many traces of either should be preserved. The same argument might perhaps affect those to whom we write, who would not like the tattle, which they poured by letter into the bosom of a friend, to be betrayed to everybody, considering that there are persons who, born under the curse of the Graces, put an ill construction upon everything. It happens over and over again, that a phrase which, uttered at dinner or in friendly company, has a sort of charm, gives rise, if repeated out of its proper place, to dire tragedies. For this reason we have inserted fewer of the letters to which our own are answers; although we have added some, especially those of learned scholars, partly because I was too lazy to take the trouble, which Angelo Poliziano generally takes, of repeating the purport of the letter to which he is replying, and partly because, supposing this to be added, there still seems to be a want of light and life, where one does not first read the letter that is answered.

I have explained my whole plan. Nothing remains, but in the first place, to beg you to exert your truly friendly spirit in the choice you have to make, and then to pray the Powers above to grant that your judgment, and my compliance may prove happy, not only to myself, who am unable to oppose an obstinate resistance to the sentiments of comrades, but also to those who, with more zeal than discretion, have extorted from me this compliance. Farewell.

Louvain, 27 May, 1520.

The following further Introduction was prefixed by Erasmus to the edition of his Epistles printed at Basel in 1529. *Opus Epistolarum*, Præf.; Ep. Præf.; C. Præf. * 2 dors. See p. xxxiv.

Erasmus to the Reader.

I have formerly testified, that there are none of my lucubrations for which I care less than my Epistles, and I have accounted for this feeling. I have not changed my mind. Nevertheless, now that Jerome Froben asserts that this work has for full two years been demanded by students, I have revised what was before printed, and made a considerable addition thereto. Such is my nature, good Reader, I can refuse nothing to those I heartily hold dear.

There were among the published letters several addressed in terms of love and honour to persons, whom I then took for loyal friends, but from whom I now suffer the most relentless hostility; so insecure is everything in human affairs. I have not, however, displaced any of them, and I think those persons will be more shamed than honoured by their retention. Neither have I thought right to change the order; only I have divided the whole work into Books, so that the reader may find more readily what he seeks. Some

friends have written to advise me, that they should all be arranged in order of date. This, even if it had been easy to do, did not for certain reasons appear expedient. Neither again did I care to follow the connexion of subjects, because in this kind of writing there is no greater charm than variety. But in case anyone should require any such information, we have added the day and year at the foot of each letter.* Moreover we have prefixed an Index with the names of the persons and the numbers of the Books and Epistles; this will show who writes to whom, and how many letters.

There were a number of epistles which I desired to have added, if they had come to hand, but my removal has led to many things being lost, which I should have wished to be preserved, and everything is in such confusion, that the greater part has been looked for in vain. This I thought it worth while to mention, in order that if any one, seeing letters to other friends of inferior note included in the publication, should be disappointed at not finding those written to himself, he may not suspect that this has arisen from intentional neglect.

In this age I do not know what can be written which will not give offence, either to this man or to that. We have however taken the greatest pains, that passages likely to produce much irritation should be either omitted or at any rate softened. We have willingly refrained from dragging names into discredit, and should have been glad if this could have been done entirely, but it was not consistent with the publication of epistles.

We have omitted ceremonial titles, which are not only ostentatious, but unscholarly and troublesome to the reader. I entreat that this may not be misconstrued, as if it were done in contempt. For who does not know, that kings are Unconquered and most Serene, Abbots Venerable, bishops

* See pp. xxxv., lxv. The addition was more often of place and year; the day-date was not so easily added.

Reverend, cardinals most Reverend, popes most Holy. These epithets therefore, as well as those titles, most Unconquered Majesty, most Reverend Lordship, most Gracious Highness, and your Reverend Fatherhood, not only spoil the purity of the Latin diction, but also burden the reader with needless and troublesome words. Farewell.

Freiburg in Bresgau, 7 August, 1529.

The following epistle to John Hervagius was sent from Freiburg to be prefixed to the volume entitled *Epistolæ Floridæ*. See p. xxxv. It is reprinted in the London volume of Epistles, Ep. xxxi. 55, and by Le Clerc, C. 1749 (362). Froben had died in consequence of a fall, occasioned by paralysis, which is attributed by Erasmus to his devotion to work, and consequent neglect of his health. C. 1055. Hervagius had married his widow, and was carrying on his business. C. 1330 F. It may be observed, in explanation of an allusion of Erasmus, that for a trade-mark Hervagius displayed upon his title-page a three-headed Hermes holding in his hands the Anchor and serpents of his predecessor. The following epistle was written from Freiburg at the time when Erasmus, being compelled to leave the public palace, where he had resided for about two years, was preparing for his own occupation a house which he had bought.

Erasmus to Joannes Hervagius.

John Froben of blessed memory had many good qualities, which commended him to my affection, but nothing bound me to him more closely than his life-long determination, at any cost of money and of labour, to promote general learning by the publication of the most approved authors, in which noble enterprise this excellent man met his death, and I cannot see what fairer end he could have had. By his labours the prosperity of Literature was more advanced than his own, and he left his family more honour than

fortune. But when I see that you have not only received into your household his respected widow, but are ambitious to succeed him in his devotion to the honour and advancement of literature, I cannot but transfer to you no little part of the goodwill I always felt for him. Would that I were able to further your purpose as much as my heart desires, and your good qualities deserve. But my age and condition of health demand if not a cessation, at least a remission of my studious labours. Consequently you taskmasters, to whom I have been often more subservient than was good for me, must not expect such strokes of work in future.

At the present time my condition is such, that if I had no sort of excuse on account of age or health, I am cut off from all commerce with the Muses. What strange thing has happened, you will ask; have I married a wife? Indeed I am engaged in a matter, which is no less troublesome, and equally remote from my character and genius. I have bought a house here, of respectable name, but of exorbitant price. So that Erasmus, who used at any cost to redeem his leisure for literature, is now familiar with contracts of purchase, opinions of counsel, conveyances, covenants, and conditions; he is pulling down and building up, he is engaged with masons, smiths, carpenters, and glaziers,—you know the sort of people,—with so much repugnance, that I would rather spend three years in any literary work, however exacting, than be troubled for a single month with this kind of business. I never understood before, as I do now, the supreme wisdom of Diogenes, who took refuge in a tub, rather than be worried with such matters. To this miserable condition I have been brought by the infelicity of the age, and the colourable dishonesty of persons, whom some day perhaps I shall not deprive of their due praise. The least of these annoyances is the constant outpouring of money; I leave you to guess the rest.

I have put all this on record, my Hervagius, that you may

receive with indulgence the parcel I now send. It represents what I can, not what I would. My choice was either to send this, or nothing at all. It contains a number of Flowery Epistles. You will wonder, I know, what this title means. To save you from a false impression,—it means nothing of consequence. During the troublesome occupation of moving from house to house I have just found time to look over an immense heap of Epistles, and mark with a little floweret those that it might be expedient to publish, though I seldom write any with that end in view. They will make a small book, which whatever its worth may be, I hope will at any rate be of some benefit to you. It will be so, if your three-headed Hermes is propitious in its circulation. I hope that god will show you a short and easy way to Plutopolis. That is the place to which most people in these days are running as fast as they can, but not all with like success.

To be serious, I pray that the Lord, who is the only true source of safety and happiness, may grant success to your sacred calling; to which end we will not fail to lend our small share of aid, as soon as we are restored to our former tranquillity. Farewell, with those who are dearest to you.

Freiburg in Bresgau, the eve of St. Laurence [9 August] 1531.

The following epistle was written by Erasmus between four and five months before his death, as a preface to the edition of his Epistles then in the press. *Opus Epistolarum*, 1536. See p. xxxvi. In the later *Epistolarum Opus*, 1541, it was placed in the twenty-seventh Book. Ep. xxvii. 42; C. *Præf* * * 1 dors.

Erasmus to Friendly Readers.

Within the last few days I determined to look over some confused heaps of papers, partly for the sake of one or two

letters which I wished to be published, and partly in order to destroy some documents which others might perhaps publish after my death, or even during my life; for what is beyond the daring of those, to whom profit, however slight, or some little notoriety is of more account than honesty or friendship? Not everything that is written is meant to be given to the world. When we were young we often amused ourselves in this way for the sake of practising our pen; sometimes we dictated to others as we took our exercise, thinking of nothing less then of any publication; and some things we wrote for dull pupils. Our Colloquies are an example of this, which one Holonius got hold of, I know not how (for I never had any copy myself), and sold to John Froben at a high price, pretending there were other printers who wanted to buy them. Such is the itch for purchasing! The 'Paraphrases of Elegances' are another example. They came out, much to my surprise, under that absurd title,—when I had never given them any,—and disposed in alphabetical order, which really disturbed the entire arrangement; and finally with a number of additions, of which the sense was as bad as the scholarship, and which even when a boy I should never have dictated to a boy. I saw not long ago a treatise on Letter-writing printed at Leyden with the address, 'Erasmus to Peter Paludanus,' although I never knew a mortal of that name. On reading the book I found out the mean theft; I had at one time written, in the course of a day or two, a book on Letter-writing for the use of an English disciple,* a dull book for a dull fellow. The editor had picked out some parts of this, mixing with them some matter of his own. He added a prolix letter, not a word of which is mine, remarkably silly, and having nothing to do with the subject in hand. If he had published the work in his own name,

* See the history of the treatise *De conscribendis epistolis* in Chapter VI. p. 165.

without tampering with it, it would have been much more tolerable ; but some profit was to be gained by using mine.

I am aware that some of my juvenile exercises are preserved in the possession of other people; and in that box which I lately searched there were formerly a great many papers written in a young hand very unlike that I now write. Every one of those I found had been removed, and I have a good idea, who has them in hiding! But literary pillage is extenuated, in reality with no better face than the tailors excuse a theft of cloth, the carriers a theft of wine, the millers one of flour, and other tradespeople find a special defence for what is done in their own trade. But if we allow it to be only a light offence to break open a man's desk and purloin papers, which he wished to hide, does it seem a trifling crime to publish to the author's discredit, defaced with unskilful patches, works which he never meant to publish at all? How others may feel, I do not know; but for my own part I should be more willing to put up, as I have often done, with a theft of money from my cash-box. And yet those who do that are sent to the gallows, and the other people are called men of literature. I think for my own part these literary persons deserve, not to be hung, but like Thurinus, to be suffocated with burned paper. For in this one act how many crimes are included! Theft, sacrilege, forgery, libel, treason. What will these fellows not do when I am dead, if they venture so far in my lifetime ?

Some years ago it was often in my mind to ransack my papers, and burn what was not to be published. But while I put off doing this,—being hindered by various occupations,—others have anticipated me ; may it do them as much good as they deserve. The lucubrations which I publish myself, bring me discredit enough, without these people printing my nonsense, which I never wrote for the public.

Finding among the epistles many written to me in most loving terms by almost all the Kings of Europe, by Dukes,

Cardinals, Bishops, and Popes, or by men distinguished for their learning, I have chosen to publish a few of these to give a sample of my gossips,* to adopt the language of those who mistake scurrility for eloquence. I have picked out those epistles only, which I observed, not to be the work of a secretary, but composed out of the author's own head and written with his own hand

I have not for some years taken any pains to preserve any copies of my own, partly because I had not clerks enough to write them all out, and partly because in answering so many correspondents I am forced to write some and to dictate others, without preparation. I was also a little ashamed of the former publications. And lastly I think those people are wise, who keep their letters to be published after their death. I may add that epistles which are written on a studied subject to show the writer's erudition, as they have no genuine feeling, are to my thinking not epistles at all. On the other hand, among those that are candidly written, you will not readily find such as, being composed for one, can be read by all without offending any

The Cardinal of Gaeta has lately written to me several times, and I wanted to add his last epistle to those now published, but it has not come to hand. In my last letter to him I complained of persons, who treated unfairly my essay on restoring Concord in the Church. That letter was read by Pope Clement; for people are more pleased to read those addressed to others than to themselves, because they think they will find more truth in them. He asked the Cardinal whether he had read the tract. He said, yes. Did he approve of it? "I see," said he, "no harm in it." This expression was accepted by the Pope with the greatest alacrity. When they came to a passage in which I complained of Nicolas Herborn, Cismontane Commissary, he

* quales habeam combibones.

forthwith called the Master of the Sacred Palace, and asked whether he had created such a person Commissary. He said, no. It was clear from this, that the Pope does not approve of Herborn's petulance, and that the grand title of which he boasted was given him by the Franciscan Fathers, and not by the Pope.

In ransacking those papers I have been reminded of human frailty by the fact, that among so many letters, most of them written within the last ten years, so few came to hand, of which the authors are still living. Man is a bubble.

I have brought these matters to your notice, candid reader, that you may not too lightly believe everything to be mine above which my name is written ; and also that you may not think Erasmus has no one to take his part but a few gossips. Farewell.

Basel, 20 February, 1536.

Some extracts are added from the Preface, with which, seventy years after Erasmus's death, an important addition to his published Epistles was ushered into the world, together with the *Compendium* or Abridgment of his Life, attributed to his own authorship. See p. xlv. In the Prefatory Epistle addressed by the editor, Paul Merula, Professor of History in the University of Leyden, to his friend, Otho Werckman, the sentiments of a Dutch scholar of the beginning of the seventeenth century, who loved the documents which he collected, not only for their literary and historical value, but also as autographs of distinguished men, appear to me to be of some interest ; especially when we recollect that he was a contemporary of Shakspeare, whose autograph plays, some sixteen years later, appear to have been destroyed after the printing of the first Folio. If the autograph mania, as Merula calls it, had extended to England, it might in this case have been indeed of service to us. The disappearance of the Dutch collec-

tions, which were so rich in autographs of Erasmus, is probably due to the disturbances, in which that country was involved in the century following the death of this enthusiastic collector, which took place not long after the publication of the Erasmian volume.

Paul Merula to Otho Werckmann.

I have received the document, which has been so long in your keeping, and so long an object of curiosity to others,—I mean the Life of the great Erasmus, faithfully and candidly written with his own hand about the year 1523, and transmitted to his sincerest friend, as he himself styles him, Conrad Goclen, Professor of Greek† in the University of Louvain. I had seen copies of it some years ago in the possession of Scriverius and the brothers Lydii, but it was a great pleasure to me to see the autograph original. You ought to know, that an elaborate paraphrase of this document is to be found in the lengthy epistle to Lambertus Grunnius, which may be read in the 24th Book. I have committed the Compendium to the Press, just as I received it from you, and a work which has been for so many years in the depositary of one, will now, by your desire, be distributed among many. To make a more complete volume, I have added some other Epistles of our Erasmus, which were worthy of seeing the light. Some are taken from my own library. For, old as I am, I have that mania, if so it is to be called, of collecting the Αὐτόγραφα not only of Emperors, Kings and Princes, of which I possess a great quantity, but also of those magnates of the Literary world. It is a delight to refresh my weary mind in their venerable society, and hear them, as it were, conversing with me. * * * Other contributions have come from my dear colleague, Bona-

† Goclen was Professor of Latin, not, I think, at any time of Greek.

ventura Vulcanius, Greek Professor in this University, Peter Scriverius, the brothers Lydii, Jerome Backer my relative and fellow citizen, and Hadrian Bimannus of Leiden, Doctor of Medicine. This addition will, I hope, be not unwelcome to our readers.

Leyden, 14 November, 1606.

The Preface to the volume published in 1615 under the auspices of Scriverius, by which a considerable addition was made to the published epistles of Erasmus, has been mentioned in p. lii, and need not be further set out.

The still more important addition to the published correspondence of Erasmus made in the third volume of the *Opera Erasmi*, edited by Le Clerc, has been described, pp. lv.-lvi. I do not think it worth while to trouble the reader of this prolonged Introduction with a translation of the lengthy Preface of that volume, in which the editor proposed to place the epistles for the first time in chronological order. The partial success of this well-intended project has been already mentioned.

CHRONOLOGICAL REGISTER

OF THE EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

FROM HIS EARLIEST LETTERS TO DECEMBER, 1517.

IN the following list, the Epistles of which the writer is not named are by Erasmus himself. Those of others are registered in *Italics*. Dedications and Prefatory Epistles prefixed to books are included, some of them having already taken their place among the Epistles. The dates in brackets are supplied or corrected by inference or conjecture, but when the alteration made has been only the addition of the historical year-date to that formerly in use in some countries during the early part of the year, no brackets are inserted. Upon the variance of year-date before Easter some remarks will be found in the Introduction.

The usual references are, first, to the book in which the Epistle was first printed; but in the case of Epistles derived from the Deventer Manuscript (see Introduction, p. xxvi.), the sign D precedes; then follow references to other books in which the Epistle may be more readily found. In the first references to books, the following abbreviations are used. E. a. = *Epistolæ aliquot* etc. (see Introduction, p. xxviii.); E. s. q. e. = *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* (p. xxix.); *Auct.* = *Auctarium Epistolarum* (p. xxx.); F. = *Farrago Epistolarum* (p. xxxi.); E. a. d. = *Epistolæ ad diversos* (p. xxxii.); O. E. = *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529 (p. xxxiv.); M. = the volume published by Merula (p. xlv.); S. = *Vita* etc. *Scriverii auspiciis*, 1615, (p. li.). The other references are generally to the London edition of the Epistles of Erasmus (p. lii.), the two numbers (as in the sixth Epistle, xxxi. 12) being those of the Book and Epistle in that collection; and to the third volume of Le Clerc's edition of the works of Erasmus (p. liv.), cited as C, the number which follows C referring to the numbered columns, of which there are two in every page, and the number added in parenthesis being the number of the Epistle in that edition. If the reference is to any other volume of Le Clerc's book, the number of the volume is mentioned before that of the column, as C. i. 559.

For the history of the publication of the Epistles of Erasmus, and for the causes of the prevalent errors and uncertainty in their dates, the reader is

referred to the Introduction. The evidence determining the dates and order here adopted appears in the latter part of this work, so far as the translations extend. The numbered sections, into which the Register is divided, correspond with the Chapters in the latter part, to which this list may in some measure serve as a Table of Contents. To the later sections, which have no corresponding Chapters, a few notes have been added to explain the order of the Epistles.

It should be noted, that owing to the absence of evidence a complete chronological arrangement of the first thirty-four Epistles has not been attempted. But the Epistles to Servatius and the correspondence with Cornelius are severally arranged in what appears to be their probable order.

I. *Early letters. Epistolary exercises at Stein.*

1	To Peter Winckel	[about 1480]	M. 161 ; xxxi. 4 ; C. 1885 (506)
2	To Peter, brother of Erasmus	[Stein,]	M. 156 ; xxxi. 20 ; C. 1859 (470)
3	To Servatius	[Stein,]	C. 1872 (490)
4	To Servatius	[Stein,]	C. 1871 (488)
5	To Servatius	[Stein,]	C. 1872 (489)
6	To Servatius	[Stein,]	M. 171 ; xxxi. 12 ; C. 1867 (481)
7	To Servatius	[Stein,]	M. 164 ; xxxi. 7 ; C. 1865 (479)
8	To Servatius	[Stein,]	M. 166 ; xxxi. 8 ; C. 1866 (480)
9	To Servatius	[Stein,]	M. 172 ; xxxi. 13 ; C. 1868 (482)
10	To Servatius	[Stein,]	M. 185 ; xxxi. 19 ; C. 1869 (483)
11	To Servatius	[Stein,]	M. 154 ; xxxi. 2 ; C. 1864 (478)
12	To Francis Theodorik	[Stein,]	M. 163 ; xxxi. 6 ; C. 1874 (496)
13	To Francis	[Stein,]	M. 177 ; xxxi. 15 ; C. 1816 (434)
14	To Francis	[Stein,]	M. 170 ; xxxi. 11 ; C. 1815 (433)
15	To Sasboud	[Stein,]	M. 162 ; xxxi. 5 ; C. 1863 (476)

II. *Early literary correspondence. Later residence at Stein.*

16	To Cornelius of Gouda	[Stein,]	C. 1800 (413)
17	*Cornelius to Erasmus*		C. 1803 (417)
18	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	M. 178 ; xxxi. 16 ; C. 1796 (410)
19	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	M. 169 ; xxxi. 10 ; C. 1796 (409)
20	*Cornelius to E.*		C. 1803 (416)
21	To Cornelius	Stein, 15 May.	M. 157 ; xxxi. 3 ; C. 1793 (407)

22	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	M. 179; xxxi. 17; C. 1797 (411)
23	*Cornelius to E.*		C. 1805 (419)
24	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	C. 1801 (414)
25	*Cornelius to E.*		C. 1804 (418)
26	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	F. 175; vii. 3; C. 2 (2)
27	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	F. 174; vii. 2; C. 1 (1)
28	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	M. 209; xxxi. 41; C. 1799 (412)
29	To Cornelius	[Stein,]	M. 157; xxxi. 9; C. 1795 (408)
30	To Cornelius of * *	[Stein,]	Revius, *Daventria*, p. 143
31	To James Canter	[Stein, 1490]	M. 175; xxxi. 14; C. 1785 (398)
32	To William Herman		M. 149; xxxi. 1; C. 1833 (444)
33	To Elizabeth, a nun		M. 188; xxxi. 21; C. 1808 (425)
34	To Cornelius		C. 1802 (415)

III. *Departure from Stein. Service with the Bishop of Cambrai.*

35	To James Batt	[Stein, about 1493]	M. 184; xxxi. 18; C. 1779 (393)
36	*Herman to E.*	[Stein, about 1493]	C. 1838 (447)
37	*Herman to E.*	[Stein, about 1493]	C. 1838 (448)
38	*Herman to Cornelius*	[Stein, about 1493]	C. 1800 (420)
39	*Herman to Batt*	[Stein, about 1493]	C. 1779 (394)
40	To Francis		C. 1816 (436)
41	*Herman to John*	[Stein, about 1494]	C. 1842 (454)

IV *Paris, Montaigu. Holland. Paris, English Boarding-house.* 1494-1497.

42	*Robert Gaguin to E.*	[Paris, 1494]	*Gaguini Epist.* 70; Richter, *Erasmus-Studien*, 17
43	*Gaguin to E.*	Paris, 24 Sept. [1494]	*Gag. Ep.* 71; Richter, 18
44	*Gaguin to E.*	[Paris, Aug. 1495]	*Gag. Ep.* 62; Richter, 20
45	To Gaguin	[Paris, Sept. 1495]	*Gaguini Hist.* ad fin. C. 1817 (437)
46	To Christian	Paris [1496]	F. 204; x. 2; xxix. 14; C. 68 (79)
47	To Christian	Paris [1496]	F. 99; v. 7; C. 17 (19)
48	To Christian	Paris [1496]	F. 251; ix. 6; C. 34 (33)
49	To Nicolas Werner	Paris, 13 Sept. [1496]	M. 192; xxxi. 23; C. 1883 (501)
50	To the Bp. of Cambrai (Dedication)	Paris, 7 Nov. 1496	*Hermani Odæ*, Paris, 1497; C. 1781 (395)

51	To Herman	Paris [Feb. 1497]	F. 79; iv. 25; C. 74 (83)
52	To Werner	[Paris, Feb. 1497]	M. 196; xxxi. 27; C. 1834 (504)
53	To Bp. of Cambrai	[Paris, 1497]	F. 251; ix. 5; C. 34 (34)
54	To Lord Mountjoy	[Paris, 1497]	F. 248; ix. 1; C. 41 (43)

V *Paris, Holland, Brussels, Paris. August to December*, 1497.

55	*Henry to Christian*	Paris, [2 Aug. 1497]	F. 85; iv. 35; C. 30 (32)
56	To Thomas Grey	Paris [Aug.] 1497	F. 254; ix. 13; C. 18 (20)
57	To Grey	[Paris, Aug. 1497]	F. 252; ix. 11; C. 44 (47)
58	To Grey	Paris, 1497	F. 253; ix. 12; C. 21 (21)
59	To Grey	Paris [1497]	F 169; vi. 39; C. 76 (85)
60	To Robert Fisher	Paris [1497]	F. 252; ix. 10; C. 38 (38)
61	To Hector Boece	8 Nov. [1497]	M. 189; xxxi. 22; C. 1784 (396)
62	To Evangelista	[Paris] 1497	F. 253; ix. 9; C. 22 (23)
63	To Nicasius	Paris, 14 Dec. [1497]	F. 78; iv. 33; C. 66 (77)

VI. *Paris, Holland and Brabant, Paris. January to November*, 1498.

64	To one of Lubeck	Paris [Feb. 1498]	F. 73; iv. 18; C. 15 (17)
65	To Christian	Paris, 13 Feb. 1498	F. 83; iv. 32; C. 24 (26)
66	To Gaguin	[Paris] 1498	F. 252; ix. 7; C. 44 (45)
67	*Gaguin to E.*	[Paris] 1498	F. 253; ix. 8; C. 44 (46)
68	To a friend	[Paris, 1498]	M. 198; xxxi. 29; C. 1885 (507)
69	To Arnoldus Boschius	[Paris, 1498]	F. 99; v. 6; C. 1785 (397)
70	To Werner	[Paris, May, 1498]	M. 193; xxxi. 24; C. 1883 (502)
71	To Arnoldus	[Paris, May, 1498]	F. 108; v. 21; C. 4 (3)
72	To Dr. Martin	Brussels [July, 1498]	M. 204; xxxi. 34; C. 1852 (460)
73	To Werner	Brussels [July, 1498]	M. 194; xxxi. 25; C. 1883 (503)
74	To Robert Fisher (Dedication)	[Paris, July, 1498]	*De Conscribendis Epist.* Cantab. (1521); Appendix I.
75	To Christian	Paris [1498]	F. 74; iv. 19; C. 4 (4)
76	To Mountjoy	[Paris, 1498]	F. 74; iv. 20; C. 4 (5)
77	To Cornelius	Paris [1498]	F. 72; iv. 17; C. 16 (18)
78	To John of Brussels	Paris [1498]	F. 77; M. 211; iv. 22; C. 15 (16)
79	*Faustus to Herman**	[Paris, 1498]	C. 1839 (499)

* In the translations, p. 170, Epistle 81 has been inadvertently placed before Epistles 79 and 80.

VII. *Erasmus and the Lady of Veer. November*, 1498, *to June*, 1499.

80	To Batt	Paris, 29 Nov. 1498	F. 285; ix. 32; C. 27 (31)
81	To Herman	Paris, 14 Dec. [1498]	F. 74; iv. 21; C. 13 (15)
82	To Mountjoy	Tournehem, 4 Feb. [1499]	F. 70; iv. 14; C. 5 (6)
83	To Richard Whitford	[Tournehem, Feb. 1499]	F. 72; iv. 16; C. 7 (9)
84	To John Falke	Tournehem, Feb. [1499]	F. 71; iv. 15; C. 6 (7)
85	To Batt	Antwerp, 12 Feb. 1498-9	F. 78; iv. 24; C. 6 (8)
86	*Herman to Servatius*	[Stein, Feb. 1499]	C. 1873 (491)
87	To Adolf of Veer	Paris, 1498-9	*De Virtute Amplectenda* (*Lucubratiunculæ*, 1504); C. v. 65
88	*Faustus Andrelinus to E.*	[Paris, 1499]	F. 103; v. 11; C. 56 (66)
89	To Faustus	[Paris, 1499]	F. 103; v. 12; C. 57 (67)
90	*Faustus to E.*	[Paris, 1499]	F. 103; v. 13; C. 57 (68)
91	To Faustus	[Paris, 1499]	F. 103; v. 14; C. 57 (69)
92	*Faustus to E.*	[Paris, 1499]	F. 104; v. 15; C. 57 (70)
93	To Ludolf [*qu.* Adolf]	Paris, 29 April [1499]	F. 104; v. 17; C. 1852 (458)
94	To Batt	Paris, 2 May, 1499	F. 291; ix. 36; C. 47 (53)
95	To Batt	Paris [1499]	F. 91; iv. 36; C. 37 (37)
96	To Batt	Paris [1499]	F. 102; v. 9; C. 22 (22)

VIII. *First Visit to England. Midsummer*, 1499, *to January*, 1500.

97	To Prince Henry (Dedication)	[London, 1499]	*Ode de laud. Brit.* (*Adagia*, Paris, 1500); xxix. 27; C. i. 1213
98	To Faustus	England, 1499	F. 103; v. 10; C. 56 (65)
99	*John Colet to E.*	Oxford [Sept. 1499]	F. 96; v. 3; C. 9 (11)
100	To Colet	Oxford [Sept. 1499]	F. 96; v. 4; C. 39 (41)
101	*Ioannes Sixtinus to E.*	[Oxford Oct. 1499]	*Auct.* 24; ii. 21; C. 9 (12)
102	To Sixtinus	Oxford, 28 Oct [1499]	*Auct.* 25; ii. 22; C. 9 (13)
103	To Thomas More	Oxford, 28 Oct. 1499	F. 143; vi. 11; C. 55 (63)
104	To Mountjoy	Oxford [1499]	F. 98; v. 5; C. 41 (42)
105	To Sixtinus	Oxford [1499]	F. 92: v. 1; C. 42 (44)
106	To Colet	[Oxford, 1499]	*Lucubratiunculæ*, Antwerp, 1504; C. v. 1265.
107	*Colet to E.*	[Oxford, 1499]	*Lucubr.* Strasburg, 1516; xxxi. 46; C. 1791 (404)

108	To Colet	Oxford [1499]	*Lucubr.* 1516; xxxi. 45; C. 1789 (403)
109	To Mountjoy	Oxford, 1499	F. 142; vi. 10; C. 56 (64)
110	To Rob. Fisher	London, 5 Dec. [1499]	F. 95: v. 2; C. 12 (14)

IX. *Return to France; Paris. January to July*, 1500.

111	*Batt to Mountjoy*	Tournehem [1500]	F. 247; viii. 53; C. 55 (62)
112	To Batt	Paris [March, 1500]	F. 290; ix. 35; C. 69 (80)
113	To Batt	Paris, 12 April [1500]	F. 289; ix. 34; C. 26 (29)
114	To Gaguin	Paris [1500]	F. 81; iv. 26; C. 76 (84)
115	To Gaguin	[Paris, 1500]	F. 104; v. 16; C. 78 (86)
116	To a friend		F. 81; iv. 28; C. 44 (48)
117	To a friend		F. 81; iv. 29; C. 45 (49)
118	To a friend		F. 84; iv. 30; C. 45 (50)
119	To a friend	[Paris, 1500]	F. 82; iv. 31; C. 45 (51)
120	*Faustus to E.*	Paris, 15 June, 1500	*Adagia*, Paris, 1500; Richter, *Erasmus-Stud.* p. 38
121	To Mountjoy (Dedication)	Paris [June, 1500]	*Adagia*, Paris, 1500; C. ii. *Præf.* 5
122	To Batt	Paris [1500]	F. 258; ix. 14; C. 69 (81)
123	To Batt	Paris [July, 1500]	F. 282; ix. 31; C. 36 (36)

X. *Visit to Orleans. July to December*, 1500.

124	To Batt	[Orleans, Aug. 1500]	F. 277; ix. 28; C. 53 (60)
125	To Batt	Orleans [Sept. 1500]	F. 280; ix. 30; C. 64 (76)
126	To Augustine Caminad	[Orleans, 1500]	F. 84: iv. 33; C. 78 (87)
127	*Augustine to physician*	[Orleans, 1500]	F. 101; v. 8; C. 1854 (464)
128	To Batt	Orleans [Nov. 1500]	F. 287; ix. 33; C. 62 (74)
129	To Faustus	Orleans, 20 Nov. [1500]	F. 109; v. 23; C. 57 (71)
130	To Augustine	Orleans, 9 Dec. [1500]	F. 110; v. 24; C. 58 (72)
131	To Antony Lutzenburg	Orleans, 11 Dec. [1500]	F. 104; v. 18; C. 91 (99)
132	To Batt	Orleans, 11 Dec. [1500]	F. 243; viii. 49; C. 59 (73)
133	To Peter Angleberm	Orleans [Dec. 1500]	F. 138; vi. 7; C. 86 (93)

XI. *Erasmus in Paris. December*, 1500, *to May*, 1501.

134	To Greverad	Paris, 18 Dec. [1500]	F. 106; v. 19; C. 66 (78)
135	To the Abbot of St. Bertin	Paris, 14 Jan. 1500-1	F. 297; x. 1; C. 79 (91)

136	To Nicolas of Burgundy	Paris, 26 Jan. [1501]	F. 108; v. 20; C. 23 (24)
137	To Ann, lady of Veer	Paris, 27 Jan. 1500-1	F. 293; ix. 38; C. 83 (92)
138	To Lutzenburg	Paris, 27 Jan. [1501]	F. 266; ix. 16; C. 23 (25)
139	To Batt	[Paris, 27 Jan. 1501]	F. 237; viii. 48; C. 86 (94)
140	To Batt	Paris, 27 Jan. [1501]	F. 241; viii. 48 (2); C. 46 (52)
141	To Ioannes Mauburnus	Paris, 4 Feb. [1501]	*Gall. Christ.* vii. 283
142	To Mauburnus	Paris [1501]	*Gall. Christ.* vii. 282
143	To Abb. of S. Bertin	[Paris, 16 Mar. 1501]	F. 264; ix. 15; C. 63 (75)
144	To Lutzenburg	Paris, 16 Mar. [1501]	F. 268; ix. 17; C. 25 (27)
145	To Lutzenburg	[Paris, 1501]	F. 268; ix. 18; C. 79 (89)
146	To Batt	Paris, 5 April [1501]	F. 268; x. 19; C. 25 (28)
147	To James Tutor (Dedication)	Paris, 28 April [1501]	*Cicero de Officiis*, Basel, 1520; Appendix II.

XII. *Journey to Holland; residence in Artois. May*, 1501, *to August*, 1502.

148	To Batt	[Holland, 1501]	F. 247; viii. 52; C. 74 (82)
149	To Augustine	St. Omer [July, 1501]	F. 84; iv. 34; C. 38 (39)
150	To James Antony of Middelburg	Tournehem, 12 July [1501]	F. 275; ix. 26; C. 48 (54)
151	To Bp. of Cambrai	Tournehem, 12 July [1501]	F. 277; ix. 27; C. 49 (56)
152	To John, Canon of Brussels	Tournehem, 12 July [1501]	F. 274; ix. 25; C. 49 (55)
153	To James Tutor	[Tournehem, 17 July, 1501]	F. 272; ix. 23; C. 35 (35)
154	To Nicolas Benserad	Tournehem [17 July, 1501]	F. 274; ix. 24; C. 39 (40)
155	To James Tutor	Tournehem, [18 July, 1501]	F. 269; ix. 20; C. 51 (59)
156	To Benserad	Tournehem, 18 July [1501]	F. 270; ix. 21; C. 51 (58)
157	To Lutzenburg	Tournehem, 18 July [1501]	F. 271; ix. 22; C. 50 (57)

158	*Abbot of St. Bertin to Card. Medici*	St. Omer, 30 July, 1501	F. 292; ix. 37; C. 90 (98)
159	To Batt	St. Omer [1501]	F. 279; ix. 29; C. 54 (61)
160	To a Courtier [John Germain] (Dedication)	St. Omer, 1501	*Enchiridion*, Antw. 1503; xxix. 93; C. v. 1
161	To Edmund, priest	Courtenburne [1501]	F. 249; ix. 2; C. 90 (96)
162	To Adrian of St. Omer	Courtenburne [1501]	F. 250; ix. 3; C. 89 (95)
163	*Herman to Servatius*	[Haarlem, 6 Jan. 1502]	C. 1873 (492)
164	To Lewis	Courtenburne [1502]	F. 247; viii. 51; C. 78 (88)
165	To Edmund	Courtenburne [1502]	F. 250; ix. 4; C. 90 (97)
166	To Peter Bastard	[St. Omer, Mar. 1502]	F. 246; viii. 50; C. 79 (90)
167	To James Tutor	St. Omer, 2 July [1502]	F. 109; v. 22; C. 27 (30)

XIII. *Louvain, Antwerp, Hammes. August*, 1502, *to December*, 1504.

168	To Herman	[Louvain, Sept. 1502]	M. 203; xxxi. 32; C. 1837 (446)
169	To Werner	[Louvain, 1502]	M. 197; xxxi. 28; C. 1884 (505)
170	To James Antony of Middelburg	Louvain, 15 Feb. 1502-3	*De potest. imperat.* 1503; xi. 26; C. 92 (100)
171	*Iacobus [Faber] to E.* (Dedication)	Deventer, 9 July, 1503	*Hegii Carmina*, Deventer, 1503; Richter, p. 51
172	To Dr. James Maurits	Louvain, 28 Sept. [1503]	M. 208; xxxi. 38; C. 1853 (461)
173	To the Bp. of Arras (Dedication)	Louvain, 17 Nov. 1503	*Libanii Declam.* (1519) xxix. 16; C. i. 547
174	To Herman	Louvain, 27 Nov. [1503]	M. 194; xxxi. 26; C. 1856 (445)
175	To Robert Cæsar	Louvain [Dec. 1503]	*Concio*, etc.; Appendix III.
176	To the Bp. of Arras (Dedication)	[Antwerp, 1504]	*Panegyric.* Antw. 1504; xxix. 57; C. iv. 555
177	To Ioan. Paludanus (Preface)	Antwerp, [1504]	*Panegyric.* Antw. 1504; xxix. 56; C. iv. 549
178	To Christ. Ursewick (Dedication)	Hammes, 1503-4	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. 5; C. i. 243
179	*Reyner Snoy to E.*	Gouda, 1 Sept. [1504]	D; C. 1861 (474)

XIV *Erasmus at Paris. January to April*, 1505.

180	To Colet	Paris, 1504-5	F. 307; x. 8; C. 94 (102)
181	To Peter Gillis	Paris [Feb. or March, 1505]	F. 81; iv. 27; C. 94 (101)
182	To Christopher Fisher (Dedication)	Paris [March], 1505	*Vallæ Adnotat.* 1505; F. 51; iv. 7; C. 96 (103)
183	*Josse Bade to E.*	Paris, 8 March, 1505	*Vallæ Adnotat.* 1505; C. 1522 (2)

XV *Second visit to England, April*, 1505, *to June*, 1506.

184	To Servatius	London, [1505]	M. 204; xxxi. 33; C. 1870 (485)
185	To Francis	London, [1505]	M. 201; xxxi. 30; C. 1816 (435)
186	To Bp. Richard Foxe (Dedication)	London, 1 Jan. 1506	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. 3; C. i. 213
187	To Archbp. William Warham (Dedication)	London, 24 Jan. [1506]	*Euripides*, Paris, 1506; xxix. 24; C. i. 1129
188	To Servatius	London, 1 April [1506]	M. 202; xxxi. 31; C. 1870 (484)
189	To Dr. Maurits	London, 2 April [1506]	M. 204; xxxi. 39; C. 1853 (462)
190	*More to Dr. Thomas Ruthall* (Dedication)	[London, 1505]	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; C. 1862 (475)
191	To Richard Whitford (Dedication)	1 May, 1506	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. 7; C. i. 265
192	To Ruthall (Dedication)	London [June, 1506]	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. 6; C. i. 255
193	To Paludanus (Dedication)	[London June, 1506]	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. viii; C. i. 297

XVI. *Journey to Italy. Paris, Turin, Florence, Bologna. June*, 1506, *to December*, 1507.

194	To Thomas Linacre	Paris [12 June], 1506	F. 305; x. 6; C. 100 (105)
195	To Colet	Paris, 12 June, 1506	F. 318; x. 21; C. 99 (104)
196	To Roger Wentford	Paris, 12 June [1506]	F. 233; viii. 42; C. 100 (106)
197	To Bp. of Chartres (Dedication)	Paris [Aug. 1506]	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. 4; C. i. 229
198	To John Obrecht	[Florence, 4 Nov. 1506]	M. 207; xxxi. 36; C. 1858 (468)

199	To Dr. Maurits	Florence, 4 Nov. [1506]	M. 209; xxxi. 40; C. 1854 (463)
200	To Servatius	[Florence, Nov. 1506]	M. 206; xxxi. 35; C. 1871 (486)
201	To Servatius	Bologna, 16 Nov. [1506]	M. 207; xxxi. 37; C. 1871 (487)
202	To Jerome Busleiden (Dedication)	Bologna, 17 Nov. 1506	*Luciani Op.* Paris, 1506; xxix. 9; C. i. 311
203	*Henry, Prince of Wales to E.*	Richmond, 17 Jan. [1507]	*Op. Epist.* 1529, p. 973; xxiii. 16; C. 1840 (451)
204	To Aldus Manutius	Bologna, 28 Oct. [1507]	Nolhac, *Érasme*, p. 97
205	To Warham (Dedication)	[Bologna, Nov. 1507]	*Euripides*, Venice, 1507; xxix. 25; C. i. 1153
206	To Aldus	[Bologna, Nov. 1507]	Nolhac, *Érasme*, p. 100

XVII. *Residence in Italy. Venice, Padua, Rome. January*, 1508, *to June*, 1509.

207	To Mountjoy (Dedication)	[Venice, Sept. 1508]	*Adagia*, Venice, 1508; C. ii. in Præf.
208	To Aldus	Padua, 9 Dec. [1508]	Nolhac, *Érasme*, p. 105
209	To Aldus	[Padua, Dec. 1508]	Nolhac, *Érasme*, p. 106
210	*Mountjoy to E.*	Greenwich, 27 May [1509]	F. 49; iv. 6; C. 7 (10)
211	*Jacobus Piso to E.*	Rome, 30 June, 1509	F. 310; x. 12; C. 101 (108)

XVIII. *Return to England; short visit to Paris. July*, 1509 *to August*, 1511.

212	To More (Dedication)	[London] 9 June [1510]	*Moria*, Paris, 1510; xxix. 55; C. iv. 402
213	To Guil. Thaleius* (Dedication)	London, 15 Mar. [1511]	*Ratio Studii*, Paris, 1511;
214	To Andr. Ammonius	Dover, 10 Ap. [1511]	F. 230; viii. 38 (2); C. 147 (169)
215	To Ammonius	Paris, 27 Ap. [1511]	F. 202; viii. 4; C. 102 (110)

* The short tract in epistolary form, entitled *de Ratione Studii*, appears to have been originally addressed to Thaleius; who was for a time estranged from Erasmus. Cf. C. 653D. In the edition of 1512 and later editions the opening clause is inscribed to Petrus Viterius. Epistle 247. The inscription to Thaleius is in an edition published at Paris by Granion, 20 Oct. 1511. In this edition, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, the tract concludes with the date, *Londini, Idibus Martiis.*

216	*Ammonius to Mountjoy*	[London, May, 1511	F. 179; vii. 6; C. 1855 (465)
217	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 29 May [1511]	F. 230; viii. 39; C. 155 (175)
218	*James Wimpfling to E.*	Strasburg, 19 Aug. 1511	*Moria*, Strasb. 1512.

XIX. *Erasmus at Cambridge. August to December*, 1511.

219	To Colet	Camb. 24 Aug. 1511	F. 309; x. 10; C. 108 (117)
220	To Ammonius	Camb. 25 Aug. 1511	F. 211; viii. 16; C. 108 (118)
221	To Colet	Camb. 13 Sept. [1511]	F. 314; x. 17; C. 131 (149)
222	To Ammonius	Camb. [18 Sept.] 1511	F. 201; viii. 1; C. 107 (116)
223	*Colet to E.*	London [Oct. 1511]	D; C. 1523 (4)
224	To Colet	Camb. 5 Oct. 1511	F. 309; x. 9; C 109 (121)
225	To Ammonius	Camb. 5 Oct. 1511	F. 202; viii. 2; C. 110 (122)
226	To Bp. Fisher (Dedication)	Camb. [Oct. 1511]	*Basil. in Esaiam*, Basel, 1518; xxix. 90; C. viii. 483
227	To Ammonius	Camb. 16 Oct. 1511	F. 202; viii. 3; C. 110 (123)
228	To Ammonius	[Camb. Oct] 1511	F. 219; viii. 22; C. 110 (124)
229	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 27 Oct. 1511	F. 220; viii. 23; C. 111 (125)
230	To Roger Wentford	[Camb. Oct. 1511]	F. 234; viii. 45; C. 140 (166)
231	To Colet	Camb. 29 Oct. [1511]	F. 314; x. 18; C. 131 (150)
232	To Ammonius	Camb. 2 Nov. 1511	F. 204; viii. 7; C. 112 (126)
233	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 8 Nov. 1511	F. 207; viii. 8; C. 112 (127)
234	To Ammonius	Camb. 11 Nov. [1511]	F. 203; viii. 9; C. 119 (138)
235	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 18 Nov. [1511]	F. 221; viii. 25; C. 113 (128)
236	To Ammonius	Camb. 26 Nov. 1511	F. 235; viii. 24; C. 115 (130)
237	To Ammonius	Camb. 27 Nov. [1511]	F. 205; viii 6; C. 120 (139)
238	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 28 Nov. [1511]	F. 208; viii. 10; C. 120 (140)
239	To Ammonius	Camb. 2 Dec. [1511]	F. 205; viii. 11; C. 121 (141)
240	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 5 Dec. 1511	F. 209; viii. 12; C. 116 (132)
241	To Ammonius	Camb. 9 Dec. [1511]	F. 206; viii. 13; C. 122 (142)

XX. *Cambridge and London*, 1512.

242	To Abb. of S. Bertin	London, 6 Feb. [1512]	F. 311; x. 13; C. 118 (135)
243	To Thomas Halsey	London, 8 Feb. [1512]	F. 310; x. 11; C. 102 (109)
244	To Card. of Nantes	London, 8 Feb. [1512]	F. 317; x. 20; C. 118 (136)
245	To Ammonius	Camb. 16 Feb. 1512	F. 210; viii. 15; C. 106 (113)
246	*Colet to E.*	[London, Feb. 1512]	D; C. 1792 (406)

247	To Petrus Viterius	London, [1512]*	*Ratio Studii*, Strasburg, 1512; xxxix. 13; C. i. 519
248	To Archbp. Warham (Dedication)	London, 29 April, 1512	*Luciani Opera*, Louvain, 1512; xxix. 2: C.i. 183
249	To Colet (Dedication)	London, 29 April, 1512	*Copia*, Paris, 1512; xxviii. 28; C. i. 1
250	To Ammonius	Camb. 9 May [1512]	F.211; viii. 17; C. 106 (114)
251	To Colet	Camb. 11 July [1512]	E.a.d.; xii. 21; C. 106 (115)
252	To G. S.	[London] 24 Aug. [1512]	Record Off. H.VIII. ix. 359
253	To More	Cambridge [1512]	F. 183; vii. 15; C. 105 (112)
254	*Sixtinus to E.*	London, 18 Oct. [1512]	D; C. 1873 (493)
255	*Bishop Fisher to E.*	London, [Nov. 1512]	D; C. 1813 (430)
256	To G. S.	[Camb.] 8 Nov. [1512]	Record Off. H. VIII. ix. 359
257	*Sixtinus to E.*	London, 20 Nov. [1512]	D; C. 1521 (1)
258	To Henry VIII. (Ded. of Plutarch)	[London, Dec. 1512]	*Plutarchi Opuscula*, Basel, 1514, Præf. C. iv. 1

XXI. *Cambridge and London. January*, 1513, *to January*, 1514.

259	To Dr. John Young (Dedication)	London, 1 Jan. 1513	*Plutarch. de Val.* Louvain, 1513; Jortin, ii. 164
260	To Warham	Camb. [Jan. 1513] †	E.a.d.; xiii. 3; C. 164 (188)
261	*Warham to E.*	London, 5 Feb. [1513]	F.185; vii. 19; C. 117 (134)
262	To William Gonell	London, [1513]	F.168; vi. 36; C. 147 (170)
263	To Gonell	London, 28 April [1513]	F.168; vi. 37; C. 148 (172)
264	To Adolf of Veer	London [1513]	F.313; x. 16; C. 122 (143)
265	To Ammonius	[Camb.] 1 Sept. [1513]	F.213; viii. 19; C. 108 (119)
266	To Wentford	[Cambridge, 1513]	F.233; viii. 43; C. 139 (165)
267	To G. S. and O. S.	[Cambridge, 1513]	Record Off. H.VIII. ix. 359
268	To Robert Smith	[Cambridge, 1513]	Record Off. H.VIII. ix. 359
269	Univ. Camb. to Mountjoy	Cambridge [Sept. 1513]	Record Off. H. VIII. v. 217; Brewer, i. 4428
270	To Gonell	Camb. 26 Sept. [1513]	F. 187; vii. 20; C. 109 (120)

* See note to Epistle 213, p. (10.)

† Epistle 260 and the following letter are placed by Dr. Reich in 1514. The former alludes to the first effect of the war with France in producing a scarcity of wine. See the Proclamation of Dec. 17, 1512, in Brewer, i. 3597.

271	To Colet	[Near] Camb. 1 Nov. [1513]	F. 142; vi. 9; C. 101 (107)
272	To G. S.	[Cambridge, Nov. 1513]	Record Off. H. VIII. ix. 359
273	To Warham	[London, Nov. 1513]	E.a.d.; xii. 37 C. 164 (189)
274	To Battista Boerio (Ded. of Lucian)	London, 11 Nov. [1513]	F. 312; x. 14; C. 119 (137)
275	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 25 Nov. [1513]	F. 231; viii. 40; C. 163 (186)
276	To Ammonius	Camb. 26 Nov. [1513]	F. 218; viii. 21; C. 114 (129)
277	To Ammonius	Camb. 28 Nov. [1513]	F. 211; viii. 18; C. 116 (131)
278	To Ammonius	Camb. 21 Dec. [1513]	F. 214; viii. 20; C. 103 (111)
279	To Wolsey (Thomas), King's Almoner (Dedication)	Camb. 4 Jan.* [1514]	Basel MS. A. N. vi. 1; *Plutarchi Op.* Basel, 1514; C. iv. 23

XXII. *Erasmus in and near London. January to July*, 1514.

280	To Gonell	London [Jan. 1514]	F. 169; vi. 38; C. 148 (173)
281	To Gonell	[near London, Feb. 1514]	F. 195; vii. 37; C. 147 (171)
282	To Peter Gillis	[London, Mar. 1514]	F. 313; x. 15; C. 135 (154)
283	To Abb. S. Bertin	London, 14 Mar. 1513-4	*Auct.* 62; ii. 28; C. 122 (144)
284	To Peter Gillis	[London, Mar. 1514]	F. 195; vii. 36; C. 1775 (387)
285	*John Reuchlin to E.*	Frankfort, April 1514	D; C. 1524 (5)
286	*John Borssele to E.*	Middelburg, 20 Ap. 1514	D; C. 1524 (6)
287	To Peter Gillis	London, [July] 1514	F. 194; vii. 32; C. 136 (156)

XXIII. *Visit to Flanders and Brabant, July, August*, 1514. *Sojourn in Basel, August*, 1514, *to March*, 1515.

288	To Ammonius	Hammes, 8 July 1514	F 236; viii. 47; C. 136 (159)
289	To Servatius	Hammes, 8 July [1514]	Ep. Præf. C. i. Præf. C. 1527 (8)
290	To Mountjoy with postscript	[Ghent, July 1514] Basel, 29 Aug. [1514]	F. 200; vii. 46; C. 160 (182)
291	To Ioan. Nevius (Dedication)	Louvain, 1 Aug. 1514	*Catonis præcepta*, Louvain, 1514; Reich, 252
292	To Andr. Hochstraten	Liège [Aug. 1514]	E.a.d. 473; xii. 8; C. 290 (296)
293	To Reuchlin	[Basel, Aug. 1514]	*Illustrium vir. Ep. ad R.*; Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 224

* The month-date of Epistle 279 is in the Basel MS.

294	To Wolsey	Basel, 30 Aug. [1514]	F. 227; viii. 34; C. 1565 (74)
295	*Jas. Wimpfling to E.*	Strasburg, 1 Sept. 1514	*Copia*, Strasburg, 1514; Jortin, ii. 456
296	*Udalric Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 7 Sept. 1514	D; C. 1530 (9)
297	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 21 Sept. 1514	D; C. 1531 (10)
298	To Wimpfling	Basel, 21 Sept. 1514	*Copia*, Strasburg, 1514; Jortin, ii. 457
299	To Zasius	Basel, 23 Sept. 1514	F. 387; xii. 7; C. 1531 (11)
300	*Prior Gregory to E.*	Freiburg, 4 Oct. 1514	D; C. 1532 (12)
301	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 11 Oct. 1514	E.a. 72; ii. 15; C. 138 (161)
302	To Matthias Schürer (Dedication)	Basel, 15 Oct. 1514	*Copia*, Strasburg, 1514; xxviii. 27; C. 1533 (13)
303	To Peter Gillis (Ded. of *Similia*)	Basel, 15 Oct, 1514	*Similia*, Strasburg, 1514; xxix. 17; C. i. 559
304	*Colet to E.*	London, 20 Oct. [1514]	D; C. 1573 (85
305	*James le Fevre to E.*	Paris, 23 Oct. [1514]	E.a. 61; ii. 13; C. 1812 (427)
306	To Zasius	Basel, 28 Oct. [1514]	Neff, *Zasius*, Programma, ii. 33
307	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 7 Nov. 1514	D; C. 1533 (14)
308	*Wilibald Pirckheimer to Beatus*	Nuremberg, 9 Dec. 1514	D; C. 1534 (15)
309	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 22 Dec. 1514	F. 168; xii. 6; C. 133 (152)
310	*Borssele to E.*	Arlun, 4 Jan. 1515	D; C. 1535 (18)
311	*Henry Bebel to E.*	Tubingen, 20 Jan. 1515	D; C. 1536 (19)
312	To Pirckheimer	Basel, 24 Jan. [1515]	S. 152; xxx. 21; C. 1551 (48)
313	*Ioan. Sapidus to E.*	Schlettstadt, 31 Jan. 1515	D; C. 1536 (20)
314	*Martinus Dorpius to E.*	[Louvain, Feb. 1515]	*Enarratio Psalmi I.* Louvain 1515; Jortin, ii. 336
315	To Reuchlin	[Basel] 1 Mar. [1515]	*Ill. vir. Ep. ad R.*; Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 119
316	To Bp. Ruthall (Dedication)*	Basel, 7 Mar. 1515	*Senecæ Opera*, Basil. 1515

* Epistle 316, a dedicatory Preface to a new edition of the Works of Seneca, was written upon Erasmus's departure from Basel, the edition being left to be completed by Froben and his assistants. The title of the book bears the date, *An.* M.D.XV. *Mense Iulio*, and the Colophon, *An.* M.D.XV. *Mense Augusto*. It is stated in the Dedication that the editor mainly depended upon two MSS., one belonging to Archbishop Warham, the other borrowed from the Library of King's College, Cambridge.

XXIV *Erasmus in England. March to June*, 1515.

317	To Dorpius	[London, Mar.] 1515	*Epist.*(1515*); xxxi. 42; C. ix. 1	
318	To Card. Grimani	London, 31 Mar. 1515	*Epist.* (1515); ii. 2; C. 141(167)	
319	To Card. Riario	London, 31 Mar. 1515	*Epist.* (1515); ii. 3; C. 144(168)	
320	To Beatus (Dedication)	[London] 13 Apr. 1515	*Enarratio Psalmi I.*; xxix. 31; C. v. 171	
321	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 17 April, 1515	D; C. 1537 (21)	
322	*William Nesen to E.*	Basel [April, 1515]	D; C. 1589 (107)	
323	To Pope Leo X.	London, 29 Apr. 1515	*Epist.*(1515); ii. 1; C. 149(174)	
324	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 30 April, 1515	D; C. 1538 (23)	
325	*Bruno Amerbach to E.*	Basel, 1 May, 1515	D; C. 1539 (24)	
326	To Peter Gillis	London, 7 May [1515]	F. 196; vii. 40; C. 135(155)	
327	*Bp. Fisher to E.*	Halling [June, 1515]	D; C. 1813 (429)	

XXV. *Second journey to Basel, June, July*, 1515. *Sojourn at Basel, July to December*, 1515.

328	*Leo X. to E.*	Rome, 10 July, 1515	E. a. 27; ii. 4; C. 156 (178)	
329	*Leo X. to Henry VIII.*	Rome, 10 July, 1515	E. a. 29; ii. 5; C. 157 (179)	
330	*Card. Riario to E.*	[Rome] 18 July, 1515	O.E. 869; xxii. 13; C. 157(180)	
331	*Nicolas Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg [Aug], 1515	D; C. 1548 (42)	
332	*Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg, 8 Aug. 1515	D; C. 1539 (26)	
333	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 9 Aug. 1515	D; C. 1540 (27)	
334	To Zasius	[Basel, Aug. 1515]	*Auct.* 222; iii. 49; C. 383 (371)	
335	*Bade to E.*	Paris, 20 Aug. 1515	D; C. 1540 (28)	
336	To Wolsey	Basel, 30 Aug. [1515]	F. 227; viii. 33; C. 1565 (74)	
337	*Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg, 31 Aug. 1515	D; C. 1541 (29)	
338	*Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg, 9 Sept. 1515	D; C. 1541 (30)	
339	*Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg, 11 Sept. 1515	D; C. 1542 (31)	
340	*Sapidus to E.*	Schlettstadt, 12 Sept. [1515]	D; C. 1569 (78)	
341	*Sapidus to E.*	Schlettstadt, 15 Sept. 1515	D; C. 1543 (32)	
342	*John Kierher to E.*	Spires, 16 Sept. 1515	F. 199; vii. 44; C. 162(184)	
343	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 21 Sept. 1515	D; C. 1543 (33)	

* See, as to this reference, Introduction, p. xxviii., and first note there.

344	To Kierher	Basel [Sept. 1515]	O.E. 300; vii. 45; C. 163 (185)
345	To Zasius	[Basel, Sept. 1515]	F. 385; xii. 5; C. 139 (164)
346	*Pirckheimer to E.*	Nuremberg, 1 Oct. [1515]	D; C. 1571 (83)
347	To Ammonius	Basel, 2 Oct. [1515]	F. 224; viii. 29; C. 1523 (3)
348	To Pirckheimer	Basel, 16 Oct. [1515]	*Vita* (1615), 160; xxx. 24; C. 1637 (194)
349	*Wolfgang Angst to E.*	Hagenau, 19 Oct. [1515]	D; C. 1777 (389)
350	*More to Dorpius*	Bruges, 21 Oct. 1515	*Epist.* Lond. 1642. *Auct. ex Moro* 14; C. 1891 (513)
351	*Ulric Hutten to E.*	Worms, 24 Oct. [1515]	D; C. 1573 (86)
352	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 30 Oct. 1515	D; C. 1544 (35)
353	*Paul Voltz to E.*	Haugshofen, 30 Oct. 1515	D; C. 1543 (34)
354	To Zasius	Basel, [Nov. 1515]	*Auct.* 223; iii. 50; C. 286 (289)
355	*John Borssele to E.*	Arlun, 21 Nov. 1515	D; C. 1544 (36)
356	*John Desmoulins to E.*	Tournay, 23 Nov. 1515	D; C. 1545 (37)
357	*Voltz to E.*	Schlettstadt, 25 Nov 1515	D; C. 1546 (38)
358	*Ioan. Cæsarius to E.*	Cologne, 3 Dec. [1515]	D; C. 1578 (93)
359	*Pirckheimer to E.*	Nuremberg, 13 Dec. 1515	D; C. 1546 (39)
360	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 15 Dec. 1515	D; C. 1547 (40)
361	To Peter Caraffa	Basel, 23 Dec. [1515]	F. 182; vii. 12; C. 1534 (16)
362	To Ammonius	Basel, 23 Dec. [1515]	F. 235; viii. 46; C. 1651 (224)
363	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 26 Dec. 1515	D; C. 1547 (41)
364	To Zasius	[Basel, Dec. 1515]	F. 385; xii. 4; C. 138 (162)
365	*Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg, [Dec.] 1515	D; C. 1548 (43)

XXVI. *Continued residence at Basel. January to May*, 1516.

366	To Sapidus	Basel, 1516	E.s.q.e. 170; i. 35; C. 1581 (96)
367	*Augustin Aggeus to E.*	Paris, 11 Jan. 1516	D; C. 1549 (45)
368	*Andr. Hochstraten to E.*	Liège, 11 Jan. [1516]	D; C. 1590 (111)
369	*Wimpfling to E.*	Schlettstadt, 15 Jan. 1516	D; C. 1550 (46)
370	*Nicolaus Basellius to E.*	Hirschau, 1516	D; C. 1585 (101)
371	*Gerbel to E.*	Strasburg, 21 Jan. 1516	D; C. 1550 (47)
372	*Urbanus Regius to Ioannes Faber*	Ingolstadt, [Jan. 1516]	E. s. q. e. 266; ii. 17; C. 227 (229)

373	*Regius to Faber*	Ingolstadt, [Jan. 1516]	E. s. q. e. 270; ii. 18; C. 228 (230)
374	To Leo. X. (Ded. of New Testament)	Basel, 1 Feb. 1516	*Nov. Instrumentum*, 1; xxix. 79; C. vi. Præf.
375	To Wimpfling	Basel, 3 Feb. 1516	Riegger, *Amœn. Lit.* p. 478
376	*Thomas Bedill to E.*	London, 10 Feb. 1516	D; C. 1551 (49)
377	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 17 Feb. [1516]	E. s. q. e. 228; ii. 7; C. 233 (236)
378	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 20 Feb. 1516	D; C. 1552 (50)
379	To Urbanus Regius	Basel, 24 Feb. 1516	O. E. 92; ii. 19; C. 1552 (51)
380	To Urbanus Regius	Basel, 7 Mar. 1516	O.E.618; xviii.35; C.1553(53)
381	*Emser to Pirckheimer*	Leipsig, 1516	D; C. 1590 (110)
382	*Pirckheimer to E.*	Nuremberg, 1516	D; C. 1590 (109)
383	*Nicolas Ellenbogen to E.*	Ottenbeuren, 30 Mar. 1516	D; C. 1554 (55)
384	To Archb. Warham (Ded. of Jerome)	Basel, 1 Ap. 1516	*Hieronymi Op.* Basileæ, 1516; Jortin ii. 528
385	*Georg. Pricellius to E.*	Ulm, 5 Ap. 1516	D; C. 1555 (57)
386	*Sapidus to E.*	Schlettstadt, 11 Ap. 1516	D; C. 1555 (58)
387	*Jerome Baldung to E.*	Ensisheym, 24 Ap. 1516	D; C. 1556 (59)
388	*Hulderic Zwingli to E.*	Glarus, 29 Ap. [1516]	D; C. 1538 (22)
389	To Prince Charles (Dedication)	[Basel, April 1516]	*Institutio Principis*, Basil. 1516; C. iv. 559
390	To Ellenbogen	[Basel, April, 1516]	Horawitz, *Erasmiana*, i. 71
391	*William Budé to E.*	Paris, 1 May [1516]	E. a. 48; i. 6; C. 247 (250)
392	*Zasius to E.*	Freiburg, 9 May, 1516	E. a. 60; ii. 14; C. 195; C. 213
393	To Pirckheimer	Basel, 12 May, 1516	S. 154; xxx. 22; C. 1553 (62)
394	To Bonif. Amerbach	Basel, May [1516]	*Ep. Fam. ad. B. A.* p. 7 (3)
395	*Pirckheimer to E.*	Nuremberg, 20 May, 1516	E. a. 47; ii. 11; C. 96 (214)
396	*More to E.*	[London, May, 1516]	E. s. q. e. 258; ii. 16, C. 220 (227)

XXVII. *Antwerp, Brussels, and St. Omer. June and July*, 1516.

397	To John Sauvage	Antwerp, 1 June [1516]	F 182; vii. 11; C. 155(176)
398	To Rimaclus	Antwerp, 1 June [1516]	F. 181; vii. 10; C. 252(252)

399	To More	Brussels [3 June 1516]*	F. 187; vii. 22; C. 380 (364)
400	To Bishop Fisher	St. Omer, 5 June [1516]	F. 180; vii. 9; C. 255 (256)
401	To Ammonius	St. Omer, 5 June [1516]	F. 203; viii. 5; C. 136 (158)
402	To Ursewick	St. Omer, 5 June [1516]	F. 228; viii. 35; C. 255 (255)
403	To Linacre	St. Omer, 5 June [1516]	F. 306; x. 7; C. 136 (157)
404	To William Latimer	[St. Omer] 5 June [1516]	E. a. d.; xii. 19; C. 255 (254)
405	*Reuchlin to E.*	Stuttgard, 5 June, 1516	D; C. 1558 (63)
406	*Jerome Busleiden to E.*	[Mechlin, June, 1516]	Nève, *Renaissance*, p. 122
407	*Gerard Lystrius to* E.	Zwolle, [June] 1516	D; C. 1588 (105)
408	*John Froben to E.*	Basel, 17 June [1516]	D; C. 1539 (25)
409	To Budé	[Antwerp, 19 June, 1516]	E. a. 53; i. 7; C. 249 (251)
410	*Colet to E.*	Stepney, 20 June [1516]	E. a. 59; ii. 12; C. 1572 (84)
411	*Guilielmus Brielis to E.*	20 June, 1516	D; C. 1559 (64)
412	*Archbp. Warham to E.*	Otford, 22 June [1516]†	D; E. s. q. e.; ii. 8; C. 260 (261), 1559 (65)
413	*Thomas Bedill to E.*	Otford, 22 June [1516]	D; C. 1609 (142)
414	*Ammonius to E.*	London, 22 June [1516]	D; C. 1526 (7)
415	*Bp. Fisher to E.*	Rochester, [June] 1516	D; C. 1587 (103)
416	*More to E.*	London [June, 1516]	D; C. 1664 (252)
417	To Cæsarius ‡ (Dedication)	Antwerp, 23 June, 1516	Gaza, *Gramm. Græc.* Louan. 1516; C. i. 115
418	*Sixtinus to E.*	London, 26 June [1516]	D; C. 1874 (494)
419	*Ammonius to E.*	Westminster, 26 June [1516]	F. 232; viii. 41; C. 156 (177)
420	*Thomas Lupset to E.*	London, 28 June [1516]	D.; C. 1852 (459)
421	*Alardus Amstelredamus to E.*	Louvain, 1 July, 1516	D; C. 1560 (66)
422	*Josse Bade to E.*	Paris, 6 July, 1516	D; C. 1561 (67)

* The date of this letter is shown by the arrival of Tunstall at Brussels, announced in it. Compare Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 1994.

† Two slightly varying copies of Epistle 412 are in the printed epistles and in D. I have taken the day-date from D. (C. 1560), as agreeing with that of Bedill's letter (Epistle 413), probably sent with it. There is no year-date in *Epistolæ sane quam elegantes* or in D.

‡ This dedication, which is that of the first part of Gaza's Grammar, is dated in the original edition, *Antwerpiæ, anno* M.D.XVI. *Pridie Natalis Ioannis Baptistæ.* This book was published at Louvain in July, 1516. The second part has another dedication to the same friend, dated from Louvain, 10 *Cal. Mart.* M.D.XVIII. In C. i. 115, the latter dedication is omitted and the year-date of the first altered to 1518.

423	*Budé to E.*	Paris, 7 July [1516]	E. a. 48; i. 9; C. 256 (257)
424	*John Sauvage to E.*	Brussels, 8 July, 1516	D; C. 1561 (68)
425	To Bishop Ruthall	Antwerp, 9 July, 1516	F. 180; vii. 8; C. 196 (215)
426	To Dorpius *	Brussels 10 July, [1516]	E. O. 117; xxvii. 58; C. 1807 (423)
427	*Dorpius to E.*	Louvain, [July], 1516	D; C. 1660 (247)
428	To Budé	Antwerp, 14 July [1516]	E. a. 58; i. 8; C. 259 (260)
429	*Count Nuenar to E.*	Cologne, 14 July, 1516	C. 1562 (69)
430	*Petrus Barbirius to E.*	Brussels, 18 July, 1516	D; C. 1562 (70)

XXVIII. *Erasmus in England, August*, 1516.

431	*Petrus Viterius to E.*	Paris, 2 Aug. 1516	D; C. 1563 (71)
432	*Antonius Clava to E.*	Ghent, 3 Aug. 1516	D; C. 1564 (72)
433	*Thomas Grey to E.*	Paris, 5 Aug. 1516	D; C. 1564 (73)
434	To Leo X.	London, 9 Aug. 1516	E. a. 30; ii. 6; C. 158 (181)
435	*Sixtinus to Gillis*	London, 12 Aug. [1516]	D; C. 1874 (495)
436	*Hen. Bullock to E.*	Cambridge, 13 Aug. [1516]	E. a. 36; ii. 9; C. 197 (216)
437	To Ammonius	[London, 14 Aug. 1516]	F. 206; viii. 14; C. 117 (133)
438	To Ammonius	Rochester, 17 Aug. [1516]	F. 221; viii. 26; C. 125 (146)
439	*Ammonius to E.*	Westminster [18 Aug. 1516]	F. 223; viii. 27; C. 125 (145)
440	To Ammonius	Rochester, 22 Aug. [1516]	F. 223; viii. 28; C. 125 (147)
441	To Bullock	Rochester, Aug. 1516†	E. a. 37; ii. 10; C. 126 (148)
442	*John Watson to E.*	[Cambridge, Aug. 1516]	E. s. q. e. 129; i. 23; C. 160 (183)

XXIX. *Epistle to Grunnius, August*, 1516.

443	To Lambertus Grunnius ‡	[Aug. 1516]	O. E. 982; xxiv. 5; C. 1825 (442)
444	*Grunnius to E.*	[Aug. 1516]	O. E. 992; xxiv. 6; C. 1833 (443)

* Epistle 426 is dated *Bruxellæ, sexto Idus Iulias*, without year. Erasmus was summoned to Brussels by Epistle 424, and Tunstall (mentioned in Epistle 426 as with the writer) was there, 4, 10, 18 July, 1516. About the same dates in 1517 he was at Middelburg. Brewer, *Abstracts*, ii. 2150, 2189, 3453, 3472. Erasmus had lately had some talk about Dorpius with his friend, Paludanus of Louvain, who may himself have been on a visit to Brussels. C. 1807 F. Epistle 427 appears to be an answer to 426, probably sent without loss of time.

† Epistle 441, which is dated *Roffæ in ædibus Episcopi pridie Calendas Septembres*, was probably written a few days earlier. It answers Epistle 436; and Erasmus appears to have crossed the Channel before the end of the month. See Epistle 445.

‡ As to the date and the history of this Epistle, see Introduction, pp. lx.-lxii.

XXX. *Calais, Tournay, Antwerp. August to October*, 1516.

445	To Reuchlin	Calais, 27 Aug. [1516]	*Ill. vir. Ep.* s. 4b.; Geiger, *Reuchlin*, p. 251.
446	To Wolsey	[Tournay, Aug. 1516]	F. 183; vii. 14; C. 164(187)
447	*Wolfgang Faber to E.*	Basel, 2 Sept. 1516	D; C. 1566 (75)
448	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 3 Sept. 1516	D; C. 1569 (76)
449	*More to E.**	London, 3 Sept. [1516]	D; C. 1628 (174)
450	To Guil. Nesenus (Preface to *Copia*)	Antwerp, 3 Sept. 1516	*De Copia*, Basel, 1516; Jortin, ii. 593.
451	*Bruno Amerbach to E.*	Basel, 5 Sept. 1516	D; C. 1569 (77)
452	*Henry Glarean to E.*	Basel, 5 Sept. 1516	E. s. q. e. 155; i. 34; C. 197 (217)
453	*Ammonius to Leo X.*	[Westminster, Sept. 1516]	Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 24
454	*Nesenus to E.*	Frankfort [Sept.] 1516	D; C. 1588 (106)
455	*Archb. Warham to More*	Otford, 16 Sept. 1516	D; C. 1570 (80)
456	*More to E.*	London [22 Sept.] 1516†	D; C. 1553 (52)
457	*Gillis to Gaspar Halmal* (Dedication)	Antwerp, 26 Sept. 1516	*Epistolæ aliquot*, Præf. See Introduction, p. lxxiv.
458	To Jerome Busleiden	Antwerp, 28 Sept. 1516	D; C. 1571 (81)
459	To Reuchlin	Antwerp, 29 Sept. [1516]	*Ill. vir. Ep.* t.; Geiger, p. 258
460	*Bade to E.*	Paris, 29 Sept. 1516	D; C. 1571 (82)
461	To More	Antwerp, 2 Oct. 1516	F. 182; vii. 13; C. 202 (218)

XXXI. *Brussels, October*, 1516, *to February*, 1517.

462	*Bp. Fisher to E.*	Rochester [Oct. 1516]	D; C. 1813 (428)
463	*More to E.*	London [3 Oct. 1516]	D; C. 1664 (251)

* There are five letters of More, dated from September to December, 1516, in which the forthcoming *Utopia* is mentioned. In the first three it is called *Nusquama*. Possibly the name *Utopia* was suggested by Erasmus as more euphonious, and having for the majority of readers a less obvious meaning. In the Epistle of Erasmus (461) where he had originally written *Nusquamæ* (Farrago, 183) the later editions substitute *Utopiæ*.

† The date in D has been read, *Postridie Matthiæ Apostoli* (25 Feb.); but the contents point to September. I therefore read *Postridie Matthæi*. This date is confirmed by the preceding letter of Warham, which appears to relate to the same transaction. In both letters Erasmus is assumed to be at Louvain, to which place he had probably announced to his English friends his intention of going. See C. 1663 c, and note on Epistle 496. I see that Dr. Max Reich has anticipated this conjecture about the date. Reich, *Erasmus*, p 263

464	To Peter Gillis	Brussels, 6 Oct. 1516	Auct.; ii. 27; C. 203 (219)
465	To Ammonius	Brussels, 6 Oct. [1516]	F. 214; viii. 30; C. 137 (160)
466	To Peter Gillis	Brussels, 17 Oct. [1516]	M. 137; xxx. 75; C. 1776 (388)
467	To Budé	Brussels, 28 Oct, 1516	E. s. q. e. 40; i. 10; C. 212 (221)
468	*A. Baarland to C. Baarland**	Louvain [Oct.] 1516	E. s. q. e. 134; i. 25; C. 1582 (98)
469	*Colet to E.*	London [Oct. 1516]	D; C. 1660 (246)
470	*Sebastian Giustiniani to E.*	London [Oct. 1516]	D; C. 1661 (249)
471	*More to E.*	London, 31 Oct. 1516	D; C. 1574 (87)
472	*Ammonius to E.*	Westminster, 1 Nov. [1516]	F. 225; viii. 31; C. 139 (163)
473	*Jerome Busleiden to E.*	Mechlin, 9 Nov. 1516	D; C. 1575 (88)
474	To Ammonius	Brussels, 9 Nov. [1516]	F. 219; viii. 32; C. 133 (151)
475	*Alardus to E.*	Louvain, 11 Nov. 1516	D; C. 1575 (89)
476	*Mountjoy to E.*	Tournay, 12 Nov. 1516	D; C. 1576 (90)
477	*Ludovicus Berus to E.*	Basel, 12 Nov. 1516	E. s. q. e. 152; i. 32; C. 217 (223)
478	*Gerardus Noviomagus to E.*	Louvain, 12 Nov. 1516	D; C. 1577 (91)
479	*Louis Canossa, Bp. of Bayeux, to E.*	Amboise, 13 Nov. 1516	E. s. q. e. 125; i. 20; C. 217 (224)
480	*Nesenus to E.*	Basel [Nov. 1516]	D; C. 1589 (108)
481	*Glarean to E.*	Basel, 13 Nov. 1516	D; C. 1577 (92)
482	To Peter Gillis	Brussels, 18 Nov. [1516]	F. 194; vii. 33; C. 357 (345)
483	*Budé to E.*	Paris [26 Nov. 1516]†	E. s. q. e. 53; i. 11; C. 204 (220)

* The epistle of Barland, containing an account of Erasmus's works, may have been originally written in the spring or early summer of 1516, after the publication of Jerome, and before the arrival in the Low Countries of the *Institutio Principis*, printed at Basel in April of that year. But a clause about the appearance in the book-shops of the *Epistolæ aliquot*, the publication of which at Louvain had been watched by the writer of the letter, points to October, 1516. A copy of Epistle 468 was sent to Erasmus with Epistle 592.

† This Epistle, answering Epistle 467, which is dated *v. Cal. Novembres*, is itself dated in the printed copies *vi. Cal. Novembres*. I have ventured to substitute *vi. Cal. Decembres*.

484	*More to E.*	London [Nov. 1516]	D ; C. 1663 (250)
485	*Seb. Giustiniani to E.*	London [Nov. 1516]	D ; C. 1661 (249)
486	*Ammonius to E.*	Westminster, 4 Dec. [1516]	Vischer, *Erasmiana*, 25
487	*Geo. Spalatinus to E.*	Lochan, 11 Dec. 1516	D ; C. 1579 (94)
488	*More to E.*	London, 15 Dec. [1516]	D ; C. 1649 (221)
489	*Petrus Viterius to E.*	Paris, 18 Dec. 1516	D ; C. 1580 (95)
490	*Francis Deloin to E.*	Paris [Dec. 1516]	E. s. q. e. 103 ; i. 13 ; C. 181 (201)
491	To Ammonius	[Brussels] 29 Dec. 1516	F. 228 ; viii. 36 ; C. 218 (225)
492	To Berus	Brussels, 1 Jan. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 153 ; i. 33 ; C. 165 (191)
493	*Mountjoy to E.*	Tournay, 4 Jan. 1516-7	D ; C. 1549 (44)
494	To Watson	Brussels, 13 Jan. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 133 ; i. 24 ; C. 166 (192)
495	*More to E.*	London, 13 Jan. 1517	D ; C. 1590 (112)
496	*Peter Gillis to E.**	Antwerp, 18 Jan. 1517	D ; C. 1591 (113)
497	To Peter Gillis	Brussels, 20 Jan. [1517]	F. 194 ; vii. 34 ; C. 292(300)
498	*Dorpius to E.*	Louvain [Jan. 1517]	D. ; C. 1660 (247)
499	*Leo X. to E.*†	Rome, 26 Jan. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 146 ; i. 28 ; C. 166 (193)
500	*Leo X. to E.* (Absolution)	Rome, 26 Jan. 1517	Vischer, *Erasm.* p. 29
501	*Leo X. to Ammonius* (Authority to dispense)	Rome, 26 Jan. 1517	Vischer, *Erasm.* p. 26
502	*William Latimer to E.*	Oxford, 30 Jan. [1517]	F. 318 ; x. 22 ; C. 292 (301)
503	*Bishop of Worcester to E.*	Rome, 31 Jan. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 147 ; i. 29 ; C. 167 (195)

* Before the 18th of January, 1517, Erasmus appears to have gone to see Paludanus at Louvain, with a view to his own residence there. C. 1590 E, 1591 A, 1660 F. But he preferred to put off his removal till after Lent (Durius nos acciperet Quadragesima. C. 292 C.) ; and did not go in fact till July.

† The documents authorising the Dispensation obtained by Erasmus (see Introduction, p. lxii, and Epistles 500, 501, and 550) were accompanied by a gracious letter of the Pope addressed to Erasmus himself.

504	*Peter Gillis to E.*	Antwerp, [Feb.] 1516-7	D.; C. 1582 (97)
505	*Budé to E.*	Paris, 5 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 109; i. 15; C. 168 (197)
506	*William Cop to E.*	Paris, 6 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 121; i. 17; C. 171 (198)
507	*Antony Clava to E.*	Ghent, 6 Feb. [1517]	E. s. q. e. 142; i. 26; C. 1788 (400)
508	*Robert Cæsar to E.*	Ghent [February], 1516-7	C. 1586 (102)
509	To Grey and Viterius	Brussels, 13 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 127; i. 22; C. 171 (199)

XXXII. *Antwerp. February*, 1517.

510	*Ricardus Bartholinus to E.*	[Brussels, Feb. 1517]	E. s. q. e. 173; i. 36; C. 223 (228); 1779 (392)
511	To Clava	Antwerp [Feb. 1517]*	E. s. q. e. 144; i. 27; C. 1788 (401)
512	To Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris	Antwerp, 14 Feb. 1517	E. s. q. e. 13; i. 5; C. 231 (235)
513	To Budé	Antwerp, 15 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 76; i. 12; C. 172 (200)
514	*Guy Morillon to E.*	Brussels, 18 Feb. 1517	C. 1591 (114)
515	To Francis I.	Antwerp, 21 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 123; i. 19; C. 185 (204)
516	To Budé	Antwerp, 21 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 117; i. 16; C. 184 (203)
517	To Deloin	Antwerp, 21 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 107; i. 14; C. 183 (202)
518	To Dorpius	Antwerp, 21 Feb. [1517]	F. 179; vii. 7; C. 1808 (424)
519	To Cop	Antwerp, 24 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 122; i. 18; C. 186 (205)

* Epistle 511 is dated in E. s. q. e., *Antwerpiæ*, without date of time. It answers Epistle 507 (which, containing a message of compliment to the Chancellor, was probably addressed to Brussels), and concludes with an assurance of the Chancellor's goodwill to Clava. It may well have been written on returning from a visit to the Court at Brussels, of which we have some indication in the date of Epistle 509.

520	To the Bishop of Bayeux	Antwerp, 24 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 126; i. 21; C. 186 (206)
521	To Ammonius	Antwerp, 24 Feb. [1517]	F. 229; viii. 38; C. 228 (231)
522	To Fabricius Capito	Antwerp, 26 Feb. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 5; i. 4; C. 186 (207)
523	To Latimer	Antwerp [Feb. 1517]	O. E. 178; x. 23; C. 378 (363)

XXXIII. *Brussels and Antwerp. March, April,* 1517.

524	*Marianus Accardus to E.*	Brussels, 1 March, 1517	D; C. 1591 (115)
525	To More	Antwerp, 1 Mar. 1516-7	F. 184; vii. 16; C. 189 (208)
526	To Pope Leo X.	Brussels, March, 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 148; i. 30; C. 166 (194)
527	To the Bishop of Worcester	Brussels, March, 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 151; i. 31; C. 168 (196)
528	To Henry Glarean (Dedication)	[Brussels, March, 1517]	*Declamatio de Morte*, Basil. 1517; C. iv. 618
529	To Philip, Bp. of Utrecht	[Brussels, March, 1517]	*Querela Pacis*. Basil. 1517; C. iv. 626
530	*Gillis to Clava** (Dedication)	Antwerp, 5 Mar. 1517	*Epistolæ sane quam elegantes*, Præf.
531	To More	Antwerp, 8 Mar. 1517	F. 185; vii. 17; C. 234 (237)
532	*Rutger Rescius to E.*	Louvain, 8 Mar. 1516-7	D; C. 1554 (54)
533	To Bartholinus	Antwerp, 10 Mar. 1516-7	E. s. q. e. 183; i. 37; C. 190 (210)
534	To Ammonius	Antwerp, 11 Mar. 1516-7	F. 229; viii. 37; C. 191 (211)
535	To Ammonius†	Antwerp, 15 Mar. [1517]	F. 229
536	*Jerome Emser to E.*	Leipsic, 15 Mar. 1517	D; C. 1592 (116)
537	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 22 Mar. 1517	D; C. 1595 (119)
538	*Wolfgang Faber to E.*	Basel, 23 Mar. 1517	D; C. 1597 (122)
539	*Warham to E.*	Canterbury, 24 Mar. 1517	D; C. 1597 (121)
540	*Peter Mosellanus to E.*	Leipsig, 24 Mar. 1517	D; C. 1596 (120)

* Translated in Introduction, p. lxxv.

† Omitted in the later collections. See Introduction, p. xxxi.

541	*Œcolampadius to E.*	Weinsberg, 27 Mar. 1517	F. 198; vii. 42; C. 235 (238)
542	*Reuchlin to E.*	27 Mar. 1517	D; C. 1598 (123)
543	To Henricus Afinius*	Antwerp, [March] 1517	E. a. d.; xiii. 23; C. 289 (295)
544	*Accardus to E.*	Brussels, 1 April, 1517	D; C. 1599 (124)
545	*Petrus Barbirius to E.*	Brussels, 3 April, 1516-7	D; C. 1554 (56)
546	*Budé to E.*	Paris, 5 April, 1516-7	D; C. 1556 (60)
547	*Io. Harenaceus to E.*	Angia, 6 April, 1517	D; C. 1599 (125)
548	*Cuthbert Tunstall to Budé*	[Antwerp, April, 1517]	*Auct.*; ii. 29; C. 252 (253)
549	*Germain Brice to E.*	Paris, 6 April, 1516-7	F. 55; iv. 8; C. 191 (212)

XXXIV. *Short visit to England, April,* 1517.

550	*Ammonius to E.* (Dispensation)	Westminster, 9 Ap. 1517	Vischer, p. 28
551	*John Babham to E.*	Oxford, 12 April, [1517]	D; C. 1778 (391)
552	*Tunstall to E.*	Antwerp, 22 April, 1517	D; C. 1603 (131)
553	*Nicolaus Sagundinus to Marcus Musurus*	London, 22 April, 1517	D; C. 1601 (130)
554	*Cornelius Batt to E.*	Groningen, 22 Ap. 1517	D; C. 1600 (129)
555	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 24 April, 1517	D; C. 1604 (134)
556	*Watson to E.*	Cambridge [April, 1517]	D; C. 1882 (500)
557	*Stromer to E.*	Frankfort, 30 April, 1517†	D; C. 1605 (136)

* Of four epistles addressed to Afinius two are without date of day. Epistle 543 is a formal address, written at Antwerp, where this correspondent resided, and seems by its contents to belong to the period of the Treaty of Cambrai, March 1517. Epistle 677 demands with some want of delicacy a promised present of plate, and accompanies a letter to Gillis, Epistle 678, probably written early in November, 1517. The third Epistle is dated Louvain, Jan. 6, 1518, C 1663 (256), and repeats the demand for the present. The fourth is the short dedication of the Declamation *de laude Medicinæ*, dated at Louvain, March 13, 1518, C. i. 536. We may assume that by this time the present had been received.

† Erasmus left England on or about the last day of April, and was "thrown ashore" near Boulogne on the 1st of May. Epistle 563, C. 287 B. The letter of Fisher, Epistle 565, seems to show that Erasmus paid a visit to the Bishop on his way to the coast, as he had done in August, 1516.

XXXV. *Antwerp and Brussels, May, June, July*, 1517.

558	*Bullock to E.*	Cambridge, 1 May [1517]	D; C. 1557 (61)
559	*Bullock to E.*	Cambridge, 4 May, 1517*	D; C. 1606 (137)
560	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 10 May, 1517	D; C. 1606 (138)
561	*Berus to E.*	Basel, 11 May, 1517	D; C. 1607 (139)
562	To Eutychius (Ded. of Lucian)	Antwerp [May] 1517	*Luciani Opusc.* Basil., 1517; xxix. 10; C. i. 329
563	To More	[Antwerp, May] 1517†	F.189; vii. 24; C. 287(291)
564	*Budé to Tunstall*	Paris, 19 May, 1517	*Auct.;* ii. 30; C. 229 (249)
565	*Bishop Fisher to E.*	Rochester [May, 1517]	D; C. 1812 (428)
566	*Clava to E.*	Ghent, 4 June [1517]	D; C. 1789 (402)
567	*Guy Morillon to E.*	Ghent, 5 June, 1517	D; C. 1607 (140)
568	*Baptista Egnatius to E.*	Venice, 21 June, 1517	D; C. 1608 (141)
569	*Andreas Asulanus to E.*	Venice [June] 1517	D; C. 1666 (253)
570	*Sagundinus to E.*	London, 22 June, 1517	D; C. 1609 (143)
571	*Lupset to E.*	London 28 June [1517]	D; C. 1852 (459)
572	*Giustiniani to E.*	London 29 June, 1517	D; C. 1611 (145)
573	*Beatus to E.*	Basel, 8 July, 1517	D; C. 1613 (146)

XXXVI. *Louvain, July, August*, 1517.

574	To More	Louvain [July] 1517‡	D; C. 1658 (241)
575	*The Bp. of Basel to E.*	Basel, 13 July, 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 28 C. 259 (258)
576	*Lucas Paliurus to E.*	Basel, 13 July, 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 23; C. 259 (259)
577	*Fabricius Capito to E.*	Basel, 15 July, 1517	C. 1613 (147)
578	*More to E.*	London, 16 July, 1517	D; C. 1614 (148)
579	To Peter Gillis	[Louvain, 17 July, 1517]	F. 189; vii. 23; C. 384(373)
580	To Tunstall	Louvain, 17 July, 1517	D; C. 1616 (150)
581	To Peter Barbier	Louvain, 17 July, 1517§	D; C. 1616 (151)

* Dated in D. *Quarto nonas Maias* (4 May). In C. it is *5 Maji.*

† Epistle 563 appears to have been written about 15 May, as it mentions the Court being at Ghent. Compare Brewer, ii. 3246.

‡ Epistle 574 has no date but of place and year. Erasmus has lately removed his quarters to Louvain, "having remained with Tunstall as long as he could." Tunstall, having been at or near Brussels for some time, had now gone to Middelburg, probably in company with King Charles on the 5th of July, 1517. Brewer, ii. 3426, 3453. This gives us the near date of Erasmus's removal to Louvain.

§ Date in D. 16 *Kal. Aug.* not 18 July, as in C.

582	*Budé to E.*	Paris, 17 July, 1517	D; C. 1615 (149)
583	*Ioan. Juliacensis* [*Cæsarius*] *to E.*	Cologne, 21 July, 1517	D; C. 1617 (152)
584	*Hutten to E.*	Bamberg, 21 July, 1517	D; C. 1617 (153)
585	*Matt. Schiirer to E.**	Strasburg, 21 July, 1517	D; C. 1619 (154)
586	*Colet to E.*	London [July] 1517	D: C. 1660 (246)
587	*Dorpius to E.*	Louvain [July] 1517	D; C. 1661 (247)
588	*Nic. Barbier to E.*	Middelburg, 24 July, 1517	D; C. 1619 (155)
589	*Stromer to E.*	Mayence, 29 July, 1517	D; C. 1620 (156)
590	*Cæsarius to E.*	Cologne, 30 July, 1517	D; C. 1620 (157)
591	*Budé to Lupset*	Paris, 31 July [1517]	*Utopia*, Basil. 1518, Præf.
592	*A. Barland to E.*	Louvain [Aug. 1517]†	D; C. 1585 (100)
593	*Glarean to E.*	Paris, 5 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1620 (158)
594	*Pace to E.*	Constance, 5 Aug. [1517]	Jortin, ii. 347
595	*Peter Barbier to E.*	Sensebardeau, 12 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1621 (159)
596	To John Ruser	Louvain [Aug.] 1517	F. 157; C. 1659 (242)
597	To Cæsarius	Antwerp, 16 Aug. 1517‡	C. 1622 (160)
598	*More to E.*	London, 19 Aug. [1517]	F. 177; vii. 4; C. 370 (522)
599	*Sixtinus to E.*	London, 19 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1623 (161)
600	To Beatus Rhenanus	Louvain, 23 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1624 (164)
601	To the Bp. of Basel	Louvain [23 Aug.] 1517	*Auct.*; iii. 29; C. 285 (286)
602	To Berus	Louvain, 23 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1623 (162)
603	To Nesenus	Louvain, 23 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1623 (163)
604	To Lucas Paliurus	Louvain, 23 Aug. 1517	*Auct.*; iii. 24; C. 262 (262)
605	To Henry Stromer	Louvain, 24 Aug. 1517	*Auct.*; iii. 30; C. 260 (263)
606	To Bruno Amerbach	Louvain, 24 Aug. 1517	D; C. 1625 (165)

* The writer of this epistle forwards some letters from Wimpfling, Gerbelius, and Ruser. In Manuscript D. it is followed by some verses of Wimpfling which are not printed in C.

† There is nothing in Epistle 592 (in which a copy of Epistle 468 was inclosed) to fix its date, but it is probable that Barland, being an ardent admirer of Erasmus and having common friends, made his acquaintance soon after his arrival at Louvain, and took an early opportunity of communicating to him the account he had himself written of his works. He appears to have acted as tutor to the young Cardinal de Croy. See Epistle 620, which is probably an answer to a civil note of Erasmus thanking him for Epistle 592 and its inclosure.

‡ This epistle is printed in C. among letters taken from the Deventer Manuscript, but I find no mention of it in Kan's account of that collection (see Introduction, p xxvi), and my friend, Mr. Van Slee of Deventer, does not find it there. The date in C. is that given above, but I am not aware of any other evidence of Erasmus having left Louvain at this time.

607	To Guolfangus Augustanus	Louvain, 24 Aug. 1517	D ; C. 1625 (166)
608	To Ruser	Louvain, 24 Aug. 1517	D ; C. 1625 (167)
609	To Count Nuenar	Louvain, 25 Aug. 1517	D ; C. 1626 (168)
610	To John Froben	Louvain, 25 Aug. 1517	D ; *Utopia*, Basil. 1518 Præf. ; C. 1626 (169)
611	To Peter Gillis	Louvain, 28 Aug. 1517*	D ; C. 1610 (144)
612	*Chiregattus to E.*	Antwerp, 28 Aug. 1517†	D ; C. 1627 (170)
613	To George Haloin	Louvain, 29 Aug. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 27 ; C. 261(264)
614	[To an Italian Prelate]	Louvain, 29 Aug. 1517	D ; C. 1627 (171)
615	To Tunstall ‡	Louvain, 30 Aug. 1517	D ; C. 1627 (172)
616	To Tunstall	Louvain, 31 Aug. 1517	D ; C. 1628 (173)
617	To Richard, Chaplain of Tunstall.	Louvain, 31 Aug. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 26 ; C 261 (265)
618	To Gerardus Noviomagus	Louvain, 31 Aug. 1517	E.a.d. ; xii. 9 ; C. 261 (266)

XXXVII. *Louvain, September*, 1517.

619	To Lachner and John Froben	Louvain [Sept.] 1517	D ; C. 1655 (236)
620	*A Barland to E.*	Louvain [Sept. 1517]§	D ; C. 1584 (99)
621	To Clava	Louvain, 7 Sept. 1517	D ; C. 1629 (175)
622	To Marcus Laurinus	Louvain, 7 Sept. 1517‖	D ; C. 1629 (176)
623	[To the Bishop of Worcester]	Louvain, 7 Sept, 1517	D ; C. 1630 (177)
624	To Peter Barbier	Louvain [Sept.] 1517	D ; C. 1652 (230)
625	To More	Antwerp, 8 Sept. 1517 ¶	D ; C. 1630 (179)

* Dated in D. *Lovan. pridie Ioannis.* Considering the contents of the letter, in which reference is made to the recent death of Ammonius, who was buried 19 August, 1517 (C. 1613 B), the feast intended must be the Decollation of St. John Baptist, 29 August. It is dated in C. 23 Junii, the eve of the Midsummer Feast.

† This epistle is dated from Antwerp. It was written by an Italian, who was returning to Rome, having left England to escape the "fatal sweat," which had carried off Ammonius.

‡ Probably a draft, rewritten more at length the next day. Epistle 616.

§ The date of this epistle is no more certain than that of Epistle 592. See p. (27).

‖ This epistle gives an approximate date for Erasmus's removal at Louvain to the Collegium Liliense, which was to take place within four days. He had hitherto been the guest of Paludanus.

¶ This and the four following epistles were written at Antwerp, where Erasmus was paying for his portrait by Quentin Matsys and sending it to More at Calais. C. 1630 F.

626	To Bishop Fisher	Antwerp, 8 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1630 (178)
627	To Sixtinus	Antwerp, 8 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1631 (180)
628	To Henry VIII.	Antwerp, 9 Sept. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 32; C. 263 (268)
629	To Cardinal Wolsey	Antwerp, 9 Sept. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 31; C. 262 (267)
630	To Peter Vannes *	Louvain [9 Sept] 1517	C. 1652 (228)
631	To Ioannes Fevinus	Louvain, 9 Sept. 1517	E. a. d.; xiii. 8; C. 264 (269)
632	To Giles Busleiden	Louvain [Sept. 1517]	*Auct,;* iii. 33; C. 266 (271)
633	To Jac. Faber Stapulensis	Louvain, 11 Sept. 1517	*Auct.*; iii. 9; C. 236 (239)
634	*Archbp. of Mayence to E.*	Steinheim, 13 Sept. [1517]	D; C. 350 (334)
635	*Stromer to E.*	Steinheim, 13 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1605 (236)
636	*Tunstall to E.*	Bruges, 14 Sept. 1517	D; *Auct.* 125; iii. 2; C. 266 (272)
637	*Lupset to E.*	Paris, 15 Sept. [1517]	D; C. 1570 (79)
638	[To a young Prelate]	Louvain [Sept.] 1517	D; C. 1659 (243)
639	To Clava	Louvain, 16 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1631 (182)
640	To More	Louvain, 16 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1631 (182)
641	To Sixtinus	Louvain, 16 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1632 (184)
642	To Marc. Laurinus	Louvain, 16 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1632 (185)
643	To [Bishop Fisher]	Louvain, 16 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1632 (186)
644	*Warham to More*	Otford, 16 Sept. [1517]	D; C. 1570 (80)
645	To Ant. of Lutzenburg	Louvain, 17 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1632 (187)
646	*Paschasius Berselius to E.*	Liege, 17 Sept. 1517	D; C. 1633 (188)
647	To Ioannes Atensis	Louvain [Sept.] 1517	D; C. 1652 (229)
648	[To a young Prelate]	Louvain [Sept.] 1517	D; C. 1660 (244)
649	To Tunstall †	Louvain [Sept.] 1517	*Auct.* 130; iii. 3; C. 288 (293)
650	*Cæsarius to E.*	Cologne, 22 Sept. 1517 ‡	D; C. 1633 (189)
651	*Pet. Gillis to E.*	Antwerp, 27 Sept. 1517	C. 1634 (190)

* I do not find this epistle in Mr. Kan's list of the contents of the Deventer MS. It is addressed in C. *Petro Ammonio*, but in the will of Andrew Ammonius the name of his kinsman and executor is Peter Vannes.

† This epistle answers Epistle 636. It was probably sent to Calais, where Tunstall awaited his recall to England. Brewer, ii. 3690, 3727.

‡ Corrected date in D. (10 Cal. Oct. for 10 Cal. Sept.), apparently right. The *Apologia ad Fabrum* was already published; on the 23rd of August it was still in the press. C. 1624 B; Epistle 600.

XXXVIII. *Louvain, October*, 1517

652	To Philip, Bp. of Utrecht (Dedication)	[Louvain, 3 Oct. 1517	*Querela Pacis*, Basil. Dec. 1517; C. iv. 626
653	To Gerardus Noviomagus	Louvain, 3 Oct. 1517	D; C. 1634 (191)
654	*More to Gillis*	Calais, 6 Oct. 1517	*Auct.*, iii. 7; C. 1635 (192)
655	*More to E.*	Calais, 7 Oct. 1517	D; C. 1635 (193)
656	To Giles Busleiden	Louvain, 19 Oct. 1517*	*Auct.*; iii. 40; C. 353 (338)
657	To Lachner	Louvain [October], 1517	D; C. 1655 (237)
658	To Gillis	Louvain [Oct. 1517]	F. 192; vii. 29; C. 382 (368)
659	To Budé	Louvain, 26 Oct. 1517	D; C. 1637 (195)
660	To Glarean	Louvain [26 Oct.] 1517	D; C. 1654 (234)
661	E. to Lupset	Louvain, 26 Oct. 1517	D; C. 1638 (196)
662	To Giles Busleiden	Louvain [Oct] 1517	D; C. 1653 (232)
663	*Charles Ofhuys to E.*	Paris, 30 Oct. 1517	D; C. 1638 (197)
664	To Schürer	Louvain, 31 Oct. 1517	D; C. 1638 (198)

XXXIX. *Louvain, November* 1517.

665	To Giles Busleiden	[Nov. 1517]	*Auct.*; iii. 6; C. 377 (362)
666	To Pirckheimer	Louvain, 2 Nov. 1517	C. 268 (274)
667	To John [Germain]†	Louvain 2 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1639 (199)
668	To Peter Barbier	Louvain, 2 Nov. 1517	*Auct.*; iii. 36; C. 270 (275)
669	To Lystrius	Louvain, 2 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1639 (200)
670	To Gillis	Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517	F. 196; vii. 38; C. 216 (222)
671	To Jac. Banisius	Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1639 (201)

* Of the three epistles of Erasmus (656, 662 and 665) to Giles Busleiden concerning the foundation of the trilingual college under the will of his brother Jerome, the first, dated *postridie Lucæ* (19 Oct.), and recommending a Hebrew professor, was published by Erasmus. The second, found in MS. D., which is without date of day, thanks Busleiden for accepting the Hebrew, and sends some Latin verses. The third is an epistle, also without date of day, in honour of Jerome Busleiden (with a Greek ode and the Latin verses more complete), published by Erasmus and apparently written for publication.

† Epistle 667 is addressed to the person for whom the *Enchiridion militis Christiani* was originally composed. He appears to have prospered at the court of the young Prince Charles. The name of Germain is not in the address, but is indicated by a punning allusion in the body of the letter. See pp. 341, 342.

672	To Cæsarius	Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1639 (202)
673	To [Count Nuenar]*	Louvain, 3 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1641 (203)
674	To Ernest, Duke of Bavaria	Louvain, 4 Nov. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 34; C. 271 (276)
675	*More to E.*	Calais, 5 Nov. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 8; C. 1641 (204)
676	Bp. of Utrecht to E.	Vellenhoe [6 Nov.] 1517†	*Auct.;* iii. 47; C. 273 (282)
677	To Afinius	Louvain [Nov.] 1517	D; C. 1652 (227)
678	To Gillis ‡	Louvain [Nov.] 1517	D; C. 1651 (226)
679	To Gillis	Louvain, 10 Nov. [1517] §	F 195; vii. 35; C. 1775 (386)
680	To Gillis	Louvain [12 Nov.], 1517	F. 193; vii. 30; C. 286 (288)
681	*Jac. Banisius to E.*	Antwerp, 12 Nov. 1517	F. 167; vi. 34; C. 271 (277)
682	*Geo. Spalatinus to E.*	Aldenburg, 13 Nov. 1517	F. 374; xi. 23; C. 272 (278)
683	To Cardinal Grimani (Dedication)	Louvain, 13 Nov., 1517	*Paraphrasis in Ep. ad Romanos*, Præf.; C. vii. 771
684	To Berselius	Louvain [Nov.] 1517	D; C. 1653 (231)
685	To Gillis ‖	Louvain, 15 Nov. [1517]	F. 185; vii. 18; C. 357 (344)
686	To Reuchlin	Louvain, 15 Nov. [1517]	*Ill. vir. Ep.*; Geiger, *Reuchlin*, 266
687	*Warham to E.*	Lambeth, 15 Nov., 1517 ¶	D; C. 1642 (205)

* Epistle 673 is addressed in C. (following an insertion in D.) to Pirckheimer. In the above address I have adopted a conjecture of Mr. Reich.

† Epistle 676 (which answers Epistle 652) is dated in *Auctarium, sexto Decembris, Anno* M.D.XVII., but is clearly anterior to Epistles 688 and 705, which are dated *16 Cal. Dec.* (16 Nov.) and *Profesto die diui Nicolai* (5 Dec.) in the same year. I have therefore ventured to read in the first date *sexto Novembris* for *sexto Decembris.*

‡ The word which seemed illegible in Epistle 678 is probably *excusabilibus.* Gillis might *excuse* himself for neglecting a commission, but when Afinius proposed to *excuse* himself from completing his long promised present (already mentioned in Epistles 611 and 658), the last act in the comedy of Excusables was reached. As to the day-date of Epistle 678, which is wanting in D., compare Epistles 679 and 685, in both of which Erasmus refers to a seal, mentioned in Epistle 678, and also to his relations with Afinius, about whom in Epistle 679 he begs Gillis not to trouble himself further. See note on Epistle 543.

§ Date in F. *pridie Martini*, not 12 Nov. as in C. Epistle 680 follows, on receiving an immediate answer from Gillis, and Epistle 685 on receiving by the messenger the news of the death of Gillis' father, whose critical condition is mentioned in Epistle 679.

‖ The father of Gillis died between the 10th and the 15th of November. His sickness is mentioned in Epistle 670, and his death in Epistle 685; and a later Epistle (Ep. xvii. 17; C. 541 (495)) is devoted to his memory. This is dated in *Epistolæ ad diversos*, Louanii, Anno M.D.XIX. It contains expressions which show it to have been written some little time after the event.

¶ This date appears to be *XV. Nov.* in the Deventer MS. In C. it is *11 Novembris.*

688	To the Bp. of Utrecht	Louvain, [16 Nov. 1517] *	*Auct.;* iii. 48; C. 290 (298)
689	To Noviomagus	Louvain, 16 Nov., 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 35; C. 272 (279)
690	*Lystrius to* E.	Zwolle [Nov. 1517]†	D; C. 1587 (104)
691	To Laurinus	Louvain, 19 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1643 (208)
692	To Gillis	Louvain [Nov. 1517]	E. a. d.; xvii. 17; C. 541 (495)
693	To Banisius	Louvain [Nov. 1517]	F. 167; vi. 35; C. 368 (355)
694	To Clava	Louvain, 21 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1643 (209)
695	To Laurinus	Louvain [25 Nov.] 1517‡	D; C. 1643 (206)
696	To Pace	Louvain [25 Nov.] 1517	D; C. 1643 (207)
697	[To a young Prelate]	Louvain [Nov.], 1517	D; C. 1660 (245)
698	To Count Nuenar	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1664 (210)
699	To More	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1664 (212)
700	To Budé	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	F. 49; iii. 56; C. 273 (280)
701	To Glarean	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1655 (235)
702	To Faber Stapulensis	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1644 (211)
703	To Pyrrhus	Louvain, 30 Nov. 1517	D; C. 1645 (213)
704	To Petrus Viterius	[Louvain] 1517§	F. 151; vi. 17; C. 289 (294)

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705	*Noviomagus to E.*	[Vellenhoe] 5 Dec. 1517 ‖	*Auct.;* iii. 41; C. 273 (281)
706	*Paulus Bombasius to E.*	Zurich, 6 Dec. 1517	*Auct.;* ii. 23; C. 274 (283)
707	To Berus	Louvain, 6 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1645 (214)
708	To Capito	Louvain, 6 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1646 (215)

* Epistle 688, answering the Bishop's letter (Epistle 676), is in *Auctarium* dated *Louanii, quarto Idus Ianuarias, Anno* M.D.XVIII. I have corrected the date from Epistle 689, which probably accompanied Epistle 688. Erasmus had now established his quarters in the *Collegium Liliense*, where Nevius or Nævius was the Head. C. 273 AE.

† It may be observed with reference to the date of Epistle 690, that Longicampanius mentioned in it, having been recommended by Dorpius to Erasmus (Epistle 587) and by him apparently to Lystrius, had been with the last long enough to pursue some studies; and on the other hand Erasmus had not yet published his first Paraphrase on the Epistles of St. Paul, which appears to have been issued near the end of November, 1517.

‡ Epistles 695 and 696 (both sent to Bruges) are dated in D. 17 *Cal. Dec.* (15. Nov.). I have ventured to read 7 *Cal. Dec.* Erasmus sends with them copies of his newly printed *Paraphrase*, mentioned in Epistles 691 and 694 as still in the Press. C. 1643 CF

§ Epistle 704 is printed in *Farrago* without date, in *Opus Epistolarum* with a year-date only, and I find nothing to fix the month or day.

‖ *Profesto die diui Nicolai*, Anno M.D.XVII. See note on Epistle 676.

709	To Beatus Rhenanus	Louvain, 6 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1646 (216)
710	To Berselius	Louvain, 9 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1647 (217)
711	To Capito	Louvain, 9 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1648 (218)
712	*Budé to E.*	Louvain [11 Dec. 1517]*	*Auct.* 3; ii. 20; C. 298 (304)
713	To the Bp. of Utrecht	Louvain, 12 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1649 (219)
714	[To the Bp. of Liège †]	Louvain, 13 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1649 (220)
715	To the Abbot of St. Bertin	Louvain, 13 Dec. 1517	C. 275 (284)
716	To Pace	Louvain, 21 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1650 (222)
717	To Clava	Louvain, 21 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1650 (223)
718	*Lystrius to E.*	Zwolle, 28 Dec. 1517	D; C. 1651 (225)
719	To Desmoulins	Louvain, [Dec.] 1517	D; C. 1655 (240)
720	To Dorpius	Louvain, 1517 ‡	D; C. 1654 (233)
721	*Bp. of Liège to E.*	Liège, 30 Dec. 1517	*Auct.;* iii. 45; C. 359 (348)
722	*Berselius to E.*	Liège [Dec. 1517] §	*Auct.;* iii. 43; C. 229 (232)
723	*Pirckheimer to E.*	Nuremberg, 31 Dec. 1517	F. 65; iv. 12; C. 218 (226)

* It appears from Erasmus's answer, dated 22 Feb., 1518, Ep. ii. 51, C. 299 (305), that Epistle 712 was dated *die Brumæ*. This is interpreted the shortest day, which before the Gregorian reformation of the Calendar would, I think, fall on the 11th of December. I do not know whether there are other examples of this mode of dating.

† Epistles 713 and 714 are placed together in Manuscript D. and addressed to the Bishop of Utretcht, but in both cases the address appears to be a later addition. For Epistle 713 it is probably right. But Epistle 714 seems from its contents to be intended for the Bishop of Liège. This is shown by the reference in it to the promotion of Aleander. Compare C. 230 E, C. 1647 F, 1649 E. Its date is after the publication of Erasmus's first Paraphrase in November, 1517; and I accept in both cases the emendation suggested by the annotator in D. of *pridie* and *nat. Luciæ* (12, 13 Dec.) for *pridie* and *nat. Lucæ* (17, 18 Oct.). In Epistle 713 Erasmus has his plans ready for Easter and the following summer.

‡ Epistle 720 has in D. no date of day, and the dates of place and year are probably not original. It relates entirely to a difference between Dorpius and Nævius, which does not help us to a more precise date, except that it may be assumed to be after Erasmus's removal to the Collegium Liliense, where Nævius was his companion. See Epistles 622, 688. In a eulogy of Nævius, written after his death, Erasmus says that his one fault was that, though not easily irritated, he was difficult to appease. C. 784 F.

§ Epistle 722 is in the authorized editions dated 7 *Id. Ian.* the same day as the epistle of Erasmus in answer to it, where the date is written, *postridie Epiphaniæ*. The letter of Berselius was probably sent to Louvain with that of his patron, the Bishop (Epistle 721), which is dated *tertio cal. Ian.*

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THE EPISTLES OF ERASMUS

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

Materials for biography of Erasmus. Compendium Vitæ. *Some Autobiographical Matter from his Works. Extracts from Beatus Rhenanus.*

THE chronological arrangement of the Epistles of Erasmus, which is one of the main objects of the present work, if it be rightly carried out, cannot but supply important evidence to correct and complete the story of his life. On the other hand no arrangement of the correspondence can be satisfactory, which fails to take account of independent biographical materials. It is proposed therefore to devote the opening chapter of this book to the other chief authorities for his biography during the period which comes within its scope. The first writing of this kind that claims our attention is the Compendium or Abridgment of his Life, which has furnished the principal materials for the current history of his early years. This document has been generally accepted as Erasmus's own work, of which the original was enclosed by him in a letter to his friend, Conrad Goclen, Professor of Latin at Louvain, some twelve years before his death. If it is rightly attributed to the pen of Erasmus, it was evidently not intended for publication in its actual form, but to supply some memoranda, especially relating to his origin and early history, to be used after his death at the discretion of Goclen or of some other confidential friend, in case it should be thought expedient to publish an authorized Life, or to correct the errors of unauthorized biographers.

The Compendium, with the letter accompanying it, was first printed in 1607, by Paul Merula, Professor of History at Leyden, together with a considerable collection of unpublished epistles of Erasmus, partly belonging to his early years, and partly to a late

period of his life. For the manuscript of the Compendium, with its accompanying letter, he acknowledges his obligation to Otho Werckman, in whose possession it had long been, and to whom Merula's volume was dedicated; the original autograph had been lately put into his hands, but he had seen copies of it some time before in the possession of Peter Scriverius and the brothers Lydii. The facts are so stated in the editor's prefatory dedication to Werckman, a translation of which is given in the Introduction to this volume. Both the Compendium and the letter accompanying it were edited by Merula with a great appearance of care, the autograph originals being frequently cited.

Of the subsequent history of these original documents very little is known. Merula died in the same year in which his collection of letters was published. The Life, together with some of the Epistles printed by Merula (the juvenile letters being omitted), and some additional Epistles, principally from the collection of Peter Scriverius, was republished by Basson at Leyden in 1615. This work was reprinted in 1617, and republished at the same place by John Maire in 1642 and 1649. The last edition has a preface by A. Thysius, in which it is stated, in order that there might be no doubt about the Life, that the original autograph of Erasmus was still preserved entire in the library of Jerome Backer. It may be observed that a person of this name was one of those to whom Merula was indebted for contribution to his publication forty years before, and appears to have been his kinsman. See Merula's Dedication. Nothing further appears to be known of the existence of this manuscript, neither have we any information, how it came into the possession of Werckman.

The unauthenticated history of the Compendium, and a criticism of its language,—its abrupt sentences especially in the earlier part having no resemblance to the ordinary style of its assumed author,—have led to some doubt whether it can be trusted as a genuine writing of Erasmus. This question has been raised by Dr. J. B. Kan (*Erasmiansch Gymnasium*, 1881, pp. 3, 4; *Erasmiana*, in Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje, 1890, pp. 43-70; Nederlandsche Spectator, 1896, p. 409), who recalls a suspicion suggested by Bayle in his article on Erasmus, in which the Compendium is described as "une Vie d'Érasme composée par lui-même, à ce qu'on prétend, et publiée par Merula" (Bayle, Dict. Article *Érasme*), and discusses the question of authenticity at considerable length. His arguments are founded both upon the contents of the writing itself, and upon the character of the editor, who is said to have

introduced some forged fragments in his edition of Ennius. Dr. Kan's conclusion appears to be, that the Compendium was a forgery of the beginning of the seventeenth century, which was placed with Erasmus's letter to Goclen (for this he appears to regard as genuine) in substitution for the original *Compendium totius vitæ* mentioned in the same letter, which he supposes to have been lost or destroyed. A full discussion of this doubt, which involves the question of the authenticity of the Epistle to Goclen, and also indirectly of other letters not published in Erasmus's lifetime or by his authorized literary executors, would occupy more space than can be afforded to it here.* But as it is intended to give in this chapter a translation of the Compendium, a few observations may be added on the character of its contents, without claiming to determine the question of its authorship.

If we judge the Compendium, not by its style or want of style, but by its matter, the statements of fact which it contains appear for the most part to be such as might not improbably proceed from Erasmus himself. The account of the relation existing between his parents and of the circumstances of his origin agrees both in its allegations and in its omissions with what he might well have thought it expedient under certain conditions to publish. The subsequent incidents of his parents' lives, meagre and imperfect as the story is, are such as he might have heard from his mother in his childhood; for, owing to the circumstances of his position, he probably had little personal intercourse with his father. The account of his school-life at Deventer and Bois-le-duc is more complete than any description of it we can find elsewhere. In the paragraphs that follow, relating to his introduction to conventual life, there is a reminiscence (inevitable, whether recalled by Erasmus or another) of the elaborate history of the same transaction contained in his Epistle to Grunnius (Chapter xxx.), probably written nearly eight years before the date assigned to the Compendium, but not published until some five years later. The brother who is brought in so prominently by that narrative is here suppressed, out of regard, as it might seem, to the character of one or both of his parents, and yet we find some allusion to his conduct in the mention of a "partner who betrayed his friend." In the latter part of the Compendium, where we are able to test its

* In the Introduction to this volume some further observations will be found upon the Epistles and documents ascribed to Erasmus, the authenticity of which is in any way open to question

accuracy by the evidence of the Letters, the main incidents of Erasmus's life are briefly indicated with sufficient fidelity; and the description of his character with which the Abridgment ends, if not written by Erasmus himself, is the work of some one who has caught not unskilfully his manner of thought.

The following observation may be added. The Compendium, even if regarded as apocryphal, is a document of considerable interest, its statements having been accepted for nearly three centuries as the principal authority for the early history of Erasmus, and having furnished the plot of one of the most popular romances of our time.

Before the translation of the Compendium I have given the commencement of the Epistle to Goclen, and the clause that refers to the document sent with it. Of this Epistle a great part is occupied with an account of the quarrel between Erasmus and Ulric von Hutten, and of the proceedings, after Hutten's death, of his friend, Eppendorf, by which the writer represents his life to be endangered. A postscript is added at the end of the Compendium, which might more properly be inserted at the end of the Epistle, but which has been left where it is found, in order that the reader may have the document before him as much as possible in its original shape, and be better able to form his own judgment about it. For the same reason the biographical memoranda are printed immediately after the Epistle without inserting any title or name, which may well have been purposely omitted. In the edition of Merula the Compendium has the following title, not intended, as it seems, to be read as part of the original: "Compendium of the Life of Erasmus Roterodamus, whereof he makes mention in the preceding Epistle." In other respects our translation represents closely that edition. In the edition printed by Basson at Leyden in 1615, some verbal alterations occur in the first line, and part of the second is omitted, the following additional words being placed at the head of the Compendium, where a name is otherwise wanting: "That eternal miracle of nature, Desiderius Erasmus." These words can scarcely be attributed to Erasmus, but if we suppose them to be his, they may recall the well-known passage of Sir Thomas Browne: "Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate were not a history but a piece of Poetry, and would sound to common ears like a Fable" (*Religio Medici*, s. 11). Browne, whose book was printed in 1642, had probably read the *Vita Erasmi*. The translation of the Compendium follows the abruptness of the original.

Erasmus to Goclen.*

(*To be read alone and in private.*) †

There remains the last act of this play, for the performance of which a Pylades is needed, that is, someone like yourself. For I have conceived this confidence in you, and have no doubt that you will maintain the character which you have hitherto borne. But profound silence is required, so that you must not trust my secret even to your most intimate friend. I would come myself, but it is a long and hazardous journey, and I think my messenger is sufficiently safe. * *

But inasmuch as I am at times in peril of life, it remains for me to commend to you, as the sincerest of friends, that which I hold most dear, my memory, which I suspect will be exposed to many calumnies. I send you therefore, an abridgment of my whole life. It is an Iliad of woes, for nothing was ever created more unfortunate than I. But there will perhaps be some who will feign more evils still. * *

Basel, Saturday after Easter [2 April, 1524].‡

The Life, private.§

Born at Rotterdam on the vigil of Simon and Jude (27 October). Numbers about fifty-seven years.‖ Mother

* Merula, *Vita Erasmi*, 1607, p. 1 ; *Erasmi Epistolæ*, Londini, 1642, Præf. p. 1 ; *Erasmi Opera*, Lugd. Bat., tom. i. in Præf. The Leiden edition of the works of Erasmus is henceforth cited as C. When no volume is named, vol. iii. (the volume of Epistles) is intended. See pp. 40, 41.

† *Ἀναγίνωσκε μόνος καὶ λάθρα.*

‡ This letter is without year-date, and is attributed by Merula to 1523, and by Jortin (i. 371) to 1525, but its proper date is shown by the recent invitation to France mentioned in it (compare C. 743 F, 744 C, 784 B) by the revision of the Catalogue of Lucubrations promised in the Postscript to the Compendium (p. 12), which revision was printed by Froben in Sept., 1524 ; and by the recent dedication to Viandalus. See p. 13, commentary.

§ *ὁ βίος λάθρα.* So printed by Merula, but omitted in later copies.

‖ *Supputat annos circiter* 57. So Merula, but unaccountably omitted in later editions. See, as to the birthday and birth-year of Erasmus, pp. 13, 14.

was called Margaret, daughter of a physician named Peter. She was of Zevenberge. He saw her two brothers at Dordrecht, nearly ninety years of age. Father was named Gerard ; he had secret intercourse with Margaret in anticipation of marriage ; some say that words of betrothal had passed between them. This affair gave great offence to the parents and brothers of Gerard. His father was Helias, his mother Catherine ; both lived to a great age, Catherine to near ninety-five. There were ten brothers,—no sister,—by the same father and mother ; all the brothers married. Gerard was the youngest but one. It was the general wish that out of so great a number one should be consecrated to God. You know the humours of old people, and the brothers wished to save the property from reduction, and themselves to be provided with a hospitable resort. Gerard, finding himself quite debarred from marriage by the opposition of all, took a desperate course ; he secretly left the country, and sent on his way a letter to his parents and brothers, with a hand clasping a hand and the sentence, Farewell, I shall never see you more. The woman he had hoped to make his wife was left with child. The boy was nursed at his grandmother's. Gerard betook himself to Rome. There he earned a sufficient livelihood by writing, printing not being then in use. His handwriting was very fine. And he lived after the fashion of youth. After a time he applied his mind to honourable studies. He was well versed in Latin and Greek. He was also no ordinary proficient in Jurisprudence. For Rome was then wonderfully stocked with learned men. He attended the lectures of Guarino. He had made copies of all the authors with his own hand. When his parents were informed that he was in Rome, they wrote to him that the young woman whom he had wished to marry was dead. He, taking this to be true, was so grieved that he became a priest and applied his whole mind to religion. When he returned home, he found out the deception; but she never afterwards

had any wish to marry, nor did he ever touch her again. He provided a liberal education for his boy, and sent him to school when scarcely more than four years old : but in his early years he made little progress in that unattractive sort of learning for which he was not born. In his ninth year he was sent to Deventer; his mother followed him to watch over his tender age. That school was still barbarous. The *Pater Meus* was read over, and the boys had to say their tenses ;* *Ebrardus* and *Joannes de Garlandia* were read aloud.† But Alexander Hegius and Zinthius were beginning to introduce some better literature ; and at last from his elder playmates who were in Zinthius' class, he first got scent of the better learning. Afterwards he sometimes had instruction from Hegius, but only on festivals, when he gave a lesson to all. In this school he reached the third class.‡ Then a plague which at that time raged in the town, carried off his mother, who left her son in his thirteenth year. When the sickness became worse and worse every day, so that the whole house where he lived was ravaged by it, he returned home. Gerard on receiving the sad news fell ill ; and died soon after. Both died not much over forty years of age. He appointed three guardians, in whom

* *Prælegebatur Pater meus exigebantur tempora.* Merula professes himself in despair over *Pater meus*, and suggests that Gerard may have written some book used in schools. Probably it was only an exercise in concords to be repeated by the boys after the master, *Pater meus, patris mei*, etc. It may be assumed that the younger boys had no books. Hence the prelections.

† Among the books in Beatus Rhenanus' juvenile library (1502) was one entitled *Modus Latinitatis cum tractatulo de Orthographia* by Ulricus Ebrardus of Neuburg. (Knod, *Bibliothek des B. Rhenanus*, p. 50.) Joannes de Garlandia was an English poet of the thirteenth century, whose *Facetus*, a poem on morals, was often printed at Deventer towards the end of the fifteenth century. A book entitled *Synonyma Joannis de Garlandia* was printed by Pynson, London, 1496.

‡ In the old German schools there were eight classes, the head class being called the first, with removes after one year's satisfactory progress. Kämmel, *Deutsch-Schulwesen*, p. 222, cited by Richter, *Erasmus-studien*, p. 8.

he had the greatest confidence, the chief of them being Peter Winckel, then schoolmaster at Gouda; and he left a moderate fortune, if it had been faithfully administered. The boy was now sent to Bois-le-duc, when he was already ripe for a University; but they were afraid of a University, because they had decided to bring him up to Religion. There he lived, that is to say he lost, nearly three years at the Brothers' House, as they call it, in which Rombold then taught. This class of teachers is now widely spread through the world, a destruction to good intellects, and seminaries of monasticism. Rombold, who was much pleased with the capacity of the boy, began to solicit him to become one of his flock. The boy excused himself on the score of youth. A plague having arisen in the place, after he had suffered some time with a quartan fever, he returned to his guardians, having acquired by this time a sufficiently fluent style out of some good authors. One guardian had died of the plague; the other two, not having managed the property well, began to arrange about a monastery. The youth, then weak with the fever which had affected him for more than a year, was not disinclined to piety, but shrunk from a monastery. He was therefore allowed time for consideration. His guardian employed friends to influence his unsteady mind by enticements and threats; and meanwhile found a place for him in a monastery of Canons Regular, at a College near Delft, named Sion, the principal house of that Chapter. When the day for answering came, the youth answered prudently, that he did not yet know, what the world was, nor what a monastery was, nor yet what he was himself; consequently it seemed wiser, that he should pass some years in the Schools, until he was better known to himself. When he found the lad firmly saying this, Peter fell foul of him at once. "It is all in vain then," said he, "that I have taken the pains to get such a place for you by great solicitations. You are a scoundrel and under no good influence. I renounce your guardianship. Look out for

yourself how to get your living." The youth answered that he accepted the renunciation, and was old enough not to require guardians. When he saw that he made no way by bluster, he put forward his brother, who was also a guardian, to conduct the business. His plan was cajolery ; and there were further promptings from all quarters. A partner he had, who betrayed his friend.* The fever was pressing. Nevertheless, no monastery was acceptable to him, until by mere chance he was making a visit to one of the same order at Emmaus or Stein, near Gouda.† There he fell in with Cornelius, formerly his chamber-fellow at Deventer, who had not yet put on the religious habit ; he had seen Italy, but had come back without having learnt much. This young man, for a purpose of his own, began to depict with marvellous fluency that holy sort of life, the abundance of books, the ease, the quiet, the angelic companionship, and what not ? A childish affection drew Erasmus towards his old schoolfellow. Some friends enticed and some pushed him on. The fever weighed upon him. He chose this spot, having no taste for the other. He was tenderly treated ‡ for a time, until he should put on the sacred robe. Meanwhile, young as he was, he felt the absence of real piety there. And yet the whole flock were led by his influence to study. Before profession he was preparing to go away, but was detained partly by human shame, partly by threats, and partly by necessity.§

* *Habebat sodalem qui prodidit amicum.* These words apply to Peter, the natural brother of Erasmus, who, having been placed by his father under the same guardians, yielded to persuasion and entered the Convent. *Perfidus ille prodito fratre accepit iugum* (Epistle to Grunnius, C. 1824 F). See p. 15.

† Emmaus was the name of the Convent, Stein of the locality. See p. 41.

‡ *Lactabar* with side-note, *sic in autogr.* Merula ; *lactabatur*, Scriverius. The expression is used in the Epistle to Grunnius. C. 1827 B.

§ Merula notes that at this point occur in the margin, apparently in the same hand, the words *Professus est.* The profession is hastily passed over in the text as if Erasmus was unwilling to mention it. The circumstances are detailed at greater length in the Epistle to Grunnius (Chapter xxx.).

At last, by a lucky chance, he became known to the Bishop of Cambrai, Henry of Bergen, who was then hoping for a Cardinal's hat, and would have had one but for want of ready money. For the journey he required a person skilled in Latin. By him accordingly Erasmus was taken out of the Monastery with the authority of the Bishop of Utrecht, which was enough of itself; but he also obtained the authority of the Prior and General. He entered the Bishop's household, retaining however his dress. When the Bishop had lost all hope of the Hat, and Erasmus was conscious of a certain want of constancy in his affection for those about him, he contrived to be sent to Paris for the purpose of study. Some yearly allowance was promised; nothing was sent. That is the fashion with Princes.

At Paris, in the College of Montaigu, from the bad eggs and an infected bedchamber he contracted a disease, that is, an ill condition of body, having been before free from taint. He therefore returned to the Bishop; was honorably received; and recovered from his sickness at Bergen.

He went back to Holland with the purpose of remaining among his comrades. But by their unbiassed advice he returned to Paris. There, deprived of the help of his Mæcenas, he lived rather than studied, and was obliged to return every year to his own country by reason of the plague that continued in that city for many years. He shrunk from the study of Theology, feeling no inclination for it, as he feared he might upset all their foundations, * with the result that he should be branded as a heretic. At last, when the plague raged all the year round, he was compelled to remove to Louvain.

Before this time he had visited England to gratify lord Mountjoy, then his pupil and now his Mæcenas, but more friendly than munificent. At that time he conciliated the

* Quod sentiret animum non propensum, [fore] ut omnia illorum fundamenta subverteret. The word *fore*, or an equivalent, appears to be needed.

goodwill of all the worthy people in England; especially by his conduct, when he was pillaged at the port of Dover, and not only abstained from any act of revenge, but soon afterwards issued a publication in praise of the King and of the whole realm. At last he was again summoned to England from France by great promises;* and it was at this time that he won the friendship of the Archbishop of Canterbury When however the promised advantages were not forthcoming, he went to Italy, which he had always longed to visit. He passed more than a year at Bologna, at an advanced time of life, that is when he was about forty. Then he betook himself to Venice, and published the Adages; thence to Padua, where he wintered; and soon after to Rome, whither a wide-spread and honorable reputation had preceded him. His principal friend was Raphael, Cardinal of St. George. He might well have obtained an ample fortune, if he had not been recalled to England on the death of Henry VII. and the accession of Henry VIII. by letters from friends promising the highest advantages. He decided on settling there for life; but when even then the promises were not fulfilled, he withdrew to Brabant, being invited to the court of Charles, now Emperor, to whom he was made a Councillor by the procurement of John le Sauvage, Great Chancellor.

The rest is known to you. His reason for changing his dress was explained in the first pamphlet in which he replied to Lee's calumnies.† His appearance you can describe yourself. His health has always been delicate, and consequently he has been much subject to fever, especially at the

* A similar statement occurs in the Catalogue of Lucubrations. See p. 393. It is probable that some prospect of preferment was held out by his English friends. Compare Epistle 184.

† This first reply to Lee is not in the *Opera Erasmi*, Leiden edition, but is printed in the Appendix to Jortin's Life. Jortin, *Life of Erasmus*, ii. 496—528. The change of dress is explained, p. 523. There is no reference there to the adventure at Bologna, elsewhere narrated in connection with this change. See further, p. 29.

season of Lent, on account of the fish diet, the mere smell of which was always offensive to him.

His character was simple, and so averse to lying, that even as a child he hated any boys that had that habit, and in his old age the very sight of such persons caused him a shudder. Among friends his language was free, sometimes too much so ; and, often as he was deceived, he could not learn to distrust his friends. He was rather fastidious, and never wrote a thing which pleased himself. In the same way he took no pleasure in his own face, and his friends had great difficulty in extorting from him his consent to be painted. For dignities and wealth he had a constant contempt, not caring for anything so much as leisure and freedom. A candid judge of the learning of others, and a singular encourager of talent, if his means had been sufficient. In the advancement of good letters, no one had greater success, and on this account he incurred the bitter jealousy of barbarians and monks. Up to his fiftieth year he had never attacked any author, nor been attacked by any, and had determined to keep his pen altogether free from bloodshed. The first attack made on him was by Faber ; for the movement of Dorpius came to nothing. In replying he was always courteous. The Lutheran tragedy burdened him with intolerable odium, being torn in pieces by either party, while he tried to benefit both.

I will add something to the Catalogue of my works, from which much information may be collected. Gerardus Noviomagus has written to me, that some people are proposing a life of Erasmus, part in verse and part in prose. He wanted to be privately instructed himself, but I have not ventured to send. If you happen to talk with him, you will be able to communicate some information. But it is not expedient to try anything of a Life, unless circumstances require it. But of this perhaps on another occasion, or even when we meet.

When I had written the above, Berckman came in, laden with lies. I know how difficult it is to keep a secret, nevertheless to you alone I trust everything. I have celebrated our Viandalus; Levinus will show the pamphlet. Encourage Ceratinus, whenever he reads over an author, to make some notes. Some regard must be paid to Froben; I cannot be always with him. And I am burdened with much jealousy on his account. You know it is the case of two of a trade.* Again farewell.

Berckman, named in the last clause, was a bookseller of Antwerp (see Ep. xxx. 17, C. 822 C), frequently mentioned by Erasmus as 'Francis bookseller,' and called by Beatus Rhenanus, 'Francis Pircman,' who was employed by Erasmus as his agent in 1514, and by his dealings with Froben, was the means of bringing Erasmus to Basel. See p. 34 and Epistles 283, 288. Levinus appears by the letter to Goclen to have been its bearer, and sent on by Erasmus to England. Melchior Viandalus was honoured by the dedication of Erasmus's Paraphrase of the Third Psalm, dated 25 Feb. 1524, and published by Froben in that year (C. v. 234). Jacobus Ceratinus (van Hoorn), who appears to have been at this time at Louvain, was recommended by Erasmus in the following year to be Greek Professor at Leipzig. Ep. xx. 27, 31; C. 855, 856.

The following observations upon some points in the early biography may serve as a commentary on the Compendium.

1. *Birth-day.* According to this document Erasmus was born on the eve of the festival of SS. Simon and Jude (Oct. 27). But in the epistle to Marcus Laurinus, dated 1 Feb., 1523 (Ep. xxiii. 6, C. 750 D), Erasmus says that his birthday was that of these apostles (Oct. 28); and in his verses on Old Age, written in his 40th year, he names the latter day (v. Cal. Nov.) as his natal day. This date has been followed by Beatus Rhenanus, p. 23. If the birth took place on the eve of the festival, the anniversary might naturally be kept on the feast-day

2. *Birth-year* The year of birth is not distinctly stated in the Compendium, but the estimate of his age in the second clause,

* Nosti quam sint figuli. See Adag. Chil. i. 2, 25.

compared with the assumed date of the letter to Goclen, supplies the year 1466. It is remarkable that this clause, which is found in the Compendium as first printed by Merula, has been omitted in all the subsequent editions, and has consequently escaped the notice of all the biographers. The passages relating to his age contained in his own writings are very numerous, the author generally expressing himself with the air of certainty with which persons brought up by their parents are accustomed to speak about their own age, and with only two or three exceptions point to 1466 as the year of his birth. The evidence, which excludes any reasonable doubt, is described more fully in a note at the end of this volume. It is sufficient to say here, that the apparent differences which have been found in the statements of Erasmus on this subject, are in a great measure removed by the corrected dating of his Epistles.

3. *Parentage of Erasmus.* It should be observed, that for all the facts mentioned in p. 6, from the first line to the last, including the names of his parents and kinsmen, the biographers of Erasmus have depended upon the information of the Compendium. But we shall see (Chapter xxix.) that in the year 1516 Erasmus found it expedient to apply for a Papal Dispensation to guard himself against objections, founded on the circumstances of his birth, which might seriously affect his status and fortune, and that the admissions which it was necessary for him to make in this proceeding place his illegitimate birth beyond doubt, and also shew that, beside the fact that his parents were not married, he had reason to apprehend that there was an impediment which involved a further condemnation of their union. The nature of this impediment is not explained, but there can be little doubt that it arose from the clerical status of his father. According to the Compendium Gerard was not in priest's orders at the time of his intimacy with Margaret; but the Dispensation obtained by Erasmus, if it has been rightly construed, was intended to cover this objection. See chapter xxxiii. And it may be observed that the age of Gerard at his death, as stated in the Compendium, would make him about twenty-seven years old at the commencement of 1466, an age at which he might well have already taken priest's orders.

The circumstances of Erasmus's birth must have been more or less notorious in his own neighbourhood when he was young, and known for some time after to those who cared to remember them. But there is no evidence that in his lifetime his foreign friends, except his intimate confidants in England and at Rome, knew anything of his illegi-

timacy until some of his assailants in his old age took the pains to discover it. One of the pamphlets of Scaliger, in which he made an ungenerous attack upon the private history of a literary adversary, seems for the time to have been suppressed by Erasmus. And the allusions of Eppendorf to his base birth do not appear to have been printed in his lifetime. As to these works, see Bayle, Dict. Art. *Érasme*. In the funeral sermon preached upon his death by Guilielmus Insulanus, he is described as having been born at Rotterdam of respectable parents in moderate circumstances (C. x. 1850). Jovius, writing soon after his death, when the scandal had been divulged, describes him as the son of a parish priest living near Gouda. And this, until the publication of the Compendium, was about the sum of what was known or believed about his birth. The origin of his names is discussed, p. 37-39.

4. *Erasmus's brother Peter.* The Compendium contains no mention of Erasmus's brother Peter, though there is an unexplained allusion to him as a *sodalis*, upon whose assistance Erasmus had relied (p. 9). One of the early letters of Erasmus, not published in his life time (Epistle 2), was addressed to this brother, and one of the poems of William Herman, printed by Erasmus in 1497, was inscribed *ad Petrum Girardum Rotterdammensem Herasmi germanum virum tum perhumanum tum eruditissimum.* It appears from this address and also from an expression referring to Servatius in Epistle 2, that Peter, as well as Erasmus, was a native of Rotterdam. In his later years Erasmus may well have been disinclined to revive the history of a kinsman, whose existence threw an additional slur on the memory of both his parents. For in the Epistle to Grunnius (Chapter xxx.), where Erasmus is introduced under the name of Florence, and Peter under that of Antony, the two brothers have the same mother as well as the same father: *Admodum pueri matre orbati sunt; pater aliquanto post decedens exile quidem patrimonium reliquit.* C. 1822 C. If we suppose the Compendium to have been written by Erasmus relying upon the information derived from his mother, the hope that she once entertained of becoming the wife of Gerard may be referred to the period preceding the birth of Peter, when it may be presumed that Gerard was not a priest. According to the Epistle to Grunnius, probably written in 1516, Erasmus was about three years younger than his brother, who is described as if he were then living. C. 1822 C. See Chapter xxx. According to the same authority he entered the convent where their guardians wished to place them both,

which appears from the Compendium to have been that of Sion, near Delft, a more important Augustinian monastery than that of Stein. We do not know when Peter died, but in speaking of the death of Froben, which occurred towards the end of 1527, Erasmus alludes to the loss of a brother, which had not affected him like that of his friend. Ep. xxiii. 9; C. 1053 E.

5. *Residence of the Family.* The Compendium does not mention the residence of Erasmus's father or grandfather. Subsequent tradition pointed to Gouda as their home (Epistle of Baudius to Merula, C. 1917, D.E.); and this is confirmed by a passage of Erasmus, in which he speaks of Herman of Gouda as *conterraneus meus* (Apol. adv. Sutorem, C. ix. 788), and by the fact that his education began under a schoolmaster of that place. C. 1822 D. But it is remarkable that both Erasmus and his brother took their names from Rotterdam. We have no satisfactory evidence to show what was the connection of their parents with that town, which may possibly have been their residence at the time of the birth of their children. The story that Margaret was sent there to conceal her condition at the time of Erasmus's birth rests upon no very certain foundation. C. 1917 E. The house in which Erasmus was born is believed to be known, Wijde Kerkstraat, No. 3, near the church of St. Laurence, the architecture of which dates from the period of Erasmus's childhood.

6. *Early Teaching.* The first school to which Erasmus was sent when four years old appears to have been that of Peter Winckel of Gouda, afterwards his guardian (Epistle 1.); and we may presume that his instruction was continued at Utrecht. See p. 25.

7. *Deventer School.* The school of Deventer was not originally, as some of Erasmus's biographers have supposed, an institution of the Brethren of the Common Life, but a school belonging to the Chapter of the church of St. Lebuin; although many of the Brethren were employed in it, and they had several establishments in the town, including an endowed Hall called the Rich Frater-house or Florence House, founded by Florence Radewynsz, the friend and ally of Gerard Groote, the founder of the Brotherhood, who was himself a native of Deventer. Alexander Hegius, the rector under whom the school obtained its great celebrity, does not appear to have been himself a Brother, but Sinthen (or Zinthius), one of his most able assistants, belonged to the Society. And it may be observed that Erasmus never speaks of Deventer with the dislike which he shows for the schools controlled by the Brothers.

The number of scholars in the time of Hegius rivalled that of a University, amounting, it is said, at one time to 2200. After his death in 1498, the number fell off; but as late as 1510, when Deventer, which was under the dominion of the Bishops of Utrecht, was attacked by Charles, duke of Gueldres, more than 600 students were among the defenders of the town (Chronicle of Holland, cited by Revius, *Daventria Illustrata,* p. 181). The mastership of Hegius appears to have begun in 1465, since he was master for thirty-three years (Oratio de Rud. Langio, Hamelman, *Opera*, p. 257), and retained the office to the end of his life. The date of his burial in the Church of St. Lebuin at sunset on St. John the Baptist's day, 1498, is recorded in a manuscript book, entitled *Auctarium de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis,* belonging to the Library of the University of Bonn, by John Boutzbach, Prior of the Benedictine Convent of Lachersee, who describes himself as Hegius's last disciple, having been five months under his tuition when he died. The school of Deventer has never been altogether suppressed, and the existing Gymnasium claims to represent this ancient institution. For information used in this and the preceding paragraph I am indebted to the Rev. J. C. van Slee, the learned Pastor and Librarian of Deventer.

The description of the studies of the junior class at Deventer given in the Compendium may be compared with a retrospect contained in Erasmus's tract *de Pueris Instituendis* published in 1529. 'Heavens,' he exclaims, 'what an age was that, when with so much ceremony the couplets of John of Garland were read out to the boys accompanied by a prolix commentary, and a great part of the school time was employed in dictating, repeating, and saying by heart, some silly verses.' (C. i. 514 F.) We have here the same picture of boys taught the elements of Grammar without books; and the same expression (*exigere*) is used for hearing the boys say their tasks. See p. 7, note. The master read the grammar aloud, the boys repeating his words; he then heard them say their tenses, concords, or versified rules.

8. *Time of leaving Deventer.* Erasmus, according to the Compendium, was in his thirteenth year when his mother died; and a poem has been preserved (*Carmen Bucolicum,* C. viii. 561) composed by him 'at the age of fourteen, when he was still under Hegius at Deventer,' which place, according to his epistle, dated 17 April, 1519, he left at that age (C. 429 A). In the Catalogue of Lucubrations he says that he saw Rodolphus Agricola at Deventer, when he was a boy of about twelve. See p. 20. Agricola appears, in fact, to have been at

Deventer, after his return from Italy, in August or September, 1480, when Erasmus was a year or two older than the age he mentions. See the letters of Agricola, Hartfelder, p. 20, 23; and, as to the date, Richter, *Erasmus*, App. xiv. The date of Erasmus's departure from Deventer is further shown by his epistle last cited, where he adds that, when he left that place, the river was not yet spanned by a bridge. According to Revius (*Daventria Illustrata*, p. 128) the building of the bridge was begun, 1 August, 1481, and finished, 16 March, 1482. Erasmus having completed his fourteenth year in October, 1480, we may conclude that he left Deventer about that time.

9. *School of Bois-le-duc.* We shall see that Beatus Rhenanus appears to know nothing of this school, as he expressly says that Erasmus was thrust into a convent of Canons Regular out of the school of Deventer, which he calls a fertile seminary of monks. But we learn from the epistle to Grunnius (Chapter xxx.), that 'Florence,' when ripe for a University, was sent with his brother to a school of the 'Collationary Brothers,' described as a seminary of monasticism. Beatus appears to have erroneously applied this description to Deventer. For the locality of Erasmus's later school and the name of Rombold we depend entirely upon the Compendium. There is no doubt that the Brothers of the Common Life had a school at Bois-le-duc. The name *Collationarii* appears to be founded upon their conferences with their pupils, which were called *collationes*. According to the Grunnius Epistle, 'Florence' stayed at this school more than two years, and was in his sixteenth year when he entered the Convent. C. 1523 E, 1525 B. Epistle 290 alludes to his profession in his seventeenth year.

10. *Aversion to lying.* The sentence on this subject in p. 12 is abbreviated from a passage in the *Spongia adversus aspergines Hutteni*, written in August, 1523. C. x. 1663 F It may be observed that in both places, the sin which is specially represented as repugnant to Erasmus is mendacity in others. In the Treatise *de Lingua* the habit of Lying is strongly condemned. C. iv. 698, 701. But his arguments upon the quarrel with Eppendorf do not display a high standard of truthfulness. C. 1078 CD. Compare p. 366. Neither do his Epistles generally give the impression of a scrupulous observance of truth in the minor matters of life. He probably shared the sentiment expressed by More in one of his letters, where he says that Erasmus was aware that he (More) was not so superstitiously veracious as to shrink from a fib as he would from a murder (C. 220 A). On the other hand it may be asserted, that though Erasmus was incapable of

the calm resolution which animated his friend in laying down his life for what he believed to be a principle of importance, he was habitually honest in the expression of his opinions upon subjects in which the interests of humanity or religion were concerned. He could not be induced to sell his support to a cause which he did not approve; and while cautious of his personal safety, he never surrendered his independence of judgment.

It may be worth while to add here an anecdote of the childhood of Erasmus from a tract already quoted (p. 17), in which he made one of his vigorous protests against the cruelties practised in schools.

De Pueris Instituendis. C. i. 504, 505.

There are some children whom you may kill but cannot make better by blows, whereas by affection and kind words you may lead them where you please. This was my own nature as a child, when my teacher, who had a special regard for me as a boy of great promise, conceived the idea that he would like to try how I should bear a flogging. He therefore charged me with some offence, of which I had never dreamed, and punished me for it. The effect was to dispel all my love of study, and to bring on a fit of discouragement and melancholy, which almost broke my heart, and led to an attack of ague. When the master perceived his mistake, he expressed his regret to his friends, saying that he had almost destroyed a genius before he was aware of it. This master was not a stupid, nor an unlearned, nor, as I judge, a bad man; he saw his error, too late for me. But from my story you may imagine, that a vast number of the happiest characters are ruined by ignorant, ill-tempered and cruel masters, who find a pleasure in inflicting pain. Such men may be fit to be butchers or hangmen, but not to be guides or instructors of youth.

It is useless to speculate to which of Erasmus's schoolmasters this anecdote relates. The fact that he was suffering from ague when he left Bois-le-duc (C. 1825 B) is not sufficient to inculpate his master

there, who had some respect as well as affection for Erasmus, then in his precocity almost a man. See p. 8, and Epistle to Grunnius, Chapter xxx. He was sickly at various times of his childhood, and the incident may have occurred when he was a much younger boy.

At the end of the Compendium, p. 12, the Catalogue of Lucubrations, written by Erasmus in 1523 and revised in 1524, is referred to as a source from which further biographical particulars might be drawn. For his literary biography the whole of this work is important. The following extract has a personal interest.

Catalogue of Lucubrations. C. i. Præf Jortin ii. 416.

My feeling about my lucubrations is much like that which parents have about children that are deformed or sickly, or otherwise such as to bring disgrace or misfortune upon their progenitors; and I am all the less satisfied with myself, when I think that, while what is amiss in children cannot always be ascribed to their parents, the faults of books can be imputed to no one but their authors. Unless indeed we take to task the infelicity of times and countries. When I was a boy, good letters were beginning to revive in Italy, but the art of printing being then either not yet discovered or known to very few, no books were current among us, and a deep calm prevailed under the reign of those who taught the most illiterate of letters. It was Rodolphus Agricola who first brought with him from Italy some gleam of a better literature. When I was about twelve years old, it was my fortune to see him at Deventer, but that was all. It is of no little consequence to an author, in what country, in what age, and with reference to whose judgment he writes, and also who are his opponents. For our wits are sharpened by a distinguished antagonist, and arts are nourished by applause. Destitute of all such aids, some secret natural impulse drove me to good literature. Discouraged even by my masters, I stealthily drank in what I could from

whatever books came to my hand ; I practised my pen ; I challenged my comrades to enter the lists with me, little thinking that the printing press would some day betray such trifles to the world. These circumstances, if they cannot justify, may at least extenuate my faults. But there are some things which I am not able and do not wish to defend. It is most important for any one who wishes to obtain an honourable name by his writings, to choose that subject for which he is naturally fitted and in which he is most strong. This is what I have never done, as I have either been led to my subject by accident, or have undertaken some task with more regard to the wishes of friends than to my own judgment. The next point is, that you should treat your subject carefully, dwell upon it long, and revise your book frequently before it sees the light. For my part, whatever I take in hand I generally finish without stopping, and have never been able to swallow the tediousness of correction. In this way I usually experience what Plato speaks of. Being too much in a hurry at the beginning, I am delayed at the end , and after a hasty publication I am sometimes compelled to remodel the whole work from beginning to end. Consequently I wonder myself, that there are persons, especially when our age has become so learned, who care to read my books. That such persons are, is shown by the many editions issued by the printers.

But you have been long expecting a catalogue, not an apology. I will therefore first give an account of what I wrote in verse, to which kind of study I was as a boy more inclined, so that it was with some difficulty I turned my attention to prose composition. I succeeded easily, if indeed I succeeded at all ; and there was no kind of poetry I did not try. The pieces that have been fortunately lost or hidden, we will leave to rest, and according to the proverb, let sleeping dogs lie. It was at Paris that our temerity was first betrayed to the world, where my friends

published a poem addressed to Faustus Andrelinus in heroic lines with alternate tetrameters, also another in hendecasyllables to Robert Gaguin, who was at the time much in esteem at Paris, and another to the same in Glyconic and Asclepiadean mixed. Then there was the poem on the Hut in which Jesus was born; I do not remember whether anything else. On another occasion we published the Expostulation of Jesus with the man perishing by his own default. But many years before I had written a poem on the Archangel Michael at the request of a great man over whose church the Archangel presided. In this I so tempered my style that it might have passed for prose, but he did not dare to put it up, because it was so poetical that, as he said, it might be taken for Greek; such was the infelicity of those times. After the pains I had spent upon it, my liberal friend returned the poem, and offered me money enough to buy a pint of wine. I thanked him and declined the present with this reason, that it was bigger than was suitable to my own littleness. There is no kind of composition to which I have given less attention than to epigrams, though some of my epigrams were collected by partial friends, and edited at Basel. To make the book more lively, they were joined with those of More, who is very happy in this kind of composition.

As to the publication of his early poems, see pp. 86, 198. The poems to Faustus and Gaguin are to be found, C. i. 1217; the verses *de Casa Natalitia pueri Iesu*, the *Expostulatio*, and the Ode to St. Michael, C. v. 1317-1321. Of his other metrical compositions Erasmus recalls the poem on Old Age written during his journey to Italy in 1506 (see p. 417), and his translations from Greek Tragedies, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter (Epistles 187, 205). The further description of his writings contained in the Catalogue of Lucubrations traverses the whole field of his literary labours, and is too long for translation here. As to his early poems, see further, pp. 86, 141-144.

For his personal history, after the extracts already cited, and the Epistles, which form the main material of this work, the chief authorities are two dedicatory Prefaces by his friend Beatus Rhenanus, prefixed,

one to the edition of Origen, 1536, and the other to the Works of Erasmus, 1540. The Preface to the edition of Origen contains, together with a most interesting narrative of his last days, the following short passage relating to the date of his birth and to the studies of his youth.

Beatus Rhenanus to Herman of Wied, Archbishop of Cologne. Origenis Opera, Basel, 1536.*

As to the year in which the birth of Erasmus took place we have no certain evidence, though the day is ascertained, namely the 28th October, the Feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude. His apprenticeship in letters was begun at Deventer, where he imbibed the rudiments of both languages under Alexander Hegius, a native of Westphalia, who had made the acquaintance of Rodolphus Agricola shortly after his return from Italy, and been taught Greek by him; he being the first person to import into Germany a knowledge of that language. As a boy Erasmus knew the Comedies of Terence as familiarly as his own fingers, having a most tenacious memory and clear head.

With the exception of the rudiments he may be said to have been self-taught. For the visit, which later in his life, in company with the sons of the English king's physician, he made to Italy (where he was for a while preceptor to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's in Scotland, then at Siena) was made for the purpose of seeing that famous country, and not for hearing Professors. For when at Bologna, he did not attend any lectures; but contented with the friendship of Paulus Bombasius (who afterwards died at Rome in the time of Leo X.) pursued his studies at home, being then collecting his Adages, which were shortly after published by Aldus Manutius. He taught at Louvain and at Cambridge, and also privately at Paris, where in his younger

* Reprinted in the Prefaces to the London edition of the Epistles, and to Le Clerc's *Opera Erasmi*, vol. i.

days he studied Theology. He afterwards received the Doctor's cap at the University of Turin on his journey to Italy. His patrons were Henry of Bergen, Bishop of Cambrai, William Mountjoy, and William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, the most liberal of all, who is often mentioned in his books. His friends were John Colet, Grocin, Latimer, Linacre, and Thomas More in England; Peter Gillis at Antwerp; and Conrad Goclen at Louvain. His figure was small but well knit, his constitution delicate and easily affected by any trifling changes, as of wine, food or climate.

At Basel he lived some time with John Froben, and afterwards by himself in another house belonging to Froben. At a later time, when he returned from Freiburg, he lived with Jerome Froben, John's son, and there he died.

Schlettstadt, 1536.

The following extract is from the Dedication by Beatus Rhenanus to the Emperor Charles V of the collected Works of Erasmus, published at Basel in 1540. It will be seen that the details given by Beatus of Erasmus's childhood and early life do not always agree with the Compendium. The description of his residence at Paris may be confronted with the narrative of that part of his life presented in the present volume by means of a careful arrangement of his letters. The observations of Rhenanus upon the University of Paris and its professors derive some importance from the fact that he was himself a student of that University, where he commenced his studies in April 1503, and continued his residence until the autumn of 1507. The other parts of the biography that have an especial interest are the reminiscences (derived, as we may presume, from Erasmus's conversation) of his Italian journey, of which we otherwise know so little, the details of his literary labours at Basel, of which Beatus was the witness and partner, and the description of his person and manners, which were so familiar to the writer.

With reference to the opening paragraph we may observe, that Erasmus was born under the immediate sovereignty of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and count of Holland, who died 13 July 1467, a lineal ancestor of Charles V through his grandmother Mary,

daughter of Charles the Bold, and heiress of Burgundy and the Low Countries. The family of Erasmus were living at Gouda under the sovereignty of the Bishop of Utrecht, who was the temporal as well as the spiritual lord of a large part of his diocese.

Beatus Rhenanus to Charles V Opera Erasmi, 1540, Præf. Ep. Præf. xv. ; C. i. in Præf.

Erasmus was born in the early years of the empire of your great-grandfather Frederic III. on the 28th of October, at Rotterdam in Holland, a province of Lower Germany, formerly held by the *Batavi*, but now better known to all students as the cradle of Erasmus, than from the memory of its old inhabitants, however renowned they may have been for prowess in war. As his birthplace the town of Rotterdam will always be entitled to the reverence of the learned. The next praise is claimed by Deventer, where he had his education, having been before a choir-boy in Utrecht Cathedral, where after the fashion of such churches he had been employed for the sake of his small high-pitched voice. The head master of the school of Deventer at that time was Alexander Hegius of Wesphalia, a man not deficient in scholarship, with some knowledge of Greek. This he acquired from Rodolphus Agricola, with whom he was intimate upon the return of the latter from Italy, where he had attended the lectures of Guarino of Verona, who was then professor at Ferrara, and of several other celebrated scholars. The ability of Erasmus was soon shown by the quickness with which he understood, and the fidelity with which he retained, whatever he was taught, surpassing all the other boys of his age. Among the Brothers, as they were called, who are not monks but like them in their mode of living and their simple and uniform dress, was John Sintheim, a man of good learning for that time, as is shown by the Grammatical Commentaries which he published, and who attained a great name in the schools of Germany.

This class of long-cloaked cenobites are employed in the work of education; and Sintheim was so delighted with the progress of Erasmus, that on one occasion he embraced the boy, exclaiming, "Well done, Erasmus, the day will come when thou wilt reach the highest summit of erudition;" and having said this, dismissed him with a kiss. Every one will admit, that his prophecy came true.*

Erasmus soon after lost both his parents; and by the persistence of his guardian, who wished to shake off the burden of his charge, he was thrust from the school of Deventer, a most fertile seminary of all sorts of monks, into a convent of Canons Regular.† In that place he had for several years as a partner in study, William Herman of Gouda, a youth devoted to literature, and author of a book called *Odarum sylva*. Assisted and encouraged by this companionship, there was no volume of the Latin authors that he did not peruse. By day and by night they were employed in study; and the time that others of their age spent idly in jesting, sleeping, and feasting, these two devoted to poring over books and practising their pen. The Bishop of Cambrai, Henry of Bergen, having heard of his fame, invited Erasmus, after he had been ordained, to join him, when he was himself preparing to visit Rome. He saw in Erasmus a person endowed with cultivated manners and of great ability in learning and eloquence, as was shown by his elegantly written Epistles. It was evident that such a companion would be creditable as well as useful in case of any intercourse or correspondence with the Pope or Cardinals. Some cause however, which I cannot explain, prevented the Bishop from undertaking this journey. William Herman

* A similar prophecy is attributed by later writers to Rodolphus Agricola (Val. Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* p. 174; Revius, *Daventria Illustrata*, p. 134), a natural sequence to Erasmus's own recollection of that scholar. See p. 18.

† Beatus passes without mention Erasmus's later school, which is described in the Letter to Grunnius as a seminary of monasticism. See p. 18.

was certainly much grieved at Erasmus being separated from him, and expressed his sorrow in one of his Odes.

> At nunc sors nos divellit, tibi quod bene vertat,
> Sors peracerba mihi.
> Me sine solus abis ; tu Rheni frigora et Alpeis
> Me sine solus adis.
> Italiam, Italiam lætus penetrabis amœnam.

Although the Bishop changed his mind about going to Italy, he still kept Erasmus in his court, being delighted with the charm and distinction of his character. Here his amiable qualities gained him many friends, especially Antony, Abbot of St. Bertin, who was one of the family of Bergen, and James Batt, Secretary to the town of Bergen,* to whom many of the Epistles are addressed, and who afterwards lived in an honorable position in the house of Ann Borssele, mother of Adolf, Prince of Veer.

After a time the Bishop, taking into consideration the happy genius of Erasmus, furnished him with the means of going to Paris and applying himself to Scholastic Theology. He thus became a Scotist in the College of Montaigu, Duns Scotus being in the highest esteem among theological disputants for the subtlety of his intellect.† When he found the college life too hard, he was glad to remove to the house of an English gentleman, who had with him two young Englishmen, one of whom I conjecture to have been Mountjoy ;‡ the English being aware that among all the professors of literature in the University of Paris there was no

* As the commencement of the acquaintance with Batt, see p. 89.

† In writing these lines Beatus probably had in his mind one of the letters which he had edited in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, Epistle 67 (Nuper Scotista esse cœpi, etc.) which however belongs to a somewhat later date than the residence at Montaigu. See Chapter v.

‡ See Epistle 51 (p. 123), from which this is evidently taken. According to the Compendium the next step after leaving the College of Montaigu was a visit to Bergen. See pp. 10, 109.

teacher so learned or so painstaking. For Faustus Andrelinus, being much occupied with the composition of his poetry, was a perfunctory professor, courting the applause of an ignorant audience by jests more amusing than learned.* Gaguin being much employed in embassies to foreign powers, and not very perfect in his scholarship, did not teach publicly. It was then that Erasmus became known in England, to which island he shortly afterwards went, being invited by his pupils who had returned home.

He returned to England afterwards more than once, and taught for some time in the University of Cambridge;† as he did also at Louvain, when he was staying with Johannes Paludanus the Orator of that University.

At last by the persuasion of friends, having always had a strong desire to see Italy, he accompanied John and Bernard, the sons of Baptist Boerio of Genoa, the King of England's physician, to Bologna. Among the professors at that place he acquired the friendship of Paulus Bombasius, a learned man of stainless character, who was on his part much delighted with the genius and learning of Erasmus. For Beroaldus, the Achilles among the Professors of his time, was dead, and Baptista Pius, an unfortunate imitator of Antiquity, was slumbering among his Oscans and Volscians.

In Erasmus's journey he was made a Doctor of Theology at Turin, together with his English travelling companion. Thus he carried with him into Italy the dignity as well as the erudition which others are wont to bring back from that country. At Bologna he finished the volume of Adages which had been begun some years before; the book published at Paris being only a brief and rough specimen of his future work.

* It is not improbable, that Beatus had been himself one of Faustus's audience; see p. 24. Compare Erasmus to Vives, C. 535 EF, 689 D.

† Beatus mentions somewhat out of its time, Erasmus's professorship at Cambridge, which really took place after his return from Italy. Respecting his teaching at Louvain, see p. 372.

He had hitherto worn the regular costume of his Order, but was constrained to change it by the following occasion. There is a laudable practice in the city where he was, that if there is any suspicion of plague, a surgeon appointed for the purpose is to be sent for at once ; and in order that he may more easily be avoided by all that meet or pass him, he carries a white napkin hanging across one of his shoulders, and a rod in his hand. It so happened that one day Erasmus was walking along an unfrequented lane in his usual canon's dress ; and was met by two or three inexperienced youths, who seeing his white tippet, took him for the plague inspector ; and as he was proceeding on his way without suspecting anything of the kind, they picked up stones and pursued him with threats and abuse, but without proceeding to blows. He enquired with surprise what was amiss, and some people looking on from one of the houses, who heard the disturbance, explained that it was that scapular tied in a knot at his side, which had caused their anger, as they were misled by the similarity of the dress, and thought he was returning from some infected patient, and yet took no pains to go out of their way. To prevent a recurrence of this danger Erasmus sent a petition to Pope Julius II. to grant him a grace either to use or not to use the dress of his Religion, which in consideration of his singular merits was granted without difficulty, with the proviso that he should wear the dress of a priest. This privilege was for various considerations confirmed in the fullest form, as the term is, by Pope Leo X. all and singular objections to the contrary being specially and expressly over-ruled, and their tenour being held to be thereby sufficiently expressed.* And who can doubt that the Popes have power to deal with such human constitutions, when the expounders of the Law allow

* The story of Erasmus's adventure at Bologna, which has been rejected as improbable by some of his biographers, (Drummond, i. 168; Pattison, *Encycl. Brit.* Article, *Erasmus*) is told by himself in the Epistle to Grunnius

them no slight authority in the interpretation and decision of matters appertaining to the Law of God and the Law of Nations, and attribute to them a free power of disposition and dispensation, to use their own word, in all things except articles of Faith?

When his work on Proverbs was complete, he wrote to Aldus Manutius to ask him whether he would undertake the printing of it, to which he willingly consented. Erasmus then removed to Venice. At that city he was welcomed by Aldus, who found room for him in the house of his father-in-law Andreas Asulanus, where he had as his chamber-fellow Jerome Aleander of Motta, a distinguished scholar, now a Cardinal. He was also on intimate terms with Paolo Canale a nobleman, Ambrosio Nolano an eminent physician, and Battista Egnazio. His stay at Venice lasted a considerable time, since he revised and republished there two tragedies of Euripides, *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, and corrected the comedies of Terence and Plautus, with special regard to the metres.

At this time Alexander, son of James king of Scots, was studying at Padua, and attending the lectures of Raphael Reggio, having been already appointed Bishop of St. Andrew's. Erasmus was invited to become his teacher in Rhetoric, and afterwards accompanied him to Siena, having

(Chapter xxx.); and also in the Epistle to Servatius (Chapter xxiii.), the authenticity of which is not so certain. The slight details related by Beatus differ from those in the Epistle to Grunnius enough to suggest an independent authority, derived perhaps from Erasmus's conversation. The pontifical dispensation obtained at Bologna is mentioned in the Epistle to Grunnius; but it is remarkable that in the Bull of Leo X. and the documents connected with it there is no such reference to the earlier dispensation as Beatus appears to suppose. The formal language cited above makes it probable that the Bull of Pope Leo had been shown to Beatus by Erasmus himself or his executors. The original remained among Erasmus's papers at Basel, and has been printed by Professor Vischer in *Erasmiana*, Basel, 1876. See more about these documents in Chapter xxxiii.

some time before parted with the Boerios by reason of the ill-humour of their father, after having been with them one year. At Padua Erasmus was much in the company of the learned Marcus Musurus of Crete and Scipio Carteromachus of Pistoia, whose kindness I have often heard him extol, having had frequent proof of its sincerity, when he required their counsel in decyphering corrupt manuscripts of Greek authors, such as Pausanias, Eustathius, the scoliast of Lycophron, and the commentaries on Euripides, Pindar, Sophocles, Theocritus and others. There was nothing so recondite or confused that Musurus, that guardian and high priest of the Muses, could not illustrate and explain. He had read everything, mastered everything. Modes of expression, myths, histories, ancient rites, he knew them all exactly. This consummate erudition was recommended by a filial piety no less remarkable. He had a little Greek for a father, an aged man whom he tended with the most loving and constant care. Scipio was endowed with varied learning and a noble spirit. Both died at Rome, Musurus having first obtained from Leo X. the archbishopric of Monovasia.

At Siena Erasmus lived in the house of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, whom he instructed, and whose character he has often praised. The truth of his estimate would have appeared more plainly if this noble youth had not been shortly after killed at his royal father's side, in that field where the English army met the invading Scots, who were in alliance with the French ;* the English king, whose sister was wife to the king of Scots, being then in Picardy besieging Tournay by the instigation of Pope Julius II. While he was living with the young Archbishop, Erasmus took leave to go to Rome. It is impossible to describe with what applause he was there received and with what rejoicing on the part of all cultivated persons, not only of ordinary station, but of the highest dignity, among whom were

* Flodden Field, 9 Sept. 1513.

Cardinal Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., Dominic Grimani, Cardinal of Venice, and Giles, Cardinal of Viterbo, learned in three tongues, all distinguished men born for the encouragement of studies in which they themselves excelled. I remember hearing that among other professors he saw Thomas Phædra,* a man unrivalled in extemporary eloquence, whose reading of plays and comedies recalled the manners of antiquity. Erasmus was offered the dignity of Penitentiary, if he would remain at Rome. This would have been a step to higher offices, the profits of the place not being inconsiderable. But he had to return to the Archbishop; in company with whom he came again to Rome, which the young man wished to see before returning to Scotland. He not only did this, his Episcopal rank being concealed in order not to give trouble, but made a tour in that lower part of Italy as far as Cumæ, visiting the Sibyl's cave,† which is still shown in those parts.

After the departure of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, the remembrance of the old friends whom he had left in England induced Erasmus to hasten his own return to his country He travelled first to Coire by the Grisons, thence to Constance on the lake of Bregenz, and passing the tract of the Lentienses, who dwell at the beginning of the Martian Forest, which was the Orcynium of the ancients, he came by Bresgau to Strasburg, and from thence took his passage to Holland down the Rhine.‡ After visiting his friends at

* Tommaso Inghivami, commonly called Phædrus, having acquired the name from acting the part of Phædra in Seneca's tragedy of Hippolytus. See p. 454.

† Virg. *Aeneid*, vi. 42. The Sibyl's cave was shown in the rock under the Citadel of Cumæ.

‡ We probably owe this particular description of the route of Erasmus to the fact of his having travelled through a part of Germany in which Beatus took a special antiquarian interest. He places a tribe of *Lentienses*, on the borders of Switzerland and Germany to the south of the Black Forest, where we still find the names of Lenzburg and Lenzkirch. Erasmus probably left Italy by Milan and Como, and crossed the Alps by the Splügen Pass.

Antwerp and Louvain, he presently crossed to England, to which he was attracted by his love of Colet the theologian, who was dean of St. Paul's in London, and of Grocin, Latimer and Linacre, and especially of Thomas More. His old Mæcenas was William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Chancellor of the kingdom, that is, Supreme Judge, who surpassed all the bishops of that island in liberality. He gave Erasmus money, and also presented him to the living of Aldington in Kent. This he had some scruple at first in accepting, considering that the entire emoluments rather belonged to the pastor, whose business it undeniably was to be present night and day to instruct the people placed under his charge; but the Archbishop met his hesitation with the following question; "Who," said he, "has a fairer claim to live out of a church income than yourself, the one person who by your valuable writings instruct and educate the pastors themselves, and not them alone but all the churches of the world, which they severally direct and serve?" Certainly I have more than once heard Erasmus say, that princes ought to assist scholars by their own liberality, whereas in order to spare their purses they were accustomed to present them to benefices, which the followers of learning were compelled to accept, if they wished to secure leisure for their studies.

John Froben had printed at Basel an edition of the Adages rivalling that of Aldus,* with which Erasmus was pleased, having heard at the same time of the extraordinary diligence of that press. He had also been informed, that an enlarged copy of the Adages, which was intended for the printer Bade, and had been promised to him, together with

* *Adagiorum chiliades tres.* Folio, Basel, Froben, Aug. 1513. This was a close imitation of the Aldine edition; and another still closer imitation, printed at Tübingen by Thomas Anshelm with the date, March, 1514, is noticed by Erasmus in Epistle 283. Both these editions follow the Aldine page by page, and in the latter even obvious errors are copied. Both are in the British Museum Library.

some books of Plutarch lately translated, had by the contrivance of Francis Pircman, gone astray to Basel,* and that all the works of St. Jerome were about to be published by Froben. He therefore resolved to go thither himself, pretending a pilgrimage to Rome in pursuance of a vow.† The rumour that had reached him was not false. John Amerbach, having finished the books of Ambrose and Augustine, had already applied himself to the correction of the volumes of Jerome, for which purpose old copies had been collected from all quarters, and some learned men had been engaged to restore the Greek passages throughout. One of these was John Reuchlin, a lawyer, who tried to fill up gaps out of lists of words. He was succeeded by a happier emendator, John Kühn (Joannes Conus), a Dominican of Nuremberg, who pursued a better plan, following the traces of old manuscripts in his careful restoration of missing or corrupt passages. He had a special capacity for this work, being almost more learned in Greek than in Latin, and well acquainted with the best authors, having for many years attended with great profit the lectures of the ablest professors in Italy, the before-mentioned Musurus and Scipio, and John of Crete.

At this time, their father being dead, John and Basil Amerbach together with John Froben had begun the setting up of Jerome, and had made some progress with the Prophets. Erasmus being at once received as a guest in Froben's house, was pleased with the beauty of the edition, and especially with the incredible industry and care of the brothers Amerbach in their correction of it. Accordingly whenever he was consulted, his judgment being required

* See p. 13, and Epistles 279, 283.

† I do not remember a vowed pilgrimage being mentioned in any letter. But Erasmus seems to have contemplated the possibility of extending his journey, or thought it expedient to speak of it as part of his plan. See Epistles 290, 294.

on account of some variation in the manuscripts, he was always ready to give his opinion. But the volumes of Epistles were specially claimed by him as his own ; being occupied partly in finishing the Scholia which he had begun long before, and partly in adding new annotations, and writing the Arguments.

This was no light task, and another much more important was added. The students of France and Germany required a separate edition of the New Testament in Greek, which had been joined at Venice with the Old.* Erasmus had formerly written some notes upon it in imitation of Laurentius Valla, and having found them among his papers he revised and extended them in great haste amid the bustle of the press. There were some who thought the Latin version itself required correction, being a work written or rather translated, as may be presumed, for the general body of Christians ; and with this demand he showed his usual readiness to comply. The whole book he dedicated to Pope Leo X., and with good reason, the principal document of our religion being inscribed to its presiding chief. The revised works of Jerome were consecrated to Archbishop Warham, an everlasting memorial of extraordinary respect.

He then withdrew on account of business to Lower Germany, but having returned to us not long after, he had gone back just at the time when your Majesty was invested at Aix with the insignia of the Roman Empire, whose antiquity dates from the Gothic Conquerors, Theodoric of Verona and the rest.†

Soon after, he was at Cologne before the assembling of the Diet of Worms, a notable person among the members of your Council, having been most wisely admitted by you

* Beatus speaks as if a Venetian edition of the Bible in Greek had been already published in 1514. But the Greek Bible of Aldus bears date Feb. 1518.

† Theodoric is known in German legend as Dietrich von Bern (Verona).

to that dignity a long time before, when John Le Sauvage was still living and filling the office of Chancellor.

After the Diet was concluded and the city of Tournay was recovered, when your Majesty had gone again from Brabant to Spain, Erasmus came back to Basel with the intention of re-editing the Chiliads of Adages and finishing the Paraphrases of St. Paul and the Gospels. It is doubtful whether the applause with which these works were received by the world of readers was greater than the pleasure which he took in writing them. "Here," said he, "I am on my own ground." And so he was. His chief study was of the old interpreters; among the Latins Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Hilary; among the Greeks, Chrysostom and his imitator Theophylact. Only the style was his own.

* * *

In stature Erasmus was, as your Majesty knows, and as he himself describes More in one of his letters, not a tall man, without being notably short, his figure being compact and elegant. His constitution was extremely delicate, and easily affected by trifling changes, as of wine or food or climate. As he advanced in years he was subject to frequent attacks of stone, not to speak of catarrh, which is so common and constant a complaint with studious people. His complexion was fair, with hair that in his younger days had a touch of red, bluish grey eyes, and a lively expression of face; his voice not strong, his language beautifully explicit, his dress respectable and sober, as became an imperial Councillor, a divine and a clergyman. He was most constant in his attachments, no inscription on his list of friends being ever on any account changed. His memory was most retentive, having as a boy the whole of Terence and Horace by heart. He was liberal to the poor, among whom as he came home from mass, as well as on other occasions, he used to distribute money by his servant, and especially generous and kind to any young and promising students who

came to him in want of help. In society polite and charming, without any air of superiority, on every occasion really ἐράσμιος (that is, amiable), a name that he regretted he had not assumed when he first began to write and become known by his books; for, said he, who ever heard a man called Love, which is what Erasmus means in Greek? * *

Schlettstadt, 1 June, 1540.

The last observation cited from Rhenanus may serve to introduce a few words upon the names borne by Erasmus. In accordance with a suggestion which appears to have been first made by Baudius in 1606 (C. iii. 1917) it was for some time generally assumed by his biographers, that, having received in baptism his father's name, and being called Girardus Girardi, or in the language of his country Gerrit Gerritzoon, the young Gerrit, when he left school with a good equipment of Latin and a smattering of Greek, finding in his own and his father's name the German root (also found in gern, Gier, gierig) signifying desire and love, adopted a name (Desiderius) derived from the Latin word for desire, and another name (Erasmus) derived from the Greek word for love. This assumption receives no support from any allusion in his own letters or other writings, or from the reminiscences of his friend Beatus, whose story indeed of the prophecy of Sinthen implies, if taken literally, that he was called Erasmus in his childhood. See p. 26. There is no reason to doubt that his baptismal name was Erasmus, or "Herasmus," as the word was probably spelt in the popular Calendars and Martyrologies, and as he himself continued to spell it until after the publication of the first edition of the Adages. There are two saints of this name in the Roman Calendar, the more famous of whom, St. Erasmus of Campania, a Christian bishop, was a martyr under Diocletian and Maximian, his sufferings being, according to his legend, accompanied by a multitude of those marvellous circumstances which gave to so many chapters of the Acta Sanctorum a prolonged and thrilling interest. His body was preserved at Gaeta. (Baronius, *Martyrologia*, 2 Jun. Pet. de Natalibus, v. 75.) That St. Erasmus was at that time to some extent a popular saint, is shown by the allusion to him in the *Moria* (C. iv. 443 c.), from which it appears that persons who longed to become rich burned tapers at his altar. Prayers to this saint are also mentioned in a letter to Gaverus (C. 785 E). A chapel in honour of St. Erasmus

was founded in Westminster Abbey about 1470 by Queen Elizabeth Wodevile; and the popular belief mentioned in the *Moria* is curiously confirmed by a picture, formerly in Cirencester Church, with an inscription, which promised to the man or woman worshipping this holy Saint, Bishop and Martyr, or bringing any candle light to his altar, that he should, among other blessings, have reasonable good to his life's end (*Archæologia*, xv. 405). The name, though uncommon, was not out of use in the Low Countries, as we find a confusion arising at Louvain between Erasmus and another Doctor of the same name, one of whose letters he had opened (C. 272 F). Erasmus d'Assonville, who died in 1469, had governed for twenty-four years the great Monastery of St. Denys de Mons, where our Erasmus's patron, Henry of Bergen, was afterwards Abbot. And a poor student, from Rotterdam itself, of the name of Erasmus, is found in the matriculation register of the University of Cologne in 1496 (See p. 109). It is not impossible that it was the name of one of his father's brothers, or of some other of his kindred.

The *cognomen* Roterodamus, or Roterdamus, as he appears at first to have written it, was probably assumed while he was still at Stein. It appears in the title of an oration written in his twentieth year (C. viii. 545), but it is not certain when this title was affixed; and see the address of Epistle 17 The *prænomen* of Desiderius was, we may suppose, adopted as the Latin equivalent of Erasmus, to complete the Roman complement of three names. This was the least used, and probably the last assumed, of the three, but it is found in the dedication of the Odes of Herman to the Bishop of Cambrai, 7 Nov. 1496. The Epistles of St. Jerome, one of whose correspondents was Desiderius, had long been familiar to Erasmus; see Epistles 29, 182, p. 384.

The following are the names of Erasmus, as they are found in some of the early books. In Robert Gaguin's Epistles, 1494, 1495 (Epistles 42, 43, 44), he is simply *Herasmus*; in the Epistle prefixed to Gaguin's History (Epistle 45), he is *Herasmus Roterdamus*; in the dedication of the *Sylua Odarum* of Herman, 1496 (Epistle 50), he is *Desyderius Herasmus*. In the title to the first edition of the Adages, 1500, he is *Desyderius Herasmus Roterdamus*; in that of the Panegyric, 1504, he is *Desyderius Erasmus Roterodamus*. See pp. 245, 318, 363.

With reference to the supposed connection of the name of Erasmus with Gerard, we may observe that Erasmus himself derived, or affected to derive, this name from another German root, *Geyer*, in Dutch *Gier* (a vulture). In explaining why he called Gerhard Geldenhauer *Vul-*

turius Neocomus, he says: Scire poteras me allusisse ad verum illius nomen iuxta linguam Germanicam. Ep. xxxi. 48; C. x. 1589 A.

Erasmus's observation upon his name, recorded by Beatus, that he ought to have made it Erasmius (the name he gave to his godson, the son of Froben), is consistent with the supposition that Erasmus was his baptismal name, without excluding the possibility that he had assumed it in early youth. But it may well be observed that, if it had been of his own assumption, he would more readily have corrected it, as he did the Roterdamus. If it was his baptismal name, it was the one name he could not legally alter. It has been judged a similar mistake, that he did not write *Roterodamensis* (Drummond, i. 4). This he might have done, if he had used the word as a description, but the form *Roterodamus*, perhaps originally a description (applied also to his countryman Servatius, Epistle 6), was probably retained as more distinctly a name. I do not doubt, as Prof. Vischer appears to have done, the correctness of the address inscribed on the autograph letter of Francis the First: *A notre cher et bon amy maistre Erasme Roterodame.* Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 32.

In discussing the names of Erasmus it should not be forgotten, that the Dispensation granted to him by Pope Leo X. in 1517 (Vischer, *Erasmiana*, p. 29; see Chapter xxxiii.) is addressed *Erasmo Rogerii Roterodamensi*, the last word being evidently not a name but a description. We may safely infer, that in the confidential information respecting Erasmus's birth and family furnished to the Papal Curia the name of Erasmus was given as his baptismal name, and the name *Rogerii* was attributed as a surname or patronymic to one of his parents or grandparents, and consequently assumed to be his proper surname, Desiderius and Roterodamus being rejected as arbitrary assumptions. Dr. Richter (*Erasmus-studien*, p. 7) thinks that Roger was the baptismal name of the father of Erasmus; but on this point the testimony of the Compendium and of Baudius is confirmed by the name *Girardus* adopted as a patronymic by his brother Peter, an ode of Herman being addressed *ad Petrum Girardum Rotterdammensem Herasmi germanum.* (Hermani *Sylva*, Paris 1497.) His paternal grandfather, according to the Compendium, was called Elias. If this was his name, he may possibly have been described in Erasmus's documents as *Elias Rogerii*; or it may be on the other hand, as Professor Kan has suggested (*Erasmiana*, in Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje, 1890, p. 66), that the parentage of the reputed father was ignored, and the surname of Roger derived from the mother's family.

CHAPTER I.

Earliest Letters. Epistles to Peter Winckel and brother Peter. Epistolary Exercises at Stein. Letters to Servatius, Francis and Sasboud. Epistles 1-15.

THE fifteen epistles contained in the present chapter include the earliest letters attributed to Erasmus that we possess, and with the exception of the first (which probably belongs to his schooldays), they all appear to have been written during his residence at the convent of Stein. None of these letters were published in the lifetime of their author; twelve were first printed by Merula in 1607, and the other three, Epistles 3, 4 and 5, were added by Le Clerc in 1703. They are all here assumed to be genuine; see the Introduction to this volume. None of them has any date of place or time.

The first epistle may claim to be regarded as the earliest prose writing that we possess of Erasmus, his earliest extant poem being of about the same date, see p. 17. In the Epistle to Grunnius (Chapter xxx.) he narrates how "Florence" in his fourteenth year wrote a polished letter to his guardian, who had been his first schoolmaster, and who sarcastically advised him, if he wrote in that style, to add a commentary. It is not improbable that Erasmus kept the draft of what appeared to him at the time an important letter; and if this is a copy of it, we may well imagine how a schoolmaster, whose own Latinity was elementary, would be likely to receive advice, conveyed in such a form, from a boy of thirteen. The letter indicates the nature of the property of which Gerard had died possessed; he appears to have continued the trade of a transcriber of books. See p. 6. The majority of books in use were not printed.

In the heading of each Epistle the first reference is to the book in which it was first published. The other references are to the books in which the Latin text is most conveniently found; these are, for Epistle 1, the London edition (fol. 1642) of the Epistles of Erasmus, cited as Ep. (the first twenty-eight books of which correspond to the twenty-eight books of the *Epistolarum Opus*, Basil, 1558); and the third volume of Le Clerc's edition of his works, cited as C.

EPISTLE I. Merula, p. 161; Ep. xxxi. 4; C. 1885 (506).

Erasmus to Master Peter Winckel.

I am very much afraid the close of the short current period will find our affairs not yet placed in safety, but still at that late hour requiring to be so placed. I think therefore that every contrivance, every care and every effort should be used to prevent any loss occurring. You will say perhaps, that I am one of those who are anxious the sky should not tumble down. I admit it might be so said, if the amount were waiting in the cash-box. But your prudence will press on with due caution the settlement of our accounts. The books are still to be offered for sale, still to look out for a purchaser, still to find a bidder. See how far they are from being disposed of. The grain is to be sown, from which the loaf is to be made; and meantime, as Naso says, "Time with swift foot glides."*

I do not at all see what can be gained by delay in this matter; what may be lost, I see well enough. Besides, I hear that Christian has not yet returned the books, which he has had. Pray let his slowness be overcome by your insistence. If beseeching does not hasten him, a command may make him send them. Farewell.

The remaining epistles of this chapter belong to Erasmus's conventual life, which appears to have begun in 1482 or 1483 (see p. 18), and was passed at the Augustinian monastery of Emmaus in the district called Stein, which adjoined Gouda on the east. This house was founded in 1419 under the protection of John, Bastard of Blois, then possessor of the lordship of Stein, which was purchased in 1458 by the town of Gouda. *Beschryving der Stad Gouda door J W* Leyden, 1713, p. 119. No remains of the convent exist, but its situation, near the River Yssel and nearly opposite to Haestrecht, is shown by an old map preserved in the Library at Brussels and copied in M. Ruelen's reprint of the *Silva Carminum Herasmi*, Brussels, 1864, and by another old map existing in the Museum at Gouda.

* Cito pede labitur aetas. Ovid. *De Art. Amat.* iii. 65.

Epistle 2 is addressed by Erasmus to his brother; as to whom see page 15. In the Grunnius Epistle (Chapter xxx.) his character is presented in a very unfavourable light; and the following letter, whatever its origin, is not founded on the picture there drawn. With its air of youthful pedantry, it has, if genuine, a biographical interest, as representing the actual relations at this time between the brothers. In a letter to Herman dated at Paris in 1497 (Epistle 51) Erasmus enquires after his brother; and in the volume of poems of Herman printed at Paris in that year (see p. 118) one is addressed to him.

EPISTLE 2. Merula, p. 186; Ep. xxxi. 20; C. 1859 (470).

Erasmus to his brother, Master Peter.

Have you quite thrown off the character of a brother? Have you ceased altogether to care for your Erasmus? I write, send and send again. I expostulate, I enquire of those of your house that come here, and find they have no letter and no message; only they say you are safe and sound. Nothing is more cheering for me to hear than that, but your part still remains unperformed. You seem to be so resolved, that I think it would be an easier thing to draw milk from a grindstone than anything like a letter from you. But what has become, my Peter, of that original kindness of yours, and of that love which was no ordinary love, but worthy of a brother? Have you so soon passed from Mitio to Demeas? * * But if your affection be estranged, I do not say by any fault of mine, but by any suspicion of fault, I beseech you to accept my apology at once; and as you never failed me in the hardest times, stick to me now that Fortune, though not favorable, is less cruel. * *

If you want to hear what I am doing, I love you greatly, as you deserve, carry you on my lips and in my mind, think of you, dream of you, have frequent talk about you with friends, and with none more frequent, more familiar or more pleasant than with our countryman, Servatius, a young man of the brightest character and sweetest temper, and devoted to those studies which have chiefly delighted both you and

me from our boyhood. He wants very much to see you. If you will, as I hope, come to see us before long, you will not only esteem him worthy of your friendship, but will easily like him better than your brother ; he is a person that no one can help loving. For this reason I am more disposed to ask you to lend him that small copy that you have of Juvenal's Satires. Do not fear, my Peter ; you will never confer a favour on a better object. You will find him grateful, and he will not forget it. Farewell, sweetest brother.

When Erasmus joined the monastery, he was prepared, boy as he was, to assume the part of a missionary of Letters. According to the Compendium he inspired all his companions with a zeal for study. His first pupil was a youth a little older than himself, called in the Compendium Cornelius, who had been his chamber-fellow at Deventer, and was instrumental in inducing him to enter the Convent. His surname according to the Epistle to Servatius (Epistle 290) was Woerden, and he appears in the Epistle to Grunnius under the name of Cantelius. With this companion Erasmus used to sit up at night, coaching him in Terence, and completing, in such furtive studies, to the detriment of his own health, a long course of classical authors (Epistle to Grunnius, Chapter xxx.). Cornelius had, according to the Compendium, been already in Italy, and if we may believe a late recollection of Erasmus, he himself nourished the hope, even in those early days, of making that alluring pilgrimage. What prospect had offered itself of carrying out his wish we are not informed (*Responsio ad Cursii defensionem*, C. x. 1750 E. See p. 93). This comrade, for whom Erasmus had a strong boyish affection, makes no later appearance in his life. In William Herman, whose father was living at Gouda (Epistle 62, p. 150), and who probably joined the community at Stein soon after Erasmus, the latter met a kindred spirit. They were nearly of the same age, as there is among Erasmus's poems a piece entitled, *Certamen Erasmi et Guielmi anno eorum decimo nono* (C. viii. 565) ; and being both of Gouda families, they had known each other from their early childhood. C. x. 1693 C. A collection of their early epistles appears to have been lost. See pp. 80, 94, 197.

We may infer from letters written at this period, and from allusions in later letters, that the young monks, many of whom owed

their position, not to any conscious vocation, but to the decree of their parents or friends, were not exempt from the frailties of youth. Erasmus sagely observes in one of his juvenile letters, that love is the passion of a vacant mind, and he fought more or less successfully against his own temptations by constant intellectual work, the special value of which in this point of view, is recognised in the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani.* C. v. 60 B.

Among the younger members of the Convent was Servatius, called in Epistle 86 Servatius Rogerus and in Epistle 6 Roterodamus, afterwards Prior of the same House, who appears to have lately joined their body when Erasmus wrote to his brother. Nine letters addressed to him by Erasmus in their juvenile days are included in this chapter. If these are regarded as part of a correspondence between persons living at a distance from one another, we should refer them to the time when Erasmus had lately left Stein. But, assuming their authenticity, I am inclined to look upon them rather as epistolary exercises, written when both the correspondents were inmates of the Convent, though they do not appear to have always had free access to each other, perhaps meeting only in Chapel. They are of little interest, except as illustrating a somewhat feminine side of the character of Erasmus, whom they exhibit as having formed a devoted attachment to one of his own sex, which not being returned with equal fervour, was a source of pain to himself and of some annoyance to the object of his affection. Perhaps Erasmus amused himself in expressing his feelings with an exaggeration which was embarrassing to his correspondent. Some examples and extracts will give the reader an idea of the character of these letters; they have been selected partly for this purpose, and partly to justify their chronological position and the opinion expressed above as to the circumstances of their origin. There is the less reason for passing them over, as they appear to have escaped the attention of most of the biographers.

Epistle 3. C. 1872 (490).

Erasmus to Servatius.

You are wondering perhaps, my Servatius, what has hindered me so long from writing to you, and it may be you

suspect that I have dropped my intention or that my love for you has grown weak. Pray do not think that either of these obstacles has existed. It is not mind that has been wanting, but time ; not will, but power. I wish the fates permitted me to enjoy that freedom of life, which Nature conferred ; you would find me far more prompt to teach than to receive. But you see yourself in what a hubbub everything is, and I suppose you are not unaware how little leisure is left me among the anxieties of my life. Forgive therefore, I beseech you, our silence, and do for yourself all you can to come out a man. When a calmer state of things shall arise, we will resume our proposed work. Farewell and love me, as you do.

Epistle 4. C. 1871 (488).

Erasmus to Servatius.

* * You say there is something you find it difficult to bear, which distresses you and makes your life wretched. This fact, even if you said nothing about it, is declared by the appearance of your face and person. What is become of that cheerfulness which used so much to delight us, that old charm of form, and glance of vivacity? Whence has come that sad dejection of the eyes, that constant and unusual silence, that sick man's look in the face? * *

I beseech you therefore by all that is sweetest to you in life, and by our prevailing love, if you have any care for your own health, if you wish me to preserve mine, confide to safe ears whatever is amiss. I will help you in whatever way I can either by aid or counsel. If I can do neither, it will still be all that I desire, to rejoice with you or to weep, with you to live or with you to die.

Farewell, my Servatius, and let your health be your care.

Epistle 5. C. 1872 (489).

Erasmus to Servatius.

What are you doing, my Servatius? for I suspect you are doing something great, which prevents your fulfilling your promise to me, You pledged yourself to send me a letter very soon; and see what a great interval has passed, and you neither write nor speak. What shall I guess to be the reason? You must certainly be either too busy or too idle; I suspect both, and that you are living in that leisure, than which nothing is more busy. For a state of desire implies leisure, since love is the passion of a vacant mind. You will therefore do what will please me and be of use to yourself, if you interrupt that leisure, and write to me without any delay. For the rest treat me with confidence, and you will be no more afraid of my conscience than your own. Speak with me about everything as with yourself. That will be what I should wish. Farewell.

In the address of the following letter the title given to Servatius in the original was probably *Roterdamus*. See pp. 38, 39.

Epistle 6. Merula, p. 171; Ep. xxxi. 12; C. 1867 (481).

Erasmus to Servatius Roterodamus.

I should write more frequently to you, very dearest Servatius, if I knew for certain that you would not be more fatigued by reading my letters than I by writing them. And your comfort is so dear to me, that I had rather be tortured by what gives you rest, than fatigue you by what gives me pleasure. But since lovers find nothing so distressing as not to be allowed to meet one another, and we very rarely have that in our power, I cannot forego the opportunity of

bidding this letter find its way to you in my stead. How I wish it may be some time our fortune to have no further need of letters, but to be able to meet face to face as often as we please. That joy is denied us ; I cannot think of it without tears ; but am I therefore to be deprived of all intercourse with you ? * * *

So suspicious are those that love, I sometimes seem to see, I know not what,—that you do not often think of me, or have even quite forgotten me. My wish would be, if it were possible, that you should care for me as much as I do for you, and be as much pained by the love of me, as I am continually tormented by the want of you. Farewell.

Epistle 7. Merula, p. 164 ; Ep. xxxi. 7 ; C. 1865 (479).

Erasmus to Servatius.

When my love for you, my dearest Servatius, has always been and still is so great, that you are dearer to me than these eyes, than this soul, than this self, what is it that has made you so inexorable that you not only do not love, but have no regard at all for him who loves you best ? Are you so inhuman as to love those that hate, and hate those that love you ? * * *

When you are away, nothing is sweet to me , in your presence I care for nothing else. When I see you happy, I forget my own sorrows ; if anything painful has occurred to you, so help me Heaven, if my pain is not greater than your own. Has this crime deserved so much hatred as you show me ? But now, my Servatius, I am not unaware what reply you will make to me. It is what you often answer You will say, " What on earth do you require me to do for you ? Do I hate you ? What is it you want ? " Can you ask this question ? I demand no costly presents. Only let

your feeling for me be as mine is for you, and you will make me happy. * *

Farewell, my soul, and if there is anything human in you, return the love of him who loves you.

EPISTLE 8. Merula, p. 166 ; Ep. xxxi. 8 ; C. 1866 (480).

Erasmus to Servatius.

As nothing in nature is so delightful or so sweet, as to love and be loved, so nothing to my mind is more distressing or more unhappy, than to love without return ; and as nothing is more human than to love the being that loves you, so nothing is more alien to humanity or nearer to the nature of a wild animal than to repulse, not to say hate, such a being. You will perhaps suspect that I have composed this exordium, to attempt a reconciliation and patch up again our broken friendship. But how can I promise myself from a mute epistle, that which no blandishments nor prayers poured forth in your presence, nor even tears were able to effect? I left nothing untried by which a young mind might be affected, but harder than adamant you still persist in your resolve. * *

Yesterday, my Servatius, I should have come to you to offer you some comfort, if I had not known that my very presence is disagreeable to you. I saw your looks were altered, your eyes cast down, your complexion sad, and all your gestures portended some sorrow. * *

Not to detain you long, if Erasmus' prayers have any weight with you, if you will do anything for my sake, I beg and entreat one thing of you, that you will pull yourself together, show yourself a man, and not give way any longer to sorrow. On the contrary strive with all your might to make yourself such a man, that you may laugh at those who

now insult you. This might have been long ago accomplished, if my advice had been listened to. But still you have nothing about you that is not favourable to study. Your circumstances, your locality, the very mildness of the season seem to offer no slight inducement to the pursuit of literature. Pray shake off whatever torpor and cowardice has hitherto possessed you. It may serve as an incentive for you to know that our Walter has done the same ; he is entirely occupied with study ; and there is nothing that so much grieves him as the thought that he did not begin long ago. Do not lose heart ; there is nothing else that I require of you. My William, since you shrink from me, will be in everything an assistance and comfort to you. I shall remind him without fail to take pains to be so. Farewell.

EPISTLE 9. Merula, p. 172 ; Ep. xxxi. 13 ; C. 1886 (482).

Erasmus to Servatius.

It is no slight pleasure to me, my dearest Servatius, to see you are in good health ; for I cannot but rejoice at the good fortune of one who, though he will not be my friend, is still most dear to me. But your long forgetfulness of your loving Erasmus does indeed afflict me. So help me heaven, these very few days that I have been deprived of your society have seemed to me longer than a whole year. I have suffered such sorrow, been tormented with such regrets, that I have sometimes prayed to be relieved from a life that I hated. The very sadness of my face, the paleness of my complexion, the dejection of my eyes, might easily show you the grief of my mind, if you paid any attention to them. * * * There would be some excuse, if I asked you for anything arduous, anything difficult, anything wrong. What is it then ? Only return my love. What more easy, more agreeable,

more worthy of a generous mind? Only love, and I am satisfied. * *

If, my dearest Servatius, I cannot have that friendship, which of all things I most desire, I beg at least that the ordinary intercourse between us may be resumed. If you think that also ought to be denied me, I have nothing left to live for. Let me soon hear your decision by letter. Farewell, only hope of my life.

EPISTLE 10. Merula, p. 185; Ep. xxxi. 19; C. 1869 (483).

Erasmus to Servatius.

Although, my dearest Servatius, I could not read your letter without tears, still it not only chased away the grief which had afflicted me, but caused me incredible and unexpected pleasure. Before, I had all day long wept tears of grief; then the flood which moistened your letter flowed not from sorrow of heart but from unutterable love of you. Love, believe me, has its tears, and has its joys. And who, my Servatius, is of so strong a heart that such a letter would not force him to weep? What sweet words! What gracious sentiments! Nothing in it but is redolent of affection and of love! Whenever I read it,—and I read it every hour,—I seem to hear the sweet voice, to see the friendly face of my Servatius. And when I am not allowed to have any talk with you face to face, this letter is my comfort. * * *

But I entreat you throw me not again into the abyss of sorrows. Believe me, I suffer so much from your anger, that if I hear of it again, it will kill me outright. I am of too tender a spirit to be able to bear repeatedly such cruel sport. * * *

Farewell, my hope, and the one solace of my life. Pray let a letter come from you as soon as possible.

Epistle 11 purports to be written four years after Servatius entered the Convent. He appears to have been younger than Erasmus (p. 48), and to have joined the Society later (p. 43), but we do not know how long after. The date of the Epistle must therefore remain uncertain. It is apparently the last extant letter written in the Convent to this correspondent. The Bernard imitated by the young monk was probably St. Bernard of Clairvaux, whose Epistles (more than three hundred) were printed in a handsome black-letter folio at Brussels as early as 1481. See p. 83.

EPISTLE 11. Merula, p. 154; Ep. xxxi. 2; C. 1864 (478).

Erasmus to Servatius.

I am every day, my Servatius, more surprised at your quiescence, not to say indolence, and cannot admire a man, who having all the conveniences of study at command, does not care to supply the only thing that is wanting, a little pains. * *

It will be worth your while to share your mind with me, and not to be ashamed of asking a question about anything you doubt, or confessing anything you do not know. It will also conduce greatly to your object if you will write to me more frequently than you do; but do not write in your old way with borrowed sentences, or even what is worse, heaping up expressions, here out of Bernard and there out of Claudian, and fitting them or rather unfitly sewing them on to your own, as a crow might do with a peacock's feathers. That is not composing a letter, but merely putting letters together. Neither should you fancy that we are so dull as not to discern what you have taken from your own spring, and what you have borrowed from another's. It would be better for you to write as best you can (and I would rather you did it without preparation), whatever comes into your head. You need not be ashamed of barbarisms, if any such should occur; you shall have from us correction, and not ridicule. How is a wound to be healed if it is not laid

open? Shake off your torpor, cast off the coward and put on the man, and set your hand even at this late hour to the work! Only look what a long time has slipped through our fingers, as they say. Four years have gone by, while you still stick in the same rut, whereas if you had followed our advice at first, you would by this time have come out such a man as might not only equal us in literature but instruct us in return. If you think me unworthy of your intimacy, I do not dispute the matter; only do not run away from me in such a way as to leave your own welfare behind. And in that case trust your mind to William, who thinks as much of your advantage as of his own, and believe his advice. If anything further can be supplied by my assistance, you will find me ready. Farewell.

The three following epistles are addressed to Francis Theodorik, who was apparently one of the younger brethren of the Convent. These letters are probably of the same period as some of those written to Servatius, and have the same character of epistolary exercises. See p. 44. Francis was one of the few members of the Convent who appear in Erasmus's subsequent correspondence. See Epistles 40, 185.

EPISTLE 12. Merula, p. 163; Ep. xxxi. 6; C. 1874 (496).

Erasmus to Francis Theodorik.

Your having given your mind to letters, and so begun to have some consideration for your own welfare, as it will be of the greatest use to you, will also be an unspeakable pleasure to me. But in order that you may reach the point you desire,—as you are not yet acquainted with the road,—it will be worth your while to give ear to our counsel, and be assured that I shall deal with your case as if it were my own. Therefore if you are wise, you will arrange your life by our advice, for if you begin the journey without a guide, you will easily go astray. Farewell.

EPISTLE 13. Merula, p. 177; Ep. xxxi. 15; C. 1816 (434).

Erasmus to Francis.

Feeling the greatest possible affection for you, I cannot but write to you now and then. For I do not think any office of friendship more agreeable than this exchange of letters. When I have lately, my dearest Francis, looked carefully at your face, I have seen marks of sadness which seem to portend some evil. * * I beg you again and again to show me what is amiss. If anything can be done by my exertions, I will aid by act, or at any rate by advice. If the cause of your sorrow has arisen from me, I will take care that it shall be removed by me as quickly as possible. I beseech you, half of my soul, do not torment yourself so seriously for a small matter. Show yourself a man, and shake off all feebleness of mind. In this way you will do what is best for yourself, and make me, your most loving friend, happy.

Epistle 14 has so much the air of an exercise (see p. 44), that I have placed it in the Conventual series. The courier, like the correspondence itself, may have been founded on fiction. Or it may have been written during a temporary absence from the Convent. Compare Epistle 32.

EPISTLE 14. Merula, p. 170; Ep. xxxi. 11; C. 1815 (433).

Erasmus to Francis.

Although I have been long assured of your love, yet I understand it more and more every day from the very affectionate letters you have lately sent me by the courier;* and it will therefore give me unspeakable pleasure if you will contrive, that letters shall fly in greater numbers from

* *Per tabellarium.*

where you are to us. You have hitherto not had so many from me in return as you anticipated, but you must not suspect me of negligence. It has not arisen from indifference, but an excess of engagements has come in the way. When I have got clear of business, I shall pelt you with such a multitude of letters, that you will begin to beg me to stop, more eagerly than you have ever entreated me to write. Farewell. Give my greeting to your friends, whom I hold to be my own as well as yours.

We may assume that the person to whom Epistle 15 is addressed was a young brother of the Order, who had been a temporary inmate of the Convent of Stein, and whom Erasmus had endeavoured to enlist among the students of the New Learning. It is interesting to find that he had also assisted him in the art of painting, probably with a view to the illumination of books. Compare Epistle 150. Sasboud appears to have put Erasmus into some danger of rebuke or penance by suggesting that the latter had *sold* him a book of drawings, in defiance of the rules of the Order which admitted no right of property as between its members. It may be worth while to mention in this connection an old report, that in the cabinet of Cornelius Musius, Provost of the Convent of St. Agatha at Delft, there was a picture of Christ on the Cross, painted by Erasmus when he was at Stein. Bleiswijk, *Beschreijving van Delft*, 1667, p. 361; Burigni, *Vie d'Érasme*, i. 37.

EPISTLE 15. Merula, p. 162; Ep. xxxi. 5; C. 1863 (476).

Erasmus to Sasboud.

Although I would rather have received something of a letter, still I am not a little pleased to have a message from you. For as it is a long time since you have made any sign, I was afraid that you had forgotten our mutual friendship.

I would willingly comply with your request, if I could have guessed your meaning with certainty from the words of the messenger. His story was that there were some flowers that you desired me to give you. * * * I do

not see what flowers you mean, unless it may be that little book, in which I painted some flowers for you when we were together, and which somehow or other has lately come back to my hands. I cannot tell you how much mischief your heedlessness in this matter has nearly caused me. Henry, who brought the message from you, said that you had asserted it was sold to you by me; and you are well aware how far that is from the truth. I therefore denied it stoutly, as I was bound to do, and convinced the man at last that the facts were not as he had understood.

But I beg you, Sasboud, dearest of my companions, to beware of so devoting yourself to this art of painting as to give up your interest in Letters. You know, at any rate, what you promised me, when you were leaving this place, and on what condition you took the books of poetry from me, I mean that you would dedicate yourself wholly to the study of Letters. * * If I were not prevented by the limits of time and of this letter, I could mention a great number of persons, and those of our own body, who having seen what glory is gained by Letters and what shame by ignorance, feel the deepest regret when they see too late, that the season of youth, which is adapted to study, has slipped between their fingers. Therefore, my sweetest Sasboud, while your age is still unwasted, take the ant for an example, and exert yourself to prepare the materials which may delight and feed your age. And that you may do that more earnestly, it is worth your while, if you cannot altogether guard yourself from the dominating passions of youth (for that is almost more than human), at any rate to control and restrain them. You know what I mean; I have said enough. Let me know soon by letter, how you are, what you are doing, what you want of me, and anything else that I am interested to know, and bear in mind your once united and still most loving comrade.

CHAPTER II.

Later years at Stein. Early literary correspondence; Cornelius, James Canter and William Herman. Literary work at Stein. Epistles 16 *to* 34.

THIS chapter contains nineteen Epistles ascribed to the later period of Erasmus's residence at Stein. His principal correspondent at this time was Cornelius of Gouda (uncle of his comrade William Herman), an Augustinian Canon resident at one of the numerous houses of his Order in Holland, whose full name and description,—*Cornelius Girardus Goudensis Hieronymianæ Vallis Canonicus Regularis*,— are given at the head of a letter to Gaguin, printed in 1504 in the fifth edition of that author's History of France; see p. 172. The convent of *Vallis Hieronymiana* was situated near Leyden, and the locality was also known by the name of Lopsen.* The acquaintance was not wholly new; both the correspondents being connected with Gouda; and in C. viii. 545 E Erasmus alludes to Cornelius's character as a boy. The letters of Erasmus are generally addressed to Cornelius Goudanus; but one of them, clearly belonging to the series (Epistle 27), is inscribed *Cornelio Aurotino*, a title which has been ingeniously interpreted as a fanciful variation of the ordinary form, the Latin *aurum* being equivalent to the Dutch *goud*. This early friend of Erasmus has been identified by the literary historians of his country with Cornelius Aurelius Lopsen, a person not altogether unknown as a poet and historian at the commencement of the sixteenth century, who is said to have been a Canon Regular at the Convent of Hemsdonk in the territory of Dordrecht, and to have been decorated with the Laurel by the Emperor Maximilian (Miræus, *Elogia Belgica*; Valerius Andreas, *Biblioth. Belg.* p. 204; Foppens, *Biblioth, Belg.* i. 193). Lopsenus ille noster Aurelius is mentioned in a letter of Alardus of Amsterdam

* I am indebted for this information to Mr. Van Slee, the learned librarian of Deventer.

to Erasmus, dated 11 Nov., 1516; and he appears to have been living several years later, since a letter addressed from Dordrecht by Cornelius Aurelius Lopsen to Joannes Berius, a schoolmaster of Rotterdam, without date of time but apparently recently written, was printed in 1529 in a volume containing Erasmus's Paraphrase of the *Elegantiæ* of Valla and a short work called *Farrago sordidorum verborum* by Cornelius Crocus. In this letter he admits that he was publishing the Paraphrase without the permission of his old comrade Erasmus, but pleads that the latter had printed at Paris, upon doubtful authority, the poems of the writer's countryman (he does not say nephew) William of Gouda (see Epistle 50); if he has been wrong, he claims indulgence on account of his age: *bis pueri senes.* Erasmus's opinion of this publication is given in the Preface, written in his last year, to the volume of Epistles at that time in the press; where however he makes no direct mention of Cornelius, who was probably then dead. A translation of this Preface will be found in the Introduction to this Volume. The *Elegantiæ* of Valla and his own epitome of them are frequently mentioned in the early epistles of Erasmus. See Epistles 22, 25, 26, 27, and p. 86.

In spite of the distance of time that had passed since the extant correspondence of Erasmus and Cornelius, the assumed identity of the author of the epistle to Berius with the early friend of Erasmus need not be rejected. The latter was apparently older than Erasmus; see Epistles 16, 22. He was the uncle of Erasmus's contemporary William Herman; but the difference in age may have been not very great. In 1529 Erasmus was in his sixty-third year, and Cornelius Girardus, if living, was not improbably between seventy and eighty. The correspondent of Berius describes himself in his letter as an old man, a native of Gouda and an ancient comrade of Erasmus; the *Aurelius* assumed as part of his name recalls the *Aurotinus* which occurs in the address of Epistle 27, both additions being probably fanciful equivalents for *Goudanus*; and his third name, *Lopsen*, points to the locality with which Cornelius Girardus was connected in 1504; see p. 56. Le Mire describes Cornelius as preceptor of Erasmus; but this description, which is repeated by Valère André and Foppens, is contradicted by the following correspondence, most of which was not published until after the date of Le Mire's work. See Epistles 17, 19, 21.

The correspondence of Erasmus and Cornelius belonging to this period consists of fourteen letters, ten of Erasmus and four of Cornelius. Of these, two of Erasmus are authenticated by their publication

in the author's lifetime, being included in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, 1519. Six others were printed by Merula in 1607, and the other two of Erasmus with four of Cornelius were added in Le Clerc's edition in 1703. It may be observed that the first two letters (Epistles 16 and 17), which illustrate most distinctly the relation of the correspondents to each other, were among the last published. The letters with one exception are without date. See p. 65.

It appears from Epistle 17, that Cornelius had sometime before sent a poem of his own composition to Erasmus, who, according to the report of the messenger, treated it with contempt. Cornelius was nevertheless still anxious to improve his acquaintance, and the correspondence began with an epistle from Cornelius (which has not been preserved), accompanied by a present,—probably a volume from his shelf of books. See p. 73. The following epistle is Erasmus's answer.

Epistlė 16. C. 1800 (413).

Erasmus to Cornelius Goudanus, Poet and Divine.

Although there is nothing of which I was more certain, most friendly Cornelius, than your regard and esteem, I see them more plainly by the letter you have lately sent me, a letter sufficiently diffuse, but too short to satisfy my longing for you, though it has in no small degree relieved it. For while the hearty feeling which it shows is as agreeable to me as anything can be, I am still tortured with regret, that our circumstances compel me to experience your kindness at a distance. I should be better pleased, if I were allowed to talk with you face to face, and with embraces and sacred kisses to enjoy more closely your society. It is indeed an auspicious day, to be distinguished with a snow-white mark, on which I have gained you for a friend, and you have become no small a part of my own soul! I am not only admitted to your friendship, but profit substantially by it. I should be the most ungrateful of men, if I did not give the heartiest thanks, and strive, whenever the occasion may arise, to make some return, to one who treats me with so much kindness and beneficence. * * *

Whatever concerns the maintenance of your credit and dignity will be of so much interest to me, that no one shall take more account of his own welfare than I of your honour and name. If therefore you judge anything to be procurable by my zeal or labour, pray consider it as absolutely and entirely your own.

Your kindness to our William is most pleasing to me and worthy of your character. He deserves your affection, not only for his distinguished erudition as a young man, but for the love he bears you. Farewell, my sweetest Cornelius, and love me much, as you do.

Epistle 17. C. 1803 (417).

Cornelius Goudanus to Erasmus Roterodamus, Poet, Orator and Divine.

Although, dearest Erasmus, there is nothing I could wish for more than to recognise your kind disposition towards me, promising as it does, in so gratifying a way, the grace and fidelity of friendship, still I am overcome by the consciousness of my defects, when you distinguish me with praises which I little deserve.

Some time ago, when that friend of ours had told me a long story about your industry, I conceived the idea of entering into a treaty of friendship with you, and relieving the distance of a long journey by a frequent interchange of letters. I then first gave him in pledge the story of St. Nicolas written by me in rude verse, with this caution,—for I will tell the plain truth,—that he should first look carefully at your poems, and if he thought the match was a fair one, should then communicate my trifles to you. For I was afraid, having long heard of your fame by means of our John, that I must be overcome by your incomparable genius, and put down with opprobrium for my temerity in

throwing my chaff at your learned ears. But if he saw (as I then suspected with little doubt, and have now ascertained with hearty satisfaction) that you moved with a more powerful step, then my lame palfrey, which had been put into his charge, was to be kept in the stable. The man lost his head, and when he returned, informed me that you had read my verses, but that when you had done so, you wrinkled your forehead, stretched out a nose like a rhinoceros, derided and, to use his expression, gnawed and tore them in every direction. When I heard of this not undeserved censure, I call Heaven to witness that I was not at all angry, but considered that I had received such a rebuke as my foolish trifles deserved. But from this subject I am resolved to abstain for ever, not wishing to throw any stain upon our friend who is now a lay brother, or to stir up a sleeping fire. For the rest, setting aside the cavils of the envious, I will tell you in a few words in what spirit I accept your praises. I believe myself, my sweetest Erasmus, that you have complimented me in order to do away with my timidity and cowardice, and by spurring me on to run with you in the race of literary exercise, to make out of a rude disciple another like yourself. * * * Farewell, and study to serve God with good works.

In the fifth line of the following letter M. Ruelens suggests (*Silva Carminum*, Præf. p. xxiv), that for *Bavo* we should read *Hiero*, Valère André having seen in a Convent at Louvain a poem by William Herman entitled *Divi Hieronis Vita et Passio*. Possibly the misreading is that of André; the saint in his note being described as a hero and martyr of Holland; Val. Andreas, *Bibl. Belg.* p. 320. Bavo was a Belgian saint with a story, but not a martyr; Hiero an obscure Armenian martyr; Baronius, *Martyrologia*, 1 Oct. 7 Nov. The *lugubris oratio* mentioned in the same page was probably that written in honour of Berta van Heyen, printed C. viii. 551, and said to have been composed by Erasmus in his twenty-first year (1486-1487). See p. 87. This gives an approximate date for the Epistle.

EPISTLE 18. Merula, p. 178; Ep. xxxi. 16; C. 1796 (410).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

Your epistles, dearest Cornelius, afford a pleasurable occupation to my mind, while they kindle in my heart a vehement longing for your society. You say you have heard of my having produced a versified history in praise of St. Bavo. This is one of the false tales of deceptive Rumour. For it is not I, but my other self, that is the author of that poem; I mean your loving nephew, William, between whom and me there is so intimate a friendship that you may say there is one mind in two bodies. However I am resolved for the future, since you advise me so kindly, not to compose anything but what may savour either of the praises of saints or of sanctity itself; and if any of the verses I present to you may seem to have too tender a tone, you will with your usual indulgence excuse it in consideration of the age at which they were written. For, except the lyric poem, which was in hand when your letters were delivered to me, and the mournful Oration lately composed, which I thought right to give you that you might see what I could do in prose, and that single Satire, all the rest were written by me when a boy, and almost still in the world. In fact I had nothing else at hand to give you, for whatever there was besides had been partly sent to Alexander Hegius, the Schoolmaster, formerly my teacher, and Bartholomew of Cologne, a man of erudition, some of whose poems I have,—and partly carried off to Utrecht by the friendly violence of an intimate comrade of mine. I have also directed a copy of a letter, which I once wrote by special request to Master Engelbert, a man whose life has made him venerable, to be given to you, on the chance that by your intercession I may be thought worthy of

receiving some return from him, which I have hitherto been unable to obtain. Not that I therefore suspect so admirable a man of haughtiness or arrogance, but rather mistrust the loquacious tongues of some of my friends, who in a most unfriendly way have cast a stain on my credit with him. It will be like your kindness, to bring me once more into his good graces. Farewell.

The Engelbert whom Erasmus wished to conciliate (compare p. 72) was probably Engelbert Schut of Leiden, who is described as a versifier and grammarian. Among his works were *Tractatus metricus de locis rhetoricis* and *De moribus mensæ carmen.* Foppen's *Biblioth. Belg.* i. 265. His examples of Epistles are contemptuously mentioned in the revised *De Conscribendis Epistolis* of Erasmus. C. i. 352.

EPISTLE 19. Merula, p. 169 ; Ep. xxxi. 10 ; C. 1796 (409).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

I plainly see, my very best of friends, that I am in high favour with you, when you heap letter on letter, every one full of love and kindness.

When you write, that you can safely put in my hands whatever you have of your works, being convinced that I have been a faithful friend, and free from jealousy, I recognise your kind feeling towards me, and will take good care that you shall not be mistaken in your opinion * * * I promise you my help in matters of this sort, upon condition of your returning me the like service. Farewell, and keep me in mind.

In Epistle 20 Cornelius tells Erasmus, that he has by long-continued importunity obtained from brother Martin a copy of a Poem of Erasmus On the Contempt of Poetry, out of which, with some few verses of his own, he has composed a Dialogue. This seems to be the origin

of the poem printed in the *Silva Carminum Herasmi* published by Reyner Snoy in 1513, as a Dialogue of Herasmus and Cornelius against the deriders of Ancient Eloquence, reprinted C. viii. 567.

Epistle 20; C. 1803 (416).

Cornelius to Erasmus.

* * *

I have thus composed an Apologetic Dialogue, as appears by the title prefixed to this little work, in which we have a common interest. And I hope you will not be angry at my having here and there altered a very few words in your verses, and changed the metre towards the end. I was anxious that it should be possible for the readers, if they pleased, to sing it to an agreeable air, and in order that this might be done more easily and without trouble to the voice, I have carefully omitted every vowel hiatus. You will be goodnatured enough to pardon me for thrusting my foolish hand into your harvest of flowers, and will I hope find in it a proof of the closest friendship. Finally, as I have the highest esteem for your capacity, I urgently beg you to apply your diligence to my work *De Morte*, and send it back to me as soon as you conveniently can, corrected by your judicious file. I trust there will never be any jealous rivalry between us, such as a certain person laboured to create, but that while mutual concessions must sometimes be made between two minds, we shall abide in one bond of love. Farewell and return my affection.

Epistle 21. Merula, p. 157; Ep. xxxi. 3; C. 1793 (407).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

Dearest Cornelius, the receipt of your little book through our common friend, Master John, has been a surprise to me,

as I had quite ceased to hope for it. When you told me yourself that it was finished, I can hardly say how much I was delighted; learning, as I did, that I had actually obtained from you more than I could ever hope. * * *

I am pleased that you have received my poem; and I gather that you have not only not been offended with it, but that it has greatly increased your kind feeling towards me, inasmuch as you have not only condescended to approve it, but to show the value you put upon it by mixing it with your own magnificent verses. * *

Furthermore, as you write, may whatever savours of jealousy or rivalry, and I will add of any unfriendly suspicion, be far removed from our intercourse, and may God spare the man,—not to use any sinister imprecation against one that is a lay brother,—who has heretofore contrived any such hindrance.

But do you really suppose me to be of so uncivil a temper as not to know how to bear with equanimity your sometimes thinking differently from myself? Do I not bear in mind that Augustine and Jerome, men not only eminent for their erudition but famed for the holiness of their lives, held different opinions, and maintained them too against each other. * * *

I have my guides whom I follow; if you perhaps have others, I shall not take it amiss. My authorities in Poetry are Maro, Horace, Naso, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Persius, Lucan, Tibullus and Propertius; in prose, Tully, Quintilian, Sallust, Terence. Then, for the observation of elegances, there is no one in whom I have so much confidence as Laurentius Valla, who is unrivalled both in the sharpness of his intelligence and the tenacity of his memory. Whatever has not been committed to writing by those I have named, I confess I dare not bring into use. If you admit some other authors, I am not at all ready to blame you.

You write that I should take pains to apply my file to your little work on Death. I must inform you that I read that long ago, as well as the History of the War of Utrecht, and the story of St. Nicolas composed by you with a marvellous charm of language and affluence of sentences; but these, my Cornelius, seemed to be too good to be subjected to my stupid file. You ought to know, however, that your work on Death has long ceased to be in my possession, as I returned it to Martin, who had brought it me. It will be your business therefore to see that I have it again as soon as may be, and I will take every pains to mark anything I find in it that seems in the slightest degree faulty, and will nevertheless leave whatever I have touched with my file to be filed afresh by your acuteness. Farewell, sweetest Cornelius, and love me as you do.

From Stein, May 15.

The above date, *Ex Stein, Idus Maias* is in Merula, and is the only date found in any letter of this part of Erasmus's life. It may be noted, that in his list of authors, Erasmus classes Terence among the writers of prose. In an important Vatican manuscript, and in two early printed editions, the plays are copied without any distinction of verses. In the editions of Terence superintended by Erasmus in 1508 and 1532 special attention is directed to the metres. See pp. 30, 445.

Before the receipt of the answer of Cornelius to Epistle 21, Erasmus writes again, recalling the names of living and recent scholars and poets.

Epistle 22. Merula, p. 179; Ep. xxxi. 17; C. 1797 (411).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

Having already, as I think, sufficiently answered your letter, I am induced by the excess of my love for you to write something for you to answer in return. * * *

I find it most difficult to say, how much pleasure both

your *Apologeticus* and your letters have given me. I pray you therefore, to make me always a partner in your studies; and moreover, if there are any others where you are, not unskilled in the poetic art, be so good as to give us some notice of them. It will be a pleasure to us in the first place, and we also shall be able to make their praises known here.

I see that in your poem you mention a certain Hieronymus, who has passed five and twenty years in Italy and Paris in poetical studies, and take pains to comment on an Epitaph of his, but too briefly to give us a clear conception of the man's ability. I shall be obliged if you will send us some larger and more striking proof of his genius. But I am surprised when you say that he is the only writer who has kept to the footprints of the Ancients. For, not to speak of yourself, I think I see a great many most learned men of our own time who make no slight approach to the ancient eloquence. The first that occurs to me is Rodolphus Agricola the preceptor of my school-master, Alexander Hegius, a man eminently learned in all the liberal arts, and specially skilful in Rhetoric and Poetry, and finally expert in Greek as well as Latin. Alexander is himself no degenerate disciple of such a master; and represents with so much elegance the style of the ancients, that if his verse were before you without a title, you might easily mistake the author. He too is not altogether ignorant of Greek. Again, Antony Gang and his ally Frederick Norman have dignified Westphalia by their scholarship, and are both worthy in my judgment to be remembered by posterity. Moreover I am far from thinking that Bartholomew of Cologne should be excluded from the list of men of letters. Neither should I pass over in silence our own William of Gouda, your kinsman, if it were not for his close union with myself both as a friend and as a student. But I prefer to hear his praises from you, as I might be supposed to be misled by my personal feelings. All these are seen or have

been seen by our own age, and produced by our own Germany. If you are curious about their poems, I will undertake that they shall fly to you forthwith.

But if we come to Italy, where do you find more observance of ancient elegance than in Laurentius Valla, or Philephus, where more eloquence than in Aeneas Silvius, Augustinus Dathus, Guarino, Poggio or Gasperino? And all these, as every body knows, lived almost down to our own times.

But the revolution in literature seems to me to be the same as that which has taken place in the more mechanical arts. For we have the testimony of almost all the poets, that in early times there were famous artists of every kind; but if you look at the pictures, sculptures, buildings, or monuments of any craft beyond the last two or three hundred years, you will, I think, be surprised and amused at the excessive rudeness of the work, whereas again in our own age there is no sort of art that has not been produced by the industry of the craftsman. In like manner it is certain that in early ages the study of eloquence, as of other arts, was most flourishing, and afterwards, as the obstinacy of Barbarians increased, it disappeared. * * * Our Thalia was well nigh extinct when Laurentius and Philelphus by their admirable erudition saved her from perishing. The books of the former, which are called *Elegantiæ*, will show you with what zeal he exerted himself both to expose the absurdities of the Barbarians and to bring back into use the observances of Orators and Poets long covered with the dust of oblivion. If you have already read them, as I suspect, there is no need of my advising you to do so; if not, I not only exhort but entreat you to begin their perusal. You will never regret the pains you spend upon them. If you wish to see them, ask John, who is devoted to you. * * *

Farewell, most reverend father. You will see by William's letter what is his feeling towards you. If there are any

persons in your company who join with you in love for me, I beg you to salute them in my name. Farewell.

In EPISTLE 23, C. 1805 (419), Cornelius answers a question contained in Epistle 22, which had come to hand before Epistle 21. He describes Hieronymus Balbus, about whom Erasmus had inquired (p. 66), as a poet resident in Paris. He still maintains his pre-eminence, and appears to have sent Erasmus some specimens of his poetry. Erasmus in his reply (Epistle 24) discusses at some length the merits of this author, and concludes as follows.

EPISTLE 24. C. 1801 (414).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

* * *

It is difficult to say how much pleasure it has given me to read the poems of Hieronymus, and to find in them such striking traces of ancient eloquence. But I do not know whether I should dare to prefer him to all the poets who are now living, both because it is easy to write pretty epigrams, and because there are other poems that make the palm a matter of doubt. Nevertheless you will do me a great favour, if you will lend me his other works, or those of any other poet. I am very grateful to you and shall remain so while I live, for the benefits you have heaped upon me. Farewell.

Epistle 25, first published by Le Clerc (1703), answers Epistle 21 (which had apparently been delayed in its passage) as well as Epistle 22, both first published by Merula (1607), and is answered by Epistle 26, published by Erasmus in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, 1519. In an earlier part of Epistle 25 Cornelius alludes to Erasmus's reference to the example of St. Jerome and St. Augustine (see p. 64); and in the extract given he answers the advice contained in p. 67.

Epistle 25. C. 1804 (418).

Cornelius to Erasmus.

* * *

In begging me so urgently to read Laurentius Valla, you amuse as well as edify me. If I may speak jestingly, I do not know what you have done with your eyes, when you propose for my imitation a person, against whom so many men of no contemptible learning are known to have joined hands in waging war. He is hunted down by a multitude of assailants who insist that he should not be read, as he could only cavil about letters and points. It was against Laurentius that Poggio wrote that epigram.

> Since Valla went the trembling Shades to seek,
> No word of Latin Pluto dares to speak ;
> Jove fears to call him to the blest abodes,
> Lest carping censure vex the blameless gods.†

Are you right then in committing me to one who is denounced by the whole world as a defamer? So far in jest. How much I have in fact profited by his books in accordance with your recommendation, you may very easily judge, unless it seems arrogant to say so, by the fluent style I now write.

I find it difficult to tell you, how gratified I am by your giving me a note of your instructors. You show the sincerest kindness, free from all jealousy, and are pleased, as very few would be, to make me a partaker in your secret store. Farewell.

† Nunc postquam Manes defunctus Valla petivit
Non audet Pluto verba Latina loqui.
Juppiter hunc superis dignatus honore fuisset,
Censorem linguæ sed timet ipse suæ.

Epistles 26 and 27 were included in the *Epistolæ ad diversos*, published in 1521, and in later collections, with the note *scripsit puer*, which note however is not found in the *Farrago Epistolarum*, where they first appeared in 1519 in the midst of letters of a later time. Epistle 27, which is there placed first, is addressed *Cornelio Aurotino*. See p. 56. They are clearly part of a correspondence, to which the preceding letters appear to belong, Epistle 26 being the answer to Epistle 25. The two epistles published in 1519 were probably selected from among a mass of early letters, as containing a eulogy of Valla, upon whose critical works Erasmus always set a high value, and of whose *Elegantiæ* he had prepared in his early years an epitome, which was published in 1529 by his correspondent Cornelius. See pp. 57, 381.

Epistle 26. Farrago, p. 175; Ep. vii. 3; C. 2 (2).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

* * *

Upon what you say about our Valla, I put this interpretation, that you do not express your real opinion, but write either to practise the facility of your pen in defending a paradox,† or to supply me with a subject to write about; and as, in Plato, Glauco challenges Socrates to defend Justice by finding fault with it himself, so in order to draw me out in the defence of Valla, you quote those unworthy insults with which the high priests of Barbarism have assailed a most learned man. This may be gathered from your admission, that you have not only read Valla but copied him; a fact which, if you denied it, is proclaimed by the elegance of your style and phrase. * *

† ἐν ἀδόξῳ ὑποθέσει. The Greek words in a letter of this date are remarkable, and it is fortunate that they occur in a letter published in the author's lifetime, as they might otherwise lead the reader to suspect its authenticity, especially as there is no reason to suppose that Cornelius had any knowledge of Greek. Possibly they may have been introduced by Erasmus in preparing the Epistle for publication at a later date.

But here some one may say: Putting vulgar murmurs aside, what is the picture of him drawn by Poggio, a man not without elegance and learning? It is true, Poggio found fault with him, but he alone; and Poggio was rather minded to display his learning than to improve it; a man whom I should place among the erudite, but so as not altogether to part him from the society of the Barbarians. He has indeed rather a natural command of language, than one based on learning, and more fluency than eloquence. He censures Laurentius, but in an openly hostile and acrimonious spirit. So Sallust and Asinius disliked Cicero, so Caligula disliked Virgil and Livy, so Rufinus disliked Jerome. And further it is not difficult to show, how Laurentius provoked so much rancour. For Terence's Sosia says wisely "Flattery begets friends, truth foes." * * * Where is the man whose heart is so narrowed by jealousy, as not to have the highest praise for Valla, a man who with so much energy, zeal, and labour refuted the stupidities of the Barbarians, saved half-buried letters from extinction, restored Italy to her ancient splendour of eloquence, and forced even the learned to express themselves henceforth with more circumspection? To his guidance therefore, my Cornelius, you will safely commit yourself. When you do so, you will find your writings will acquire no little polish,—unless perhaps you are preparing your work for Dutchmen only! Farewell.

[Stein, .]

Epistle 26 is dated in *Farrago,* Anno M.CCCC.XC, while Epistle 27 has the date of M.CCCC.LXXXIX. Both may be regarded as approximations, probably added at the time of publication, rather than precise dates, and both contradict the note *scripsit puer.*

Epistle 27 appears to have been written after a personal meeting at which Cornelius had still affected to depreciate the merits of Valla. We may suspect from the mention of Engelbert, that Erasmus s advances had not been well received. See pp. 61, 62.

EPISTLE 27. Farrago, p. 174; Ep. vii. 2; C. i. (1).

Erasmus to Cornelius Aurotinus.

As wolves and lambs are born to disagree,
A fatal discord severs you and me.*

If you are wise, you will at once make friends with my Laurentius, or you must understand that war is declared. You ask, whence this sudden stir, as if you had forgotten what foul and deadly reproaches you uttered against him, when you were lately with us. I shudder when I recall the shamelessness of your language. The man who is eloquent above all others, the man who has been rightly called The Marrow of Persuasion, you venture to describe as 'a Croaking Crow, a jester and not an orator.' If he still lived what a drubbing you might expect! You remember only too well that the dead do not bite, and think it safe to do or say what you like against him. Not quite so safe, I tell you to check your triumph; you see in me the avenger of Laurentius' wrongs. Though I am careless of injuries done to myself, you may find how pugnacious I am in defending my literary friends. If you want assistance, you may send for your hero Engelbert,†—who according to you has so drunk of the Castalian waters that nothing comes away from him but poetry,—and for any others like him, of whom there is everywhere a safe abundance. Neither need you suppose that I shall lack my band of warriors; for this quarrel belongs not only to me, but to all friends of sound scholarship; for in striking Laurentius you have wounded all men of letters.

But for my part, my Cornelius, there is nothing I hate so much as civil war, to which I prefer peace on the hardest

* Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit
Tecum mihi discordia est. Horat. Epod. iv. 1.

† See p. 62.

conditions. Wherefore if you also prefer peace to war, you will find me indulgent enough, provided you accept the terms which my heralds will offer you. There are three main conditions, and you will have no cause to complain of them as unfavourable. First, if you have sinned by evil-speaking you may atone by speaking well. Instead of Croaking Crow, you will call Laurentius Marrow of Persuasion and Attic Muse. Secondly you will learn his Elegances so well as to hold them at your fingers' ends. Lastly you will put at my disposal your books, of which you have a good store, and over which you sit like some Hesperian dragon. You laugh and think me joking. Laugh as much as you please, but do not take all I have said for jest, as I should be sorry you should suppose me not in earnest about your sending the books. Moreover as to Laurentius do not think it becoming for a votary of Letters like yourself to aim your shafts at one that only Barbarians dislike. Farewell. [Stein *.]

The following undated Epistle is not placed with the other letters of the series in Merula's book; but the reference to a solitary life at its commencement confirms the attribution of it to a time when Erasmus and his correspondent were both inmates of a convent. He sends Cornelius an Oration, as a lesson in Rhetoric, which from the terms in which he speaks of it, he appears to destine for a wider audience. Some of his early Orations are described, p. 87.

EPISTLE 28. Merula, p. 209; Ep. xxxi. 41; C. 1799 (412).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

There are two things, according to Cicero, which more than anything else produce intellectual languor, leisure and solitude; and both these conditions are ours. Solitude is required by the very scheme of our life. And leisure is not

* Anno M.CCCC.LXXXIX. *Farrago.* See p. 71.

likely to be wanting, when we see letters, which formerly bred for their votaries the greatest gain as well as glory, are now a loss and a disgrace to those who pursue them. For it is come to this, that the more imbued with letters a man is, the more ridiculous and wretched a being he becomes. Hence, my Cornelius, I have seen no reason why I should choose to waste my life to no purpose in literary study, and have therefore for some time quite turned my attention away from letters. Besides those two things, I have had in addition imperfect health, which itself is wont not only to lessen, but even to quench the ardour of the mind. Nevertheless, since I have no other purpose in life so settled as that of gratifying and serving you in every possible way, as indeed I am most bound to do in return for the favours you have heaped upon me, I have taken up this work again for your sake, and have finished with all possible pains the Oration for which you have asked; taking great care to mark the oratorical divisions, and what character and colour is proper to each, so that you in the first place may have your wish fulfilled, and that the learned may be pleased with our labour, the illiterate may see and envy, the sciolist and boaster may blush, and the ordinary reader may carry off some profit. * * * Finally, my sweetest Cornelius, you will, I hope, receive some help, or at any rate some pleasure, from the pains I have taken. In any case I shall have done my duty as a loyal friend. Farewell, and love me as you do.

Epistle 29 contains no distinct evidence of date; but we may safely assume that it was written from Stein during the latter part of Erasmus's residence there. The reference to Jerome's Epistles might supply an argument for placing it before Epistle 18, as the mournful Oration sent therewith was written in imitation of Jerome's Epistle to Eustochium, which is expressly referred to in it. See p. 87.

EPISTLE 29. Merula, p. 168 ; Ep. xxxi. 9 ; C. 1795 (408).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

Eternal thanks for your kindness, sweetest Cornelius, in taking so much pains to prepare me a dart with which, as you write, I may pierce the sides of the scoffers. But alas, it is not with the weapons of argument, but with those of jealousy and abuse, that the battle is fought, when any contest arises about Poetry. If they could adapt their ears to reason, nothing could be easier than to convince them. They condemn the impurity of matter that accompanies the beauty of language. Well, we unite in condemning it. They blame an excessive devotion to poetic studies. Neither do we praise it. If they fairly looked at the Epistles of Jerome, they would understand that dullness is not sanctity, nor elegance of language, impiety. I am obliged to you for inviting me to the perusal of those Letters. I have not only read them long ago, but have written every one of them out with my own fingers. While we find in them a great many darts with which the reproaches of the Barbarians may be refuted, that one alone may suffice, which is so carefully prepared and sharpened for us in the page where after commenting on the husks of the Prodigal Son, he brings in the example of the Captive Woman. * * *

The above passage shows how earnestly Erasmus had devoted his labours to the Epistles of Jerome. In this instance, as in others (Epistle 65), the manuscript used by the young student had been written with his own hand. The lesson cited from Jerome is found in the twenty-first Epistle (Ed. Vallarsi, i. 75), and furnishes a good example of the allegorical method of interpretation, which continued in use for so many centuries. The husks which the swine did eat are

first taken as a symbol of profane literature. Then the Captive Woman, admitted into the family of the Israelite after certain ceremonies (Deuteron. c. xxi. 11-13), which, Jerome observes, if literally construed appear somewhat ridiculous, is interpreted as a type of the use of profane learning among Christians. Erasmus refers at greater length to this passage of Jerome in his *Antibarbari* (C. x. 1729), the first sketch of which was probably in hand before the date of this Epistle. See pp. 84, 100.

Cornelius of Gouda was not the only member of his Order who received assistance in his studies from Erasmus. A younger Augustinian Canon, also named Cornelius, whose story is told by Revius (*Daventria Illustrata*, p. 143), was educated under Hegius at Deventer, where he was a contemporary of Jacobus Faber, afterwards an undermaster there, who in 1503 edited a collection of the Latin poems of Hegius. See Epistle 172. Cornelius having acquired at school a taste for poetry, and having afterwards entered into Religion, devoted his studies to the composition of a sacred epic entitled the Mariad. The first six books of this work, intended to be completed in thirty books, are still preserved in the Public Library of Deventer, together with a Preface addressed to Jacobus Faber, in which we read, that when the author's courage was failing him, he had been piously exhorted to pursue his work by a Canon Regular named Herasmus, who is described as ætate floridus, religione compositus et omnium fere nostri ævi tam prosa quam metro præstantissimus, and who often repeated to him Virgil's saying, Labor omnia vincit improbus. In the same preface, he quotes a part of a letter of Erasmus (Epistle 30), in which he was not contented with empty praise, but had offered to assist the author in transcribing his work.

EPISTLE 30. Revius, *Deventria Illustrata*, p. 143.

Erasmus to Cornelius.

* * *

I readily suspect, such is your modesty, that you are rather vexed with me for my commemoration of your merits. But, angry as you may be, I can never cease to sound your praises. Moreover I have the boldness to request that that immortal work, the Mariad, may be dedicated to my name. * *

Pray send it to us to be copied, as you undertook to do, when we were reading it.

We do not know in what monastery the poet was resident. And it is no wonder, that with the same name, the same profession and similar pursuits, Cornelius of Gouda and the author of the Mariad have been identified by M. Ruelens (*Silva Carminum* (reprint 1864), p. xvii.) and by subsequent biographers. But they are distinguishable by several marks. If the preceding Epistles are to be trusted, Cornelius of Gouda, uncle of William Herman, appears to have been Erasmus's senior (p. 67), and not a scholar of Hegius (pp. 61, 66); and in a long correspondence between Erasmus and Cornelius (including some of the first letters that passed between them), the latter requests Erasmus's assistance in revising various writings, without any allusion to the Mariad. The other Cornelius was Erasmus's junior, a contemporary of Jacobus Faber, and a scholar of Deventer, who upon making Erasmus's acquaintance at once sought his assistance in the one poetical work, which appears to have been his sole or principal literary occupation. I observe that Revius does not identify these two Cornelii; and that there are sixty-three authors of this name commemorated in Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*.

Epistle 31 is an example of the freemasonry which existed among the learned of the Renaissance, with whom the possession of a good Latin style was a sufficient mutual introduction. James Canter was a gentleman of Friesland, whose father, Antony, had been noted for his learning, and who had himself lately delivered at Antwerp some readings upon Virgil. This poet was then not generally read in schools; but a work known as the *Cento of Proba*, in which lines taken from all parts of Virgil's works were ingeniously strung together to celebrate the mysteries of the Christian religion, was widely read, and frequently reproduced by the early printers. It is of interest to observe, that *Proba* was one of the books recommended twenty years later by the Statutes of St. Paul's School for the instruction of the junior classes. Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 279. It appears to have occurred to Canter, that a school edition of this work, with short explanatory notes, might serve to recommend his favourite author to Christian teachers. Such a work, edited by him, was accordingly issued at Antwerp by Gherardus Leo, on the 12th of

September, 1489, with the title, *Probe coniugis Adelphi centona Virgilij vetus et nouum continens testamentum.* It was preceded by a Prologue, dated 30th July, in which the editor dedicates his work to his young sister Ursula, and condemns the withdrawal of Virgil from the schools. At the end is a note upon its authorship, and also an Epistle addressed to those who had encouraged his readings at Antwerp. This letter was written while he was preparing for a journey to Italy, and he proposed to make any corrections of his book which might be thought advisable, on his return.

Epistle 31, which is without date in Merula, may be placed in the summer of 1490, when Canter may be assumed to have returned from his journey, and Erasmus "was sure where a letter would find him." It was forwarded to its destination by one of the Canons of Stein; who appears, from the terms in which Erasmus speaks of him at the end of the letter, to have been William Herman.

EPISTLE 31. Merula, p. 175; Ep. xxxi. 14; C. 1785 (398).

Erasmus to the most learned James Canter.

Although, most learned Sir, I have long been assailed by a mighty desire to write to you, I have been hindered till to-day by the want of a convenient messenger, especially as I was not sure where a letter would find you. But being now provided with a person who may rely on a favourable reception, who I am confident will spare no pains in delivering my letter nor pertinacity in exacting an answer, and from whom even without my writing you might learn my whole mind, I cannot let the opportunity pass of giving him this letter to accompany him on his journey. In reaching your hands, it will enjoy a happiness, which the writer can only envy. * * * The praises of your family fly from mouth to mouth, and rumour tells of the tenderest age imbibing Latin with its mother's milk, and of sentences worthy of learned ears being heard at the distaff, instead of the gossip in which women for the most part take delight.

The father was worthy of such a family, and the family of such a father. Who, even without being acquainted with you, could doubt, that brought up from the very cradle in such a method, you have come to be a most learned scholar? But not to let you suppose that a sceptic like me founds his opinion upon mere conjecture, you must know that Gerardus Leo the printer, a very pleasant person, has furnished me with full particulars. When he was leaving us, I accompanied him as far as the bank of the Yssel, which he was going to cross, and listened eagerly while he told me a multitude of things about you. I lost no time in sending for the poem of the lady Proba, which I had heard was yours. When I began to read it, and found it was the Cento of Proba,* it did not interest me much; but your letter and prefaces so pleased me, that I was not satisfied till I had read them several times.

Therefore, having ascertained that you are not only a distinguished scholar, but also a patron of Letters, I determined to beg of you, first that we may be loving friends, a thing delightful whoever the parties may be, but especially delightful between scholars; secondly that you will continue to deserve well of Letters, now so cruelly oppressed, and labour to drive away the disgusting barbarism which almost universally prevails; and lastly, since we cannot meet together, that we may relieve our separation by an interchange of letters. I cannot write at greater length, neither do I think there is any occasion for it, as the bearer of this letter will tell everything by word of mouth. He is associated with me both in my studies and in everything else. Farewell, and pray return the regard I have for you.

[Stein, 1490.]

* Simulque Probæ * * comperi. The omitted word I have assumed to be *centonem*. This term was so little understood, that it is miswritten even in the title of Canter's book (p. 78), and in many of the later editions of the work is made part of the name of the author, *Probæ Centonæ opusculum*.

Epistle 32, belongs to the conventual period, when the two friends were practising their style, writing letters and communicating orations and poems. But they were for the time separated, William being apparently at the Convent with access to a good library, and Erasmus under sentence of prolonged rustication, charged perhaps with some distant mission or conventual business. The fact that Herman's last letter had been delivered by Servatius, shows that Erasmus was still within reach of the monastery. This epistle probably formed part of the correspondence with Herman, preserved by Erasmus (p. 197), most of which has been lost.

Epistle 32. Merula, p. 149; Ep. xxxi. i.; C. 1833 (444).

Erasmus to William of Gouda.

You will perhaps, my William, be feeling by this time no slight surprise, that while you are piling letter on letter, I slumber and make no return. You alternate prose with verse and verse with prose, and try by your very pertinacity to extort something from me and force me to break silence. I on the other hand appear to have forgotten my old habit (for I was wont to harass you with the frequency of my letters), and to be prepared with no reply. * * *

That old love of mine for thee, which thou hast guessed to be extinct, is not only not dead, it is not grown cold or weak; it grows stronger every day, and will never yield to any chances of fortune or to any jealousies of rivals. They may separate our bodies, intercept our meetings, forbid our intercourse, but the one thing they shall never do, is to make my mind travel away from thine. * *

You pretend to be so impatient of my silence, that you say you have no heart left. And yet when you learned that the epistle which I was hastening to send you was in hand, you attacked it while on its way, and pulled it to pieces before you had seen it, a process which I should call prophecy rather than criticism, unless perchance you estimate it by

your judgment of some poems which I composed some time ago, and which you charge with obscurity. I admit for my part that it is important for the poet as well as the orator, that his speech should be not only learned, but brilliant and lively. Witness Horace :

> No verse is perfect where we fail to find
> The charm that captive leads the hearer's mind†.

But there is one thing that perplexes me, that whereas, when I used to recite my poems to you, you praised to a marvellous degree the agreeable and brilliant lucidity which you found in them, you have now changed your mind, or your language, and find fault with them for obscurity and sleepiness,—whether in jest or in earnest I am not sure. * *

Nevertheless I will put this letter before you to be censured, and if you see anything in it that demands the file or erasure, I entreat you to correct a friend in a friendly way. I shall not only not take it amiss, but shall consider myself to have received the greatest favour, and be thankful for it. But if it is really your purpose to give pain to a friend, it is indeed an unequal contest. You are living in the midst of studies of Ciceronian art, while I have been quite deprived of all facilities of reading.

> You of each newest book unfold with curious hand the stainless page,
> While scarce a volume soiled and old has reached my fingers for an age.
> In tiny chamber calm and still you sit, and build the lofty rhyme.‡

† Non satis est pulchra esse poemata : dulcia sunto
Et quocunque volent animum auditoris agunto.
Horat. *Ars Poet.* 99.

‡ Tu nova quaeque legis et munda volumina versas :
Sordida charta legi vix datur ulla mihi.
Tu facis in parva sublimia carmina cella.

All the vivacity of my former character has been taken out of me by my melancholy situation.

> Assiduous toil has bruised the brain, and worn my ancient strength away †

Nevertheless, if there is no way of escape, do pray forewarn me, that I may not expose the epistles I am going to send you to the risk of such a contest without some protection. * * *

I wonder that you are so much surprised at our silence, as if you had never read that saying of the wise man, Music in mourning is unseasonable discourse.‡ Are the gentle studies of humanity adapted to this bitter time? Truly Poetry, as some one has said, is a glad occupation and one that requires peace of mind. Where now is gladness, where tranquillity of heart? Every thing is full of bitterness and trouble; wherever I turn my eyes, I see nothing but what is melancholy and cruel. It is for you, who live under happier stars, to devote, while you are permitted, your loftiest efforts to immortality, and to produce some poetical masterpiece, in which posterity may take delight. There is nothing for me but weeping and sighing, with which my mind is so blunted and my spirit so broken, that I have no taste at all for my old studies. The graces of poetry have no attraction for me, the Muses, once my only care, have lost their charm. And yet I confess, that when our common friend, Servatius, brought me your short oration, a sprightly work invested with all the air of Tully (though I am quite forgotten in it), I began to breathe again as if awakened from a deep sleep, and, cursing my laziness, I forced myself to write something.

I would answer your letter sentence by sentence, if the

† Contudit ingenium patientia multa laborum,
Et pars antiqui nulla vigoris adest.

‡ Musica in luctu importuna oratio. *Ecclesiasticus*, xxii. 9.

end of my paper did not bid me come to a conclusion. To your question what I think of John's letter, I answer briefly. It seems to me to savour more of Bernard than of Tully.† Yet I observe in it with wonder a not ungraceful composition of words, and at the same time an old man's heart in a young man's body. The scantiness of my paper forbids me to say what I feel about Cornelius, with whom I am on the most affectionate terms. The facts are in evidence. One thing I beg of you, that you will exhort and entreat him to apply himself to literary work, and to persevere in bringing his writings before the public. He has the power of doing so, for everything is in his favour; although the gods sell us all things for labour. Farewell, and love me, as you do.

The terms in which the writer speaks of his circumstances in Epistle 33, suggest the possibility that it was written about the same time as the last. The lady addressed was an inmate of some convent in Gouda or the neighbourhood, possibly one of the daughters of Berta van Heyen, on whose death Erasmus composed a mournful oration. See pp. 60, 87.

Epistle 33. Merula, p. 188; Ep. xxxi. 21; C. 1808 (425)

Erasmus to Elizabeth, a Virgin dedicated to God.

I have received your letter, dearest sister in Christ, and cannot tell you how much pleasure it has given me, carrying with it, as it does, the surest evidence of your good-will, which I have always endeavoured to conciliate. It is no small comfort that there are still those who have some care and sympathy for me, even in such bitterness of fortune. And indeed I think it all the more obliging, as it is seldom that such treatment befalls the wretched. * * It is

† See a similar criticism in Epistle 11, and comment, p. 51. *Dominus Joannes* was the bearer of a letter from Cornelius (Epistle 21). See pp. 59, 63, 67.

now, as people say, as clear as noonday, that this class of inconstant friends does not include you, who alone in my trouble and reverse of fortune have never discontinued your affection for me. If therefore I cannot match you in kind offices, I must never fall short in the interchange of love and letters ; and far as you may be before me in act, I will not allow myself to be behind you in mind and will. If you distrust my professions, make trial of me, and I will do what I can to make you understand how much I value you. Farewell.

The contents of Epistle 34 supply no distinct evidence of its date; but the fact that it was written *inter rusticationem* recalls the circumstances dwelt upon in Epistle 32, and suggests the probability that it belongs to the same period of enforced absence from the Convent. It is of interest as containing the first mention of an early work of Erasmus, to which he gave the title of The Antibarbarians. The description, 'long threatened,' supports the author's later assertion, that he first took up the subject before his twentieth year. C. x. 1691 E. But the plan here proposed does not entirely agree with the form afterwards adopted, in which the first book (not the second) is arranged as a dialogue, without introducing Cornelius among the speakers; and, the scene of the dialogue being laid at Bergen, we may assume that this part of the work was not completed until after Erasmus had joined the household of the Bishop of Cambrai. It will therefore be convenient to speak of it more fully in the following chapter. See p. 100.

Epistle 34. C. 1802 (415).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

I am glad you are beginning to remember your poor friends. Why, when your talk was of nothing but farms and stock, we were out of it altogether. The worst fate I can wish for those who made you proctor, is, that they may be made proctors themselves ! But, sweetest Cornelius, now that you have either steered yourself into harbour, or been cast by some wind ashore, do pray return in good

humour to your interrupted studies. After this separation the Muses will be more agreeable to you, and you to them, than if you had never been divorced.

You ask whether I am doing anything. I have in hand a work on Letters, which I have very long threatened, and am now busy with it in my country retreat.* How it proceeds I do not quite know. My intention is to finish it in two books. The first will be entirely occupied in refuting the stupid methods of the Barbarians. In the second I shall make you and other learned friends like you, speak in praise of Letters. Therefore, as the glory is to be shared between us, it is fair that we should share the work. If therefore you have read anything,—and what is there you have not read,—which you think bears upon this subject, that is to say, by which the pursuit of literature can be either dispraised or extolled, I pray you for our friendship's sake to send it to me, and candidly allow me to share it. Farewell.

We have no later Epistle of Erasmus, that can be ascribed to the time of his conventual life, except the letter to Batt (Epistle 35), which is given at the commencement of the next chapter, and attributed to the close of this period. The date of his departure from the convent is not known; but we learn from Beatus (p. 26), that he was already ordained, before he joined the household of the Bishop, and from Valère André (*Biblioth. Belg.* p. 175), that he was ordained priest by David Bishop of Utrecht on St. Mark's day (25 April), 1492. See C. x. 1573 A. He was then in his twenty-sixth year (see pp. 13, 14), and if he left the convent later in the same year or early in the next, the duration of his residence would be about ten years. See pp. 18, 41, 92. This duration of his monastic life is confirmed by the statement of Reyner Snoy, a friend both of Erasmus and William Herman, who says in his Preface to the volume which he published of Erasmus's Juvenile Poems, that his two friends were for ten years comrades in the Convent of Stein. *Silva Carminum Herasmi*, Gouda, 1513, Præf.

Before parting with this period of Erasmus's life, a few observations may be added respecting his early literary productions. A bucolic

* Inter rusticationem.

poem written in his school-days has been mentioned, p. 17; and his earliest extant prose, p. 40. The poem *in laudem Annæ aviæ Iesu Christi* (C. v. 1325) is described by the author as written by him when quite a boy, p. 297. And in the Catalogue of Lucubrations (Jortin ii. 418), he mentions an Elegiac poem on Lust and Ambition, written before he was eighteen, which was printed in his absence by some friends; nothing further is known of this poem. Compare pp. 21, 22. The verses *de Casa natalitia pueri Iesu*, the *expostulatio Iesu cum homine suapte culpa pereunte*, and the Sapphic Ode *in laudem Michaelis et omnium angelorum* (C. v. 1317, 1319, 1321) may also be probably attributed to the conventual period. See pp. 22, 198. The last contains, at the end of the first part, an allusion to the constant warfare by which the country of the author was disturbed. See p. 87. The *Varia Carmina* (C. viii. 561-584) belong for the most part to the same period. Among them is a poem on Spring, a joint production, in alternate couplets, of Erasmus and William Herman "in their nineteenth year." In another poem Erasmus was associated with Cornelius (see p. 63); and the *Oda Amatoria*, C. viii. 562, may have been among the works for which Erasmus apologizes in Epistle 18, as written when he was "almost still in the world." It may be added, that there are three Satires by Erasmus, and a poem entitled *Ad Lesbium de Nummo*, printed by Reyner Snoy in his *Herasmi Silva Carminum*, 1513, which are not included in any of the later collections. All these belong to the Stein period. A Satire, apparently lately written, was among the specimens of his work sent by Erasmus to Cornelius with Epistle 18.

Of his prose compositions, one of the earliest was a book of no literary pretension, but of considerable utility at the time, being an Epitome of the *Elegantiæ* of Laurentius Valla. That great Italian scholar was the author of one of the first works of practical Latin criticism which followed the Renaissance, containing a list of words, phrases and synonyms, with dissertations upon their meaning and construction. This book was too long for ordinary teaching or reference; and Erasmus, when he was about eighteen years of age, at the request of the master of a school, compiled an abridgment of it, and in so doing fixed in his mind a mass of useful scholarship. The book was not intended for the press, but manuscript copies passed into the hands of his friends, and were not improbably supplied to the booksellers for sale. (See Epistles 51, 81.) But as no copyright was recognised,

it might as easily be multiplied for others as for the compiler; and at last it was printed at Cologne without his sanction from a copy supplied by Cornelius Lopsen (see p. 57), with the title, *Paraphrasis in Elegantiarum libros Laurentii Vallæ.* Erasmus then revised and re-arranged the book himself; and published it with the word *Epitome* in the title as an alternative for *Paraphrasis*, and a Preface narrating its history. This work is reprinted, C. i. 1069. We have already seen that both Cornelius and Erasmus had been under obligations to Valla's *Elegantiæ* in the formation of their Latin style. Epistles 21, 22, 25. Another of his early works was the treatise already mentioned (p. 84) entitled *Antibarbari*, which the author tells us was begun before his twentieth year (C. x. 1691). Some account of this work will be found in p. 100.

A rhetorical composition, entitled *Oratio de Pace et Discordia contra factiosos ad Cornelium Goudanum* (C. viii. 545-561), appears from its opening paragraph to have been written at the request of Cornelius, and is said in a note at the end, to have been composed by Erasmus in his twentieth year. This oration was doubtless occasioned by the political strife and civil wars, which disturbed the peace of Holland for many years after the death in 1477 of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy and count of Holland, during the reign of his daughter Mary, and the continued regency of her husband Maximilian, which ended in July, 1494, when his son Philip was declared of age. The same troubles are probably alluded to in the Sapphic ode above mentioned (p. 86). Another discourse (mentioned in Epistle 18) is entitled *Oratio Funebris in Funere Bertæ de Heyen Goudanæ Viduæ probissimæ* (C. viii. 551-560). This is addressed to the surviving daughters of the deceased lady, who were nuns in a convent at Gouda. Its composition is attributed, in a note at the end, to Erasmus's twenty-first year. The author quotes as his model the Epistle of St. Jerome to Eustochium on the death of her mother Paula; and the oration is followed, as is Jerome's Epistle, by an *Epitaphium* (cf. Hieronymi Opera, ed. Vallarsi, i. 725). A small addition is made to the biography of Erasmus, when we learn that he was under personal obligations to the subject of this Oration at the time when he lost his parents, and frequently afterwards. "You know well," he says, "what she was to me, my nurse, my benefactress; who took charge of me as an orphan, assisted me in my poverty, comforted me in my desolation, encouraged me in my cowardice, and (I am ashamed to say it) sustained me, when the

occasion arose, by her advice." The two orations here described were printed, apparently for the first time, at the end of the eighth volume of the Leiden edition of the *Opera Erasmi.*

Another composition, having a more important biographical interest, is the so-called Epistle, entitled *De Contemptu Mundi* (C. v. 1239), addressed in the name of Theodoricus Harlemeus to his learned nephew Jodocus, in which the current arguments in favour of a monastic calling are rhetorically set forth. This work, written by Erasmus when he was scarcely twenty years of age, having had some circulation in manuscript during the five and thirty years that followed its composition, the author in the year 1521, determined to revise it himself, and publish it with an explanatory preface. In this he informs the reader, that it was written upon the entreaty of a person who wished to induce his nephew to adopt his own profession. The piece, as it now stands, consists of an Introduction, and of ten Chapters (each of which has an appropriate heading, as *Periculosum est morari in mundo, De felicitate vitæ solitariæ*) recommending a monastic life, and a final Chapter (with no heading), in which all the preceding rhetoric is neutralized by a severe criticism of the habitual condition of the monasteries of the time. We cannot doubt that the last chapter was added upon the revision, by which, according to the author's preface, only a slight alteration was made, while he begs the reader to remember that his main argument was written *alieno stomacho.* If we suppose that Erasmus was insincere in his praise of a monastic life, we cannot acquit him of the blame which he casts upon those, who, according to the Epistle to Grunnius and the Compendium, united to induce him by false representations to enter a convent. If his commendations were at the time more or less sincere, they throw some doubt upon the extreme unwillingness with which he represented himself to have adopted that profession. It may be observed, that the main authority for this reluctance is the Epistle to Grunnius, in which the author may have allowed himself some of the licence of a writer of fiction. No sign of discontent appears in his early letters, where he shows his appreciation of the opportunities of study, which his Convent afforded, and which he could not have obtained elsewhere. See Epistles 8, 11, 15, 32. Mr. Drummond has truly observed, that the years spent at Stein were the best possible preparation for the work of his life (*Life of Erasmus*, i. 28). The only objection was the difficulty of leaving it, when it was no longer the place for him. Even for this a way was found.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Stein. James Batt. Erasmus with the Bishop of Cambrai at Bergen and Brussels, 1493-4. *Composition of the Antibarbari. Epistles* 35 to 41.

THE present chapter includes all the correspondence that we possess relating to Erasmus's departure from Stein and to the period of his attendance upon the Bishop of Cambrai. Of the seven epistles contained in it, not one was printed in the lifetime of Erasmus. Epistle 35 was published in the work of Merula, 1607, the others by Le Clerc in 1703. For the facts connected with this period the biographers of Erasmus have been mainly dependent upon the concise narratives of Beatus Rhenanus and the Compendium. See pp. 10, 26.

We are not informed by either of these authorities, by what means the learning and accomplishments of Erasmus were brought under the Bishop's notice. According to Beatus, it was during his engagement with the Bishop that Erasmus formed the acquaintance of James Batt, a learned lawyer, who was then Secretary or Town-clerk of Bergen-op-Zoom, in the province of North Brabant. This town was under the lordship of the head of the family of Bergen, the father of the Bishop; and Epistle 35 was evidently written when the writer was endeavouring to obtain some favour through the influence of Batt with his patron, the lord of Bergen. We are tempted to conjecture, that the acquaintance of Erasmus with Batt began at an earlier time than Beatus supposed, and that this letter, which was not known to him, formed part of a correspondence relating to a recommendation to the Bishop, which Erasmus hoped to procure through Batt's interest with the Bishop's father. It will be observed that Erasmus and Batt were exchanging letters by barge, as they would naturally do between Gouda and Bergen-op-Zoom. In a letter written to James Tutor, 18 July, 1501 (Epistle 155), Erasmus speaks of Batt's love for him having

begun at a time when he was in the deepest affliction (amare cœpit vel afflictissimum. C. 52 B.); and he says in a letter to Batt, written from Orleans, 11 Dec. 1500 (Epistle 132, p. 284), that the auspices of his own better fortune had proceeded from him (felicitatis nostræ a te profecta sunt auspicia. C. 60 C.). These acknowledgments are especially appropriate, if it was through Batt's influence with the family of Bergen that he was extricated from the convent. On the other hand, his circumstances during the early part of his residence with the Bishop, when, according to the tradition of Beatus, he was first introduced to Batt, were not those of affliction. He was then enjoying his new freedom, and the Bishop was on affectionate terms with him. See Epistle 150, C. 48 F, 49 A. We may find in a letter of Herman to Batt (Epistle 39), further evidence that the acquaintance between Erasmus and Batt existed before the former left the convent, as he had frequently before his departure spoken of Batt to the writer.

With respect to the previous history of this correspondent, who remained until his death in 1503 Erasmus's most useful and confidential friend, we gather from the treatise entitled *Antibarbari*, that Bergen was his original home; that he had passed some time as a student in the University of Paris; that on his return to Bergen within two years before Erasmus's arrival there, he was appointed Master of the high school of the town, having been before a severe critic of its old-fashioned teaching and management; that his own methods were no less loudly censured by those whom he had attacked; and that after a few months he resigned the mastership on his appointment to the post of Town-clerk, which he occupied at the time of Erasmus's sojourn at Bergen. C. x. 1697 D E, 1700 F.

It is curious to observe in Epistle 35 something of the same peremptory tone which we find in later letters of Erasmus to the same correspondent. This might lead us to conjecture, that the friendship, which now became so useful to Erasmus, was founded upon an old acquaintance, and that the ascendancy which he so evidently exercised over Batt was originally established at Deventer or Bois-le-duc. But it should be observed, that in the *Antibarbari* Erasmus speaks of William Herman as *vetus sodalis*, and of Batt as *sodalis recens* C. i. 1673 D; and the words cited above from Epistle 155 do not favour the supposition of a schoolboy intimacy.

EPISTLE 35. Merula, p. 184; Ep. xxxi. 18; C. 1779 (393).

Erasmus to the very learned James Batt,
Secretary of the town of Bergen.

I am rejoiced to find that my letters have come to your hands, for I was a little afraid that the skipper, a thoughtless fellow, might not have attended to our directions. Your own letter was so much desired and so anxiously expected, that, when it was delivered to me at the boat, I opened it at once and began to look into it. A succession of feelings came into my mind. At the first glance I was vexed at you for sending me so short a letter; for such is my greediness for my Batt, that I should like him to write, not letters but volumes. Then, as I glanced with rapid eye, and saw that you had been attacked with an obstinate fever, my heart trembled, and with eyes fixed on the page I began to read the lines again with more care. When I gathered that you were recovering on the receipt of our letter, I was relieved from that feeling of sorrow or fear, and read what remained in better spirits.

I leave the whole affair, my sweetest Batt, to your prudence, while I warn you again and again not to spoil my chances by any unseasonable importunity. The business that comes first is for you to look after the interests of your Erasmus; afterwards, if my zeal or commendation or writings can do anything for your advancement, they shall all be used in your service. I am glad that my lord of Bergen was pleased with my letter. It was not written, however, merely to please him, but to induce him to gratify my wish,* and what hope there is of that, you have never mentioned. I have begged you most earnestly, and now again I beg, entreat and adjure you, to give no ordinary attention to a matter

* *Ut voluntati meæ morem gereret.* So Merula; *gererem* C.

which I have so much at heart. Therefore pray read my letters with care, taking it for granted that I write nothing, however informal, without a purpose. Farewell.

If Epistle 35, which is entirely without date, is rightly interpreted as relating to the introduction of Erasmus to the Bishop of Cambrai, it concludes the series of letters written during his conventual life.

Epistle 36, which appears to have been written immediately after Erasmus's departure from Stein, gives the impression that Erasmus's first journey did not carry him far in material distance from his convent, and Epistle 37 appears from the mention of Batt to have been addressed to Bergen. We may therefore conclude that it was there that Erasmus joined the household of the Bishop. This is confirmed by the locality described in the *Antibarbari*, the first part of which was completed about this time (see p. 101). There is little to be found in the Epistles of Erasmus concerning this period of his life, but in a letter addressed by him to Carolus Utenhovius, dated 9 Aug. 1532 (Ep. xxvii. 5; C. 1451 D E), he describes the character of an exemplary Franciscan friar, whom he had known at Bergen "nearly forty years before." This reckoning carries us back precisely to the time (the winter of 1492-3), at which we have placed the commencement of this period of Erasmus's life (p. 85); and it is worth while to observe, that it was during part of the winter season that he had the opportunity of observing the friar's habits. C. 1451 E. See p. 85.

Henry of Bergen, Bishop of Cambrai, was the eldest surviving son of John, hereditary lord of the town and territory of Bergen-op-Zoom in North Brabant, who was living at the time when Erasmus joined the Bishop's household, his death being placed in 1494; this fact is confirmed by the Epistle cited above. C. 1451 D. The Bishop's elder brother, Philip, had fallen with his lord, Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy and Brabant, in the Field of Nancy fifteen years before. Of several younger brothers, John, who in 1502 succeeded the Bishop in the lordship of Bergen, was for many years a prominent figure in the Court of Brussels; and Antony (born 1454, *Gallia Christ.* iii. 500), who became a friend of Erasmus, was Abbot of the great Monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer. A pedigree of the family is found in Butkens, *Trophées de Brabant*, i. 657.

The proposed journey to Rome, of which we read in the narrative of Beatus and the Compendium, as the special occasion for the en-

gagement of Erasmus, makes no appearance in any of the Epistles. It is shortly referred to in a work written in 1535 (*Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem*), where Erasmus says (C. x. 1750 E), that he was thrice disappointed in his expectation of going to Italy, once when a youth of nearly seventeen (see p. 43), a second time at the age of twenty (so the passage is printed), when he expected to go from Holland, and a third time at the age of twenty-eight, from Paris; and that he finally went to that country when he was nearly forty. There can be little doubt that the second disappointment was when he left Holland to join the Bishop, although his age is misstated in the printed copy (*annos natus xx.*), the letters *xx.* having probably been substituted, either in copying or printing, for *xxv.* or *xxvi.**

It has been assumed by the biographers of Erasmus, that this part of his life was spent at Cambrai. The bishops were the temporal sovereigns of the Cambresis, but do not appear at this period to have generally resided at their cathedral city and capital. John of Burgundy, the preceding bishop, who died in 1479, was scarcely ever seen at Cambrai, and Henry of Bergen had then resided there as the bishop's coadjutor (*Gallia Christiana*, iii. 50). Now that he was himself bishop, he had occasion, as one of the Councillors of the Burgundian Court, and Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to be frequently at Brussels, the seat of the ducal court, which was at that time within the diocese of Cambrai, and where the lords of Bergen appear to have had a mansion. (Epistle 71; Brewer, Abstracts, ii. 2150.) The scanty evidence of the Epistles shows Erasmus to have been, during his service with the Bishop, at Bergen and at Brussels (Epistle 41), without excluding the possibility of his having attended his patron to Cambrai. It is of some interest to note, that the town of Bergen possesses in one of its principal old streets an hotel or palace (now used as a barrack) which was the residence of its ancient lords, and is still called het Markiezenhof, the lordship of Bergen having been erected into a Marquisate by Charles V in 1533.† It is

* A similar error appears in the statement of his age when disappointed at Paris, the sign xxviii. being substituted for xxxiii. See pp. 176, 190, 194. This mistake might easily be made in copying. The other ages, seventeen and forty, are given in words at length, and are correct. Erasmus's memory was so accurate, that the errors in the numbers cannot probably be ascribed to him.

† I have seen the house, and am indebted to Messrs. Mes and Fersteg of Bergen for some particulars of its history. It appears to have formerly occupied, with its external defences, a larger area.

not unreasonable to imagine, that it was in this house, recently built by the proprietor then living, that Erasmus was received on his arrival at Bergen. There is nothing in the contemporary letters bearing upon the personal relation between Erasmus and his patron; but if we may trust a later Epistle addressed to the Bishop's Vicar, their intercourse was most cordial (Epistle 150); and this agrees with what Beatus appears to have gathered from the conversation of Erasmus. P. 27.

The following Epistle from William Herman evidently relates to Erasmus's departure from Stein, and was probably addressed to Bergen. (See Epistle 37.) The "man," whom the writer blames for not letting him make the journey with his friend can be no other than the Prior, Nicolas Werner. Theoderik appears to have been a younger member of the Convent, who was ordered to accompany Erasmus; probably the same person called elsewhere *Franciscus* and *Franciscus Theodoricus* (Epistles 12, 39 and 40). As to his usefulness in domestic matters, see p. 101. Epistles 36 and 37, first printed in the Leiden edition of 1703, are the only letters addressed to Erasmus by the most intimate and most scholarly friend of his early life, which have come down to us; and yet we find that in 1499 Erasmus was collecting William's Epistles with his own (Epistle 95). It may be observed, that very few of Erasmus's own early letters were printed with his sanction, or in his lifetime. See Introduction, pp. xxi, xxii.

Epistle 36. C. 1838 (447).

William of Gouda to Erasmus.

I should like to have been with you in that journey. It would have given me a great deal of pleasure and perhaps some to you, and would have been advantageous to both of us. When I had received your message, I begged and entreated the man to allow it; and after your departure he was most bitterly reproached for his unkindness. I look after your business here as our friendship may fairly lead me to do, and you to expect. Theoderik will be of service to you; he is civil, will praise you on occasion, will be of some use in domestic matters, and has a very good idea of

cookery. And finally, if he is burdensome or in the way, you will easily get rid of him, as he has gone there against his will.

You bid me be of good cheer, as you will not be away for ever. The consolation you offer is gratifying to me, as it cannot but proceed from love. Nevertheless I do not wish to hide my opinion on this matter from you, and it will be as well to begin further back. I have never ceased to wonder, my Erasmus, at your not only taking no advice about your going, but not even communicating to me the resolution you had formed. It cannot be expressed how much I desire to see you back again (for with whom can I live so pleasantly?) but so that your return may be to your advantage, and no less at the same time to your credit. The trouble you have escaped no one knows better than I, who am even now tossed about in the same storms. I often congratulate you, and think how happy you are to have swum out of the billows.

Of my own affairs I have nothing to write. I have determined that I must do nothing in a hurry, but imitate the astuteness and patience of Ulysses. I must needs do so, if I want to find a way to safety. But please do not distress yourself about me. I have fortified my mind, and am grown so callous, that I can readily despise the violence of Fortune. I reckon that the wise man wants nothing.

> The Muses are my friends; and me
> Should sorrow threat or fears assail,
> I cast them where a fitful gale
> May bear them to the Cretan Sea.*

So Flaccus wills. Although I am under the pressure of tyranny, and must long continue so, I sustain myself by the

* Musis amicus tristitiam et metus
Tradam protervis in mare Creticum
Portare ventis. Horat. *Carm.* i. 26.

example of great men, and have before my eyes the undeserved prison of the virtuous Socrates, the hard servitude of the great Plato. I live therefore wholly for Letters, and in that way, thanks to Philosophy, am not only clear of trouble, but can even laugh. Meantime how goes it with you? Is everything as you expected: and are you able to do as you wish? Farewell.

[Stein, 1493.]*

Epistle 37 also contains a reference to Erasmus's recent migration; and the mention of Batt in the last line shows that it was written when Erasmus was in his society. I infer that it was addressed to Bergen, soon after Erasmus joined the household of the Bishop. The person spoken of with displeasure had been at the Convent. Perhaps the Theoderik mentioned in the last letter had spoken indiscreetly of Erasmus instead of singing his praises, as William hoped.

The obscure clause in the middle of the letter may perhaps relate to some half-formed scheme of William to follow Erasmus's example in obtaining release from the Convent. The same matter appears to be alluded to in the first paragraph.

The translation of Thucydides by Laurentius Valla was first printed at Venice without date, probably a few years before the following letter was written. But the book in William's hands may have been a manuscript copy. Valla's Latin work was translated into French by Claude de Seyssel, afterwards Archbishop of Turin; and the first English Thucydides, printed in London in 1550, was translated by Thomas Nicolls from Seyssel's version of Valla's translation.

Epistle 37. C. 1838 (448).

William of Gouda to Erasmus.

I received your letters, by which I learned what I already knew, and could not learn what I wanted. I had asked, and am in suspense until I know, whether this migration of yours will be of use to both of us.

* No date in C.

That person deserves to be hated, if it is indeed as you write. I am glad I did not give my full consent, but left the matter to your own judgment, although even when that Proteus was with us, I had some scent of his tricks. I know the monster; but what are you to do? It is the rule: embark with the Devil, and you must make the voyage with him.

As to the matter about which I wrote in my former letter, I will listen to advice, whether you advise one way or the other, and am therefore a little in a hurry to be informed, because I am afraid some resolution may be taken which will not be for the interest of us both, and want you to do what may seem best with a full knowledge of what I wish.

I am reading through Laurentius's Thucydides, which I find somewhat obscure, both because Greece is little known to me, and because he moves in a concise and hurried way, like Sallust. It is no fault of Laurentius; he is terse, careful, refined and most observant of his own Elegances; there is no ornate passage on which he fails to lay stress. He undertook this province by the command of Pope Nicolas the Fifth, a man to whom our Latin speech is under great obligations. Meantime what are you doing? what are you reading, or writing? Send your writings here, that I may have something of my Erasmus.

I have sent what I could scrape together of your poems; and my own too, as you desired it. When I have leisure I will answer more fully the questions on which I have now rapidly touched. Please in future add the day on which you send out anything. Farewell.

I hope your Batt, who is also mine, is well.

[Stein, 1493.] †

† No date in C.

Epistle 38 (also without date) may be presumed to have been written soon after the last. The Thucydides and Trapezuntius had probably been borrowed from the library of Cornelius. See p. 73. The latter book, which seems to have been of some weight, was probably the lengthy Treatise on Rhetoric by George of Trebizond, a learned Greek residing in Italy in the 15th century. This book was printed, apparently at Venice, in an early folio volume without date, and reprinted at Milan, 30 July 1493; but Cornelius's copy was quite as likely to be in manuscript. The same work was borrowed by Erasmus from Gaguin at a later time. Epistle 115.

Epistle 38. C. 1806 (420).

William of Gouda to Cornelius.

In obedience to your wish, I send the Thucydides, and will soon send Trapezuntius, but I am afraid of a heavier parcel being a burden to the bearer. I have been reading your poems, and admire the fervour of your genius. But it is ridiculous to wish to make me a censor and Aristarchus. However I will say this, that I see you need a curb. If you would turn your attention not so much to copiousness as to elegance, you might soon enter the field, not only with me, whom you can easily thresh without taking off your coat, but with Erasmus, on equal terms. Do, my Cornelius, study purity. I prefer that you should hear from others how much I appreciate your work, and how highly I commend it. As you ask my opinion what you ought to do, I say plainly that you should by all means seize this opportunity, which may never return. It is beyond belief, what a longing I have to pay you a visit. My good wishes to Thomas, a fine fellow and very much your friend. Farewell.

Epistle 39 is a long letter of William Herman to Batt, of which the greater part is a dissertation on the barbarism and vices of the age; among these the writer stigmatizes the ambition and jealousy, which

led so many to ruin ; a plague, which had been lately experienced by Holland in that destructive war which arose from the desire for place and power. (See p. 87.) But the few sentences here translated from the beginning and the latter part of the letter have a sufficiently personal character. It may be observed that the writer shared Erasmus's conviction, that his own compositions could confer immortality on his friends. At a later time his respect for Batt was diminished by familiarity. Epistle 86.

Epistle 39. C. 1779 (394).

William of Gouda to James Batt.

Although we are not personally known to each other, I am possessed with a strong desire to write to you for the purpose of establishing a friendship between us. It is difficult for me to say, and will be more difficult for you to believe, how much I already love you. Our Erasmus (for he is yours as well as mine) has often so warmly commended you in his familiar talk, and also in his letters since he has been away, that his love for you is beyond all question ; and such is my confidence in him, that I cannot fail to love whomsoever he thinks worthy of his affection. * *

It is no wonder if William holds you dear, understanding as he does that you have advanced so far by your own exertions, that, born among barbarians, you might well be thought a Roman by birth. For you have not only acquired the tongue of the Romans,—though that is no small matter, —but also the experience of affairs which prevails among them, and what is more admirable than either—their eloquence. * *

I am not unaware what a value you have set on me and my writings. I owe it to you, that there are those in your country by whom William is known and loved. For this your goodness I am beyond measure grateful ; and will

make it my care that my love for you shall be known, not only to our contemporaries, but to all posterity.

Farewell, dearest Batt, and love me and my Erasmus, as you do. Accept the good wishes of my friends, Servatius, Francis, and all the rest, who are no less yours than mine.

[Stein, 1493.]*

When the above was written, Herman and Batt had not met; whereas it will be seen that Herman introduces himself to his correspondent in Epistle 41 as a friend of Batt, and refers to a conversation he has lately had with him (p. 102). We may conjecture that in the interval Herman had found an opportunity of visiting Bergen. In the Antibarbarians of Erasmus such a visit is described with imaginary circumstances. We have already seen the author during a temporary absence from the Convent (Epistle 34) engaged upon this work, a part of which was printed for the first time at Cologne in 1518 under the title, *Antibarbarorum Liber primus*. From the Epistle to Johannes Sapidus prefixed to that publication (C. x. 1691) we learn, that Erasmus was first engaged upon its composition before he attained his twentieth year, and that a few years later he resolved to recast the same matter in the form of a dialogue. See p. 84. The complete work, as finally arranged, was to have consisted of four books, of which only two were completed. The first contained a general defence of the New Learning. The second contained an elaborate arraignment of the practice of Rhetoric, which, according to Erasmus, appeared so convincing to Colet, that he declared upon reading it, that he was resolved to give up the pursuit of Eloquence. This was to have been answered in the third book by a triumphant defence of Rhetoric, which was never completed. The fourth book, the materials of which were collected but not arranged, was intended to plead the cause of Poesy, the object, as the author says, of his boyish love. The two completed books were revised by Erasmus at Bologna in 1506 or 1507, and, together with the materials collected for the rest of the work, were left by him at Ferrara in the charge of Richard Pace, the English minister there, and were by some accident lost. See p. 452. This mishap is frequently mentioned in the correspondence of Erasmus, who seems to have believed that his work still existed in the hands of someone who was concealing it for

* No date in C.

a dishonest purpose (C. x. 1691 E). Some years after his death Roger Ascham wrote from Augsburg to Jerome Froben that he knew where the missing books were in England, and had had them for some months in his possession at Cambridge. *Epistolæ Aschami*, lib. iii. 244; Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 280. They do not appear to have been heard of since, but may perhaps still be found. The first book, in its older form, existed in other copies; and being too well known to be suppressed, Erasmus revised it again, and printed it at Cologne in 1518. In the dialogue so published, the scene of the colloquy is laid in the neighbourhood of Bergen, and one of the interlocutors,—the Antibarbarians of the title,—is James Batt. As the book appears to have been shown to Gaguin in this form, about August, 1495 (Epistle 44), it may be conjectured that the plan of so arranging it was adopted at Bergen during Erasmus's first residence there with the Bishop. The book, as printed, shows signs of the work not having been originally cast in the form of a dialogue; for after the foundation is laid by an ingenious and graceful description of the place of meeting and of the persons of the intended speakers, the argument is placed almost entirely in the mouth of one, that one being Batt. This fault in the composition is pointed out by Gaguin in Epistle 44. The other persons, who are for the most part listeners, are, besides Erasmus, William Herman, who has come to him for a short visit, and two leading citizens of Bergen,—the mayor (*consul*) and a physician. Batt has returned from Paris nearly two years, and has been lately appointed Town-clerk. The scene is laid at a country house, where Erasmus is living, in the immediate neighbourhood of the town.

Assuming this description of the residence of Erasmus to be founded on fact, we may conjecture that, after having joined the Bishop at Bergen, he was lodged, not in the town, but in a separate house in the neighbourhood, where his companion Theodorik might well be serviceable in the way contemplated in Epistle 36, p. 94. The first line suggests a seclusion on account of plague (C. x. 1693A), a fiction recalling the Decameron, which is not kept up in the narrative, as visitors are received both from the neighbouring town and from elsewhere. That the work was not composed during a later visit to Bergen, after Erasmus's flight from the College of Montaigu, is shown by the criticism in Epistle 44, if the correspondence with Gaguin has been rightly assumed to have begun soon after Erasmus's first arrival at Paris.

If the Francis of Epistle 40 was the same person who accompanied Erasmus to the household of the Bishop of Cambrai (see pp. 94, 96) the suspicion here alluded to probably arose on that occasion, and this letter may be assumed to have been written from the Bishop's residence, perhaps from Brussels, after Francis had returned to the Convent. Erasmus continued in friendly relation with brother Francis for many years; and it is not improbable that we may attribute to his care the preservation of most of the early letters of this series. See Introduction, p. xxiii.

Epistle 40. C. 1816 (436).

Erasmus to Francis.

That you not only request but beg and implore me to write something to you, is, I must confess, my Francis, an indication of a kind feeling on your part. And if the condition of times and circumstances, including your own loyalty, answered in every respect to my regard for you, I should not wait to be asked to write. But now that I suspect your good faith,—I speak in plain terms,—and things are generally so disturbed that the most trusty cannot safely be trusted, what do you suppose I ought to do? Should I write or keep silence? The latter is surely safer, but the former I reckon more kind. It is indeed unseemly that any hatred or estrangement should come between us, who are united by the tie of brotherhood. When therefore you have shown a sweeter disposition to me, you shall receive a sweeter letter from me. Farewell.

Among the Epistles of this time is one, without date, addressed by William Herman to Master John (preceptor of Philip, Duke of Burgundy), whom we may presume to have been residing with his pupil at Brussels. The Duke, who was born 24 July, 1478, was declared of age in July, 1494, and the Epistle should probably be dated before this time. The writer introduces himself as a friend of James Batt, who had spoken in the highest terms of Master John, and encouraged William to write to him. The letter, which is principally

occupied with some commonplaces on the subject of education, contains towards the end the following passage relating to Erasmus, from which we may conclude that he was then with his patron at the Court of Brabant.

Epistle 41. C. 1842 (454).

William of Gouda to Master John, Preceptor of Duke Philip.

* * *

You have in your town Erasmus, the most learned person of our age,—but I had better hold my tongue, lest I should be thought to be misled by my affection. I lived in the closest intimacy with him as long as I was allowed to do so, and there is nothing that annoys me so much as the loss of his society. The Bishop of Cambrai, a friend of Letters, has attached him to his household. If you care to make the acquaintance of a person so learned and loyal, so wise and so witty, you will procure yourself a great pleasure.

In the dearth of information concerning Erasmus at this period, we may mention, that among his associates in the Bishop's household was one, with whom he renewed his acquaintance at Louvain many years after, when his friend, probably member of an influential family, had become a bishop. Three epistles addressed by Erasmus to him in 1517 have been preserved, but his name is lost. C. 1659, 1660 (243, 244, 245).

Epistle 41 is the last which we can attribute to this act of Erasmus's life. Of the circumstances of his parting with the Bishop and of his migration to Paris we have no information from any contemporary correspondence; and it is only in the Compendium that we read of any want of cordiality on the part of his patron. The impression left by Erasmus's conversation upon the mind of Beatus appears to have been, that the Bishop showed his goodwill by seconding the wish of Erasmus to reside for a time at the University of Paris. Pp. 10, 27.

CHAPTER IV

Erasmus at Paris in the College of Montaigu, 1494-95; *at Bergen and in Holland*, 1495; *teacher of Rhetoric in Paris*, 1496, *at the English Boarding-house, September*, 1496, *to July*, 1497, *Lord Mountjoy at Paris, September*, 1496, *to April*, 1497. *Epistles* 42 *to* 54.

THE date of Erasmus's removal to Paris is not ascertained; but it may be probably placed in the summer or autumn of 1494 (see p. 107); and we learn from Beatus Rhenanus as well as from the *Compendium Vitæ*, that he began his University residence in the College of Montaigu. We have no contemporary description of his manner of life or his literary occupations at this time. At the end of the Catalogue of Lucubrations, written in 1523, after mentioning some of his works which had been lost, he adds: "A great deal has perished which I should not care to have survived. But I should be glad to think that some of the sermons which I delivered at Paris, when I was in the College of Montaigu, were still in existence" (C. i. Præf.; Jortin, ii. 441). This sentence may serve to remind us, that Erasmus, when he joined this society of students, was a man of mature age, in priest's orders, and already the most accomplished scholar of his time. We may conjecture that his sermons were preached at St. Genevieve, the great monastery of his own order, where the Abbot, Philip Cousin, appears to have been among his acquaintance. See p. 108.

The College of Montaigu was established under the shadow of this celebrated Augustinian Foundation, its position being at the corner of the two streets formerly called Rue Saint Étienne des Grés and Rue des Sept Voies (now renamed Rue Cujas and Rue Valette), looking, east, on two little churchyards, one for clerks, where it is to be feared too many of this College found interment, and the other for the parish of Saint Étienne du Mont, whose church, then a small building, rose behind it. The abbey church of St. Genevieve lay to the south of St. Stephen, with the monastic buildings beyond it; and to the south of the College of Montaigu, where the later Abbey Church

(refounded in the last century) has now become the Pantheon, were some small houses built on the edge of the Abbey Close, which extended as far as the city wall, where is now the Rue des Fossés Saint Jacques. The site of Montaigu is partly included in the present Library of St. Genevieve, and partly in the now widened streets. The College was at that time under the presidency of John Standonk, an educational reformer from Brabant, who with the assistance of friends had enlarged the buildings and was preparing to erect a new chapel (*Gallia Christiana*, vii. 156); and who, in his anxiety to protect the institution under his care from the ordinary fate of foundations established for the assistance of poor scholars, drove away the richer class of students by the ascetic character of the accommodation provided. It is possible that Erasmus in consideration of his age, profession and learning may have been treated with more respect and consideration than the younger pupils; but we may safely assume, that for all the inmates under Standonk's charge, whether pupils or professors, and also for the Principal himself, the life was a hard one.

Another inmate at this time, in whom we may feel some interest, was Hector Boece of Dundee (*Hector Boetius Deidonanus*), the future historian of Scotland, who was about coetaneous with Erasmus, and is said by his biographers to have been at this college from about 1492 to 1498, and to have acted during the latter part of his residence as Regent or Tutor (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*). With him Erasmus became intimate; they exchanged letters at Paris after Erasmus had shifted his quarters (p. 147); and as late as 15 March, 1530, when they were both old men, and Boece settled at the University of Aberdeen, which he had helped to found, Erasmus wrote to him from Freiburg, reminding him of their having been fellow-students in Paris thirty-two years before, and inclosing a full list of his own literary works, which was intended for other readers as well as his correspondent (C. i. Præf.). It may be assumed that Erasmus's reckoning of years (accurate as usual) was not intended to go back to the residence at Montaigu, but to his later intercourse with Boece while they were both still at Paris (see Epistle 61). A second Scottish scholar and historian, John Mayor, appears to have been at the same time a student at Montaigu, but is not mentioned in the correspondence of Erasmus. His book *De gestis Scotorum*, which I have not seen, is said to be comparatively free from the fabulous character which distinguishes the Scottish chronicles (Cooper, *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 93). The same can scarcely be said of Boece, who in the second chapter of his Third Book has so

far advanced in his story, as to be telling how the Britons sent ambassadors to Edier, king of Scotland, to ask (in a speech of two pages) for his support against Julius Cæsar.

During his residence at the College of Montaigu we may assume with Beatus Rhenanus (p. 27), that Erasmus's principal studies were theological, that he entered the University as a student in that faculty, and that he attended the lectures of some of the Scotist Professors. And we may conjecture that for his own satisfaction he at the same time extended his knowledge of Patristic literature, which he had commenced as a boy by the study of St. Jerome.

Settled in Paris, Erasmus was naturally desirous of making the acquaintance of the learned persons resident there. The University maintained a high rank among the schools of Europe, but at this period could make no great muster of men of literary renown. The names best known were those of Robert Gaguin and Faustus Andrelinus, the latter a native of Italy, who had been invited to Paris through the influence of Gaguin, and had become Court-poet as well as Professor of Rhetoric and Poetry at the University. Gaguin, a native of Artois or of French Flanders, was an ecclesiastic who had been employed in the diplomatic service of the French Government, and who at the time when he became known to Erasmus, was preparing a History of France, which was published at Paris, 30 Sept. 1495. To him Erasmus addressed himself by letter, as he had done to Canter (p. 78), plying him with compliments and soliciting his friendship, and also inclosing some verses (*Ad Gaguinum nondum visum Carmen Hendecasyllabum* (C. i. 1217), which were included in the collection printed by the author before he left the College (p. 108). The letter has not been preserved, but a book of Epistles and Orations of Gaguin, printed at Paris by Andrew Bocard, 22 Nov. 1498, contains three letters of the author addressed to "Herasmus," all without date of year. One of these (EPISTLE 42, Ep. 70 in Gaguin's series; reprinted by Richter, *Erasmus-studien*, p. 17) is his answer to the letter of Erasmus. The writer disclaims at some length the compliments paid him, as excessive and savouring of assentation and falsehood, but having read Erasmus's letter and his verses (*lyricas cantationes*), he recognizes his erudition, and willingly accepts his friendship, begging him to write in future in a more candid way. This epistle is entirely without date. Another letter (EPISTLE 43; Gaguin, Ep. 71; Richter, p. 18) is dated at Paris 8 Kal. Oct (24 Sept.), but without year. In this the writer acknowledges the receipt of a second letter from Erasmus,

which he praises as written in a serious style, worthy of an ecclesiastic and man of Religion, alluding again to the extravagant compliments of the former letter. He invites Erasmus to meet Faustus, who is an old friend of the writer, as he desires his correspondent to become a new one. A third letter, without date (EPISTLE 44; Gaguin, Ep. 62; Richter, p. 20), which, though evidently later in time, has an earlier place in Gaguin's series, criticizes a work of Erasmus directed against the opponents of Humane Literature, in which Batt was introduced as taking part in a discussion, evidently the *Antibarbari* (see p. 101), and gives a short narrative of the latter part of the campaign of Charles VIII. in Italy, including the battle of Fornova (6 July, 1495), and terminating with the last intelligence of the king's position in the neighbourhood of Turin. The narrative suggests August, 1495, as the probable date of this epistle. Both of the other letters, which are of an earlier date, and apparently written within a few days of each other, and one of which is dated the 24th of September, may safely be placed in the preceding year. It was no part of Gaguin's plan to mix the letters of his correspondents with his own. If he had done so, his learned readers might have drawn a very unfavourable comparison between his epistolary style and that of Erasmus.

When Gaguin's History was published, 30 Sept., 1495, Erasmus contributed a commendatory Epistle (EPISTLE 45), without date, inserted at the end of the first and also of the later editions. C. 1817 (437). This Epistle, written in or about September, 1495, was the first printed work of Erasmus. It is an eloquent composition dealing with the common-places suggested by the publication of the first History of France attempted upon the classical model. A purple patch upon the ruder home-spun of the author, it attracted some attention in Paris. John Colet, who appears to have been there soon after its publication, read it, and took note of the name of the writer. See Epistle 99.

The correspondence and Epistle above described may be attributed with some confidence to the time of Erasmus's residence at the college of Montaigu. Before the close of this period he had an attack of the intermittent fever, from which he had suffered as a boy. He had the advantage of the advice of William Cop, a Swiss doctor a little older than himself, who obtained his degree at Paris in 1495, and who successfully practising his profession in France, had in later times an honourable position in the Court of Francis I. Cop was unable to promise him any immediate freedom from the recurrence of the dis-

ease, and Erasmus in his distress addressed a prayer to St. Genevieve, promising that, if he was relieved by her intercession, he would devote a poem to her honour. His prayer was followed by a speedy recovery to the surprise of his physician. This marvellous cure is narrated in the Preface to a poem by Petrus de Ponte dated in 1512, upon the authority of Philip Cousin, abbot of St. Genevieve, as having occurred about eighteen years before, when Erasmus was in the College of Montaigu. *Gallia Christiana*, vii. 765. When several months later he had another attack of quartan fever at Paris, he again experienced the favour of the same Saint (Epistle 52). His debt as a poet was not discharged until long afterwards, when the verses entitled *Erasmi Divæ Genouefæ præsidio a quartana febre liberati Carmen votivum* (C. v. 1335), in which the whole story is told, were written apparently during his residence at Freiburg, where they were first published in 1532. We may conjecture that his departure from the College followed as soon as possible after his recovery from this attack of fever. It did not require the skill of a Cop to discover, that the regimen of Montaigu was not suitable to the constitution of his patient.

In one of the Colloquies of Erasmus, entitled *Ichthyophagia* or Fish-diet, first published in 1523 or 1524, one of the interlocutors describes at considerable length the wretched life of the inmates of this college, as it was thirty years before—in other words, at the time when Erasmus was himself there. According to his account the pupils were subjected to such hardships that a single year's experience produced several cases of blindness, madness or leprosy; some died, while none escaped danger. "I know many," he adds, "who cannot even now shake off the delicacy of health there contracted." He alludes to the defective diet and sanitary arrangements; and amongst other hardships does not forget the gown and cowl which the members were compelled to wear (C. i. 806 D, 807 B). From their cowls of coarse brown cloth the students were known as "les pauvres Capettes de Montaigu." Dulaure, *Hist. de Paris*, ii. 406.

A shorter but not less vigorous onslaught upon the management of this institution is made by Rabelais. In the *Gargantua*, chapter xxvii, Grandgousier suspects, from something he sees, that Gargantua has been at this college. Then Ponocrates answered: "My lord, think not that I have placed him in the lousy college they call Montagu. I would rather have put him among the beggars of St. Innocent's, for the enormous cruelty and villainy I have known there. For the galley-slaves among the Moors and Tartars, or the murderers

in the criminal prison, yea surely the dogs in your house, are much better treated, than those poor wretches in that college; and if I were king of Paris, the devil take me if I would not set it on fire and burn both Principal and Regents, who suffer such inhumanity to be practised before their eyes." The attack of Rabelais, who had no personal experience of the College, was not independent of that of Erasmus, of whose works he was a devoted reader. See Appendix IV

We are unable to fix the precise date of Erasmus's departure from the College, but he probably left it before the end of 1495. We are informed by the *Compendium*, that he returned to his patron the Bishop, by whom he was honourably received, and recovered his strength during a stay at Bergen. He then, according to the same authority, went back his old comrades in Holland. P 10.

To this later sojourn at Bergen, where the Bishop had now succeeded his father as head of the family, we do not find, as far as I am aware, any allusion elsewhere. A return to the Convent appears a probable sequel to his departure from the College, and is confirmed by Epistle 50. He spent some days in happy intercourse with William Herman, but could not prolong his stay without relinquishing the degree of liberty he had gained. The head of the Society was Father Nicholas Werner, whom Erasmus succeeded in convincing that it was inexpedient for him to remain permanently at Stein.

It appears by the records of the University of Cologne, that a scholar of the name of Erasmus from Rotterdam was matriculated there on the 6th of June, 1496. The entry is as follows: Erasmus de Rotterdammis ad artes iuravit pauper. (C. Kraff, *Zeitschrift für Preuss. Gesch. und Alterthumsk.* v. 1868, p. 471; cited by Richter, *Erasmus-studien*, p. 22). This poor student has been identified with the illustrious scholar whose name he bore; but considering the circumstances of the latter, this conjecture does not appear at all probable. They may possibly have been kinsmen. It is remarkable that, six years later, when Erasmus was driven from Paris by the plague, Cologne appears to have had some attraction for him. See p. 351.

Early in the year 1496 Erasmus was again in Paris, where he entered upon a new period of his life. He was now master of his time, and thrown for his subsistence mainly, if not entirely, on his own resources. He appears to have been chiefly dependent upon what he earned as a teacher of Rhetoric, that is, of Latin speech and composition. Meantime his theological studies were suspended; according to the expression of the *Compendium*, vixit verius quam studuit. One of

his earliest pupils at Paris was Augustine Caminad, of whom we shall presently have to speak (see p. 111); another was a young merchant of Lubeck named Christian, whose surname I suspect to have been Noorthon (see Epistle 134), with whom he lived on very intimate terms. It was probably at an early period of their acquaintance that Erasmus put together some general advice upon study in the form of a letter to Christian. We may find room for a few words from the conclusion, which furnish a picture of the daily habits of the student.

EPISTLE 46. Farrago, p. 304, Ep. x. 2, xxix. 14; C. 68 (79).

Erasmus to Christian.

* . * *

Avoid nocturnal lucubrations and studies at unseasonable times. They exhaust the mind and seriously affect the health. The dawn, beloved of the Muses, is the fit time for study. After dinner either play, or walk, or take part in cheerful conversation. Possibly even among these amusements some room may be found for improvement. Take as much food as is required, not for your pleasure, but for your health. Before supper take a short walk, and after supper do the same. Before going to bed read something exquisite and worth remembering, of which you will be thinking when overcome by sleep, and for which you will ask yourself again when you wake. Let this maxim of Pliny rest always in your mind: All your time is lost which you do not impart to study. Remember that nothing is more fugitive than youth, which, when once it has flown away, never returns. But I am beginning to preach, after promising to be nothing but a guide. Follow, sweetest Christian, the plan I have traced, or any better that you can. Farewell.

Paris, [1496].†

† Lutetiæ M.CCCC.XCIX. *Op. Epist.* No date in *Farrago.*

It appears from Epistles 47 and 48, that Erasmus, to encourage his pupil in Latin composition, had arranged an interchange of letters, and that Christian had sent Erasmus a present, accompanied by a letter in the composition of which he had been helped by Augustine, with whom he appears to have been living.

We here meet for the first time with a person, who for some years played an important part in Erasmus's life. *Augustinus Vincentius Caminadus*, a native of Germany or the Low Countries, now resident at Paris, where he had been a student, and had profited by the teaching of Erasmus (Epistle 130), was engaged in some employment connected with the book-trade. We read of him in Epistle 51, as assisting in advertising Herman's poems, when they were published by Erasmus; and in 1500 he superintended the printing of the first edition of the *Adages* (p. 242). He also edited an edition of the works of Virgil, which is without date of time or place, but is attributed to the press of Jean Philippe of Paris, a copy of which exists in the Library of Beatus Rhenanus at Schlettstadt (Knod, *Biblioth. des Beatus Rhenanus*, p. 50). We shall find him for a few years continuing to be useful to Erasmus not only in his literary ventures, but also in his domestic necessities. But while accepting his help, Erasmus never expresses any cordial feeling, and seems, in spite of the material ties which drew them together, to have felt rather an antipathy to him. See Epistles 48, 51, 125, 132.

Epistle 47. Farrago, p. 99; Ep. v 7; C. 17 (19).

Erasmus to Christian.

Hail, Attic honey! I wrote nothing yesterday, and that on purpose, because I was out of humour. Now, do not ask with whom; it was with you. What had you done? Well, I was afraid that such a clever fellow as you are might be laying a trap for me. I had my suspicions about that box of yours, lest it should bring us something like what Pandora's box brought to Epimetheus. When I opened it, I could only blame myself for my suspicion.

But why have you not written earlier to-day? you will say. We have been engaged, sitting at the play, and very

entertaining it was. A tragedy, you will ask, or a comedy? Whichever you please; only no masks were worn by the players, the piece was one act, the plot neither Roman nor Greek, but quite on a low level, without either music or dancing. The ground formed the stage, and my parlour the gallery. The dénouement was exciting, and the last scene most animated.

What the devil, you will say, is this play you are inventing? Nay, Christian, I am relating a fact. The spectacle we saw to-day was that of our landlady engaged in a desperate fight with the maid. The trumpet had sounded long before the encounter, as violent abuse was hurled from both quarters. On this occasion the forces parted on equal terms, neither party gaining a triumph. It took place in the garden while we looked on in silence from the parlour, not without laughter. But hear the catastrophe. After the fight the girl came up to my chamber, to make the beds. In talking to her I praised her courage in having been a match for her mistress in noise and abuse, and said I wished she had been as brave with her hands as with her tongue. For the mistress, a stout termagant that might have passed for an athlete, kept on pommelling the head of the girl, who was shorter than herself, with her fists. "Have you then no nails," I said, "that you put up with such blows for nothing?" She answered with a grin, that she did not want will, but strength. "Do you fancy," said I, "that the issue of battles depends only on strength? The plan of attack is always most important." Then she asked what advice I had to give her. "When she attacks you again," said I, "do you at once pull off her cap." For these housewives of Paris are marvellously fond of wearing a black cap of a peculiar fashion. "When you have pulled that off, you can then fly at her hair." As all this was said by me in jest, I supposed it had been taken in the same sense. But just before

supper-time, a stranger comes running up breathless. This was a pursuivant of king Charles,* commonly called *Gentil Garçon*. "Come here," said he, "my masters, and you will see a bloody spectacle!" We ran to the spot, and found the landlady and the maid struggling on the ground; and it was with some difficulty that we parted them. How bloody the battle had been, was shown by the result. Strewn on the floor lay on one side the cap, on the other the girl's kerchief, and the ground was covered with tufts of hair; so cruel had been the slaughter. As we sat at supper, the landlady related to us with much indignation how stoutly the girl had borne herself. "When I was preparing," said she, "to chastise her" (that is to pommel her with fisticuffs), "she at once pulled my cap off my head!" I recognised that my song had not been sung to deaf ears. "As soon as that was off, the hussy brandished it in my eyes." That was no part of my counsel. "Then," said she, "she tore out as much of my hair as you see here." She took heaven and earth to witness, she had never met with a girl so small and so vicious. We did our best to palliate human events and the doubtful fortune of war, and to treat of peace for the future. Meantime I congratulated myself that the mistress had no suspicion of the affair having been conducted by my advice, as I should otherwise have found for myself that she had a tongue in her head.

You have now heard our comedy; and we may turn to serious matters. You have undertaken a double contest with me, one of writing letters, the other of sending presents. In the first you plainly declare yourself beaten, having begun to contend with a borrowed pen. Will you have the impudence to deny it? I think not, if you have any shame at all. The other contest I have not even tried, but give it up at once. In letter-writing you are overcome, indeed you

* Charles VIII. 1483 to 1498.

do not fight, except like Patroclus, in the armour of Achilles. In presents I am not prepared to contend with you. A poet with a merchant! Was ever heard the like? But look you! I challenge you to a fairer struggle. Let us try, whether you tire me out first by sending, or I you by writing. This will be a battle worthy of a poet, and worthy of a broker! If you have the courage, come on.

Paris, [1496].†

EPISTLE 48. Farrago, p. 251; Ep. ix. 6; C. 34 (33).

Erasmus to Christian (who had written in an affected style with the help of Augustine).

I wish you all the health you can desire. I really had not expected so much elegance from you; I should rather say eloquence, for that you would be elegant I knew before. Your letter was therefore quite a pleasure to me. I exhort you accordingly to proceed in the same course, and you will soon come out as like your master as possible. But I think you should set before yourself as a model some style of oratory, so that your manner may not be inconsistent with itself. * * * You seem to recall a Punic or rather Allobrogic taste, which ought to be very well tempered, as being a mixture of Arabian and Iberian,—Calenian wine dissembling the parent bramble.

But it is quite out of place for me to give you these instructions, when you have so wise an adviser at home. However, his new courtesy is such, that he will excuse my putting my sickle into his harvest. * * *

Farewell, with your Dædalus!

Paris, [1496].‡

† Parisiis, Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

‡ Lutetiæ, anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo. *Farrago.*

When Christian returned before long to his business at Lubeck, his place at Paris was supplied by a younger brother named Henry, who became in his turn an attached pupil and friend of Erasmus.

Among the foreigners in Paris at this time there were generally a few young Englishmen of noble and wealthy families, who spent a year or two there for the completion of their education. To provide accommodation for these young men, a spacious apartment had been hired in the Latin quarter, in which they were received and boarded under the charge of a gentleman who acted as their tutor or temporary guardian.

The services of Erasmus as a teacher were much appreciated by the English students, and in the autumn of 1496 he accepted an invitation to reside in the boarding-house, in which he had several pupils. One of these was a youth named Thomas Grey, whom Erasmus's English biographers have generally supposed to be a son of the marquis of Dorset, but who did not belong to that family.* Another pupil, whose acquaintance was of more importance in the life of Erasmus, was William Blount, lord Mountjoy, then about eighteen years of age, an English peer, and stepson of Thomas Butler, earl of Ormond, a person of importance in the court of Henry VII., and Chamberlain to the Queen. Another inmate of the house was Robert Fisher, a cousin of Dr. John Fisher, afterwards Bishop of Rochester (see p. 165), who had

* This mistake originated with Dr. Knight, who is generally more trustworthy (Life of Erasmus, p. 18). Thomas Grey, son of Thomas, first marquis of Dorset, born 22 June, 1477, succeeded his father as marquis in 1501, and died in 1530; and no other Thomas of that generation is known. I have not been able to identify Erasmus's friend. The following marks may enable some one else to do so. He was a stripling in 1497, and we may therefore place his birth about 1480. He appears throughout his life to have resided much abroad. He wrote to Erasmus from Paris, Aug. 5, 1516, mentioning his children as living and his father and mother as dead (C. 1565 D). He was at Louvain in or about April 1518, and, being desirous of redeeming some of his father's lands, which were mortgaged to Colet, he took back a letter of introduction from Erasmus to More (C. 1694 C). If I am right in reading *Greius* for *Grevij* (Merula, p. 89; C. 645 F), Erasmus introduced him in or about 1521 to Conrad Goclen, the Latin Professor at Louvain, as a person desirous to place a son at the University there. He was staying with Erasmus at Basel accompanied by his youngest son in October, 1526 (Ep. xviii. 11, C. 908 C). Two or more ladies of his name, who were in the Sisterhood of St. Clare at Cambridge, were known to Erasmus (Ep. xxx. 3; C. 1879 D).

been already employed in diplomacy and rewarded with some church preferments, and was desirous of using an interval of leisure to improve his Latinity under the instruction of Erasmus. A fourth pupil was the Tutor himself, who at a more advanced age had contracted a taste for Humane Letters. As to this gentleman, see more, pp. 130, 136.

Having obtained an extended leave of absence from his convent for the purpose of pursuing his theological studies, Erasmus was anxious to convince the Father Superior that he was not neglecting this object. The English ecclesiastic mentioned in Epistle 49, who wished to engage the services of Erasmus, was conjectured by Dr. Knight to be James Stanley (a step-son of Margaret, countess of Richmond, the King's mother), who was appointed in 1506 Bishop of Ely (Knight, *Erasmus*, p. 19). This identification, which is extremely probable, has been rejected upon a mistaken assumption of the Bishop's age (Bentham, *History of Ely*, p. 185; Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, 227; Drummond, *Erasmus*, i. 43). James Stanley, son of Thomas, earl of Derby, by his first wife, Alianore Nevil, daughter of Richard, earl of Salisbury, and sister of Richard, earl of Warwick, was probably born before 1470. He was one of the younger members of a numerous family; his father was 24 years of age in 1459, and his elder brother, Lord Strange, was born about 1460 (Cockayne's *Peerage*). Of his preferments we are informed, that he was Warden of Manchester College, 1485 (succeeding in that office an uncle of the same name, some of whose preferments have been attributed to the nephew, and so given rise to misapprehension as to his age); Dean of St. Martin's, London, 1485; Rector of Rosthorn, 1489; Archdeacon of Chester; Archdeacon of Richmond, 1500; Prebendary of Salisbury, 1505; and doubtless incumbent of many other less important benefices. He obtained a special licence at Oxford to proceed D.C.L. in 1506; and his appointment to the bishopric of Ely was confirmed by Pope Julius II. 17 July, 1506. His bastard son, Sir John Stanley, who won his spurs at Flodden Field (9 Sept. 1513), may have been born before his father was in priest's orders. But traditional scandal accused the bishop of living after his consecration for a part of every year with the mother of his children at his episcopal manor of Somersham in Huntingdonshire (Godwin *de Præsulibus*, p. 271; Fuller's *Worthies* i. 541). It is certain that he provided by his will, not only for Sir John Stanley, but for the brother and sisters of Sir John (Prerog. Wills, 7 Holden).

In Epistle 51 Erasmus bears witness to the high consideration with which he was treated in the Boarding-house; and it will be observed

that he dates Epistle 49, *E mea bibliotheca*, and in the body of the letter speaks of the household as his own. He may have thought it expedient to impress his country friends with a sense of his social importance, as well as his devotion to theological studies.

EPISTLE 49. Merula, p. 192 ; Ep. xxxi. 23 ; C. 1883 (501).

Erasmus to his Father in religion, Nicolas Werner.

If you are all well at Stein, it is what we wish and trust. For my part I am thankful to say I am heartily well. If any one has doubted how much I value sacred learning, I have now shown it by evidence of fact. I am using boastful language, but Erasmus must not hide anything from his loving father.

I have lately fallen in with some Englishmen, all of noble birth and high rank. Very lately a young man in priest's orders joined the party He had abundance of money, and had refused the offer of a bishopric, because he was aware of his deficiency in learning. Nevertheless within a year he is to be again invited to that dignity by the King, although without any bishopric he possesses two thousand crowns a year. When he heard of my knowledge of Letters, he began to exhibit an incredible regard and respect for me ; for he lived some little time in my household.* He offered me a hundred crowns, if I would instruct him for a year. He offered me a benefice within a few months ; and he offered to lend me three hundred crowns, if I needed it to maintain my position, until I should repay it out of the benefice. If I had chosen to accept his proposals, I should have obliged all the English in this city, for they are all of the highest families, and through them all England. I have turned my back on an ample fortune and still more ample expectations. I have disregarded entreaties backed with

* aliquandiu in familia mea vixit. Compare Epistle 52, p. 122.

tears. I am telling you what has really happened without any exaggeration. The English now understand that I care nothing for all the wealth of England. Neither is it without consideration that I refused and still refuse these offers. I will not by any bribe be led away from sacred studies. I have come here to learn, not to teach or to heap up money. Indeed I intend to apply, God willing, for a doctorate in theology.

The Bishop of Cambrai is a wonderful friend to me. He promises liberally, but to tell the plain truth he does not send liberally. Farewell, most excellent father. I pray you again and again to commend me in your prayers to Almighty God. The same will I do for you.

Paris, from my Library, 13 Sept. [1496].*

Just at this time Erasmus was preparing to pass through the press a volume of Latin poems by William Herman, about which, after his return from Stein in the earlier part of the year (see p. 120), he had consulted Gaguin, who contributed a long commendatory letter (*Gaguini Epistolæ*, f. 79 b), addressed to Herman and dated at Paris, 16 Sept. [1496]. The book is a small 4to volume, with the title, *Guielermi hermani Goudensis theologi ac poetæ sylua odarum*, printed at Paris by Guido Mercator, and dated An. 1497, xiii. cal. Feb. which, according to the customary Parisian reckoning, ought to mean Jan. 20, 1498, but the dedication by Erasmus to the Bishop of Cambrai, printed with it, bears date *Parrhisijs* 1496, *Septimo Id. Nouemb.*, and the year of publication, 1497, is confirmed by the series of letters. It included one composition of Erasmus, entitled *Hendecasyllabum Herasmi ad studiosos*, which does not appear to have been reprinted.

Some extracts only are given from the dedicatory epistle (Epistle 50); which contains a passage where the author expresses his admiration for Baptista Mantuanus, whom he ventures to compare with his greater countryman, and to claim for him the title of the Christian Maro, while he augurs from the immature work of his own friend, that his later poems may raise Stein to such a level of fame, as even twice-happy Mantua would not be able to despise.

* Parisijs e mea Bibliotheca. Idus Septembris. Merula.

EPISTLE 50. Hermani Odæ (1497); C. 1781 (395).

Erasmus to Henry Bishop of Cambrai.

* * *

William of Gouda, who from my earliest youth has been my Patroclus or my Pirithous, my one sweetest companion in every thing and especially in liberal studies, is now the first and highest hope of our country of Holland; which formerly neglected and untilled grew nothing but briars and thistles and weeds, but has begun at last to produce a harvest worthy of Italy. A train of circumstances has led to the first fruits of this harvest being offered in sacrifice to your name. When some time ago I was staying several days with this friend in order to complete the recovery of my health, among many subjects of familiar and delightful conversation he discovered and brought out some Odes which had been the amusement of his youth, but only to submit them to my censure with a view to their destruction. For he said, in his own modest and humorous way, that their faults were such as could not be mended by six hundred blots, but might by one, and that he thought they would make a fit offering, not to Apollo, but to Vulcan or Neptune. He jestingly added that he had long hated his immature and therefore degenerate offspring, from which a parent could expect nothing. "A natural scruple," said he, "forbids me to do myself what I wish;* I pray you to be Harpagus." And with that he put them in my hands to be destroyed, little apprehending what has been the result. Pleased with the omen suggested by the name of Harpagus, and passing from the story of Cyrus to that of Moses, of Œdipus and of Romulus, I resolved by a pious fraud to save the offspring which he in impious severity had doomed, hoping that it might flourish in a future day and mount the throne, whether

* Me, inquit, ipsum facere pietas prohibet valentem (read volentem), C. 1782 D.

the parent wished it or not. Accordingly I let him suppose that it had perished, and came back to Paris bringing my plunder with me. Here, not to enjoy my stolen goods alone, I could not refrain from showing them to some intimate friends. These at first were few, but afterwards they were communicated to several more. The upshot was that I was entreated on all hands not to bury so promising a crop, but to make a present of it to the multitude of young students. In dealing with this request I did not altogether trust my own judgment, fearing that my perspicacity might be dimmed by my affection for one so attached to me. But when Robert Gaguin, who is justly recognised by France as her literary parent, priest and chieftain, had approved most highly of my William's poems, and had advised me to publish them, I readily acquiesced in his judgment. * *

If you, most distinguished prelate, will take these foundlings under your fostering care, you will do an act which will be like your old kindness. They will not miss their parent, if they have you for a patron. I will say no more. They are here in person, dressed in such an outfit as I can afford to give them. Accept our duty, and farewell.

Paris, 7 Nov. 1496.

The printing of the book does not appear to have been completed until the 20th of January 1497 (see p. 118); and while it was in the press Erasmus was absent for a time from Paris (see p. 122), probably in the preceding month. We are not informed whither his travels led him, but we may infer from Epistle 51, that it was not to Holland. When he came back to his quarters at the English boarding-house, he was seized with an attack of quartan fever, his recovery from which he attributed (as on a former occasion, pp. 107, 108) to the aid of St. Genevieve. See Epistle 52. The following letter to William Herman, begun upon his return to Paris, was interrupted by his illness, and the greater part was written after his recovery. The last lines, which mention some copies of the book which were to be sent to the author, may safely be dated after the 20th of January; and the reference to

hard living (p. 124) perhaps points to the commencement of Lent, which began early in this year; Ash Wednesday, 1497, being the 8th of February. The Epistle is of some interest as illustrating the character and habits of Erasmus, and also the bookselling practices of the time. Erasmus appears to have employed the services of Herman to transcribe his Epitome of the *Elegantiæ* of Valla (see p. 86). And Augustine had been useful in advertising Herman's book by a viva voce reading and interpretation of it (it may be presumed at a bookseller's shop). But Erasmus shows here, as we shall find elsewhere, an unaccountable dislike of Augustine (see p. 111). The N. of the second paragraph is clearly the prior of Stein. It is worth while to observe, that this letter, so full of confidences, was published with the author's sanction as early as 1519.

Epistle 51. Farrago, p. 79; Ep. iv. 25; C. 74 (83).

Erasmus to his Comrade William.

Hail to you, my only delight! I congratulate you on being in the position you are, if only you are pleased yourself; and you ought to be so, for I am confident you have gained one step to glory I am indeed sorry that the letter did not come to hand; not so much because I have not received something else I wanted, as because I have been disappointed of your sweet letter. I shall die if you do not keep up my spirits by often writing

I have received a letter from N. in which he discloses his mind more freely, as I had desired him to do. He does not venture openly to acknowledge my study; says that many do not approve of it; and that some are afraid I shall run into debt and so burden my colleagues. I have relieved him of his fear, though he writes indeed, that he is not afraid himself, but wished to satisfy others. He loves me, apparently; and does not dislike you, for he speaks of you affectionately enough. I have answered in accordance with my character and with such authority as I may possess; and have written fully enough about my circumstances.

I am surprised that you trouble yourself about the Bishop. I have written ten times or more. Everything is well; he promises enough, but gives nothing.

You say there is much talk, where you are, about me. What kind of talk? If good, I am glad, if otherwise, it is their own affair. Here at any rate there is nothing but praise of me, perhaps because I have deserved it. In exhorting me to virtue, you do as becomes William. And I in return exhort you to be courageous in pursuit both of virtue and of learning. If you do so, I am persuaded you will be the one glory of Holland. And you will more easily come out a theologian there, than I here. Believe me this is the case. But let us turn to gossip.

You will ask what I am doing. I play my usual part of Ulysses, and having lately fallen ill after a journey, am scarcely well again yet. One of those in my household * was seized with a slight fever, but is recovering.

Augustine, your interpreter, has been some time parted from me. He deals cunningly with me; and I in return with him. There is no sincere love between us, nor ever was, such is the difference between our characters. He is to go before long to your neighbourhood. You will also deal cunningly with him. Defer to him before others, and treat him as magnificently as possible. He will say something perhaps in your praise. You will listen. He will never be seen there again. Therefore for your own sake you will pay some respect to the man, who indeed has a fair claim on you. He has publicly interpreted your poems, and that for nothing. You will thank him, but not give him anything, especially anything that may be of use to me.

I wrote to you what I wanted done. If you have done them, I beseech you to send them. For it is a matter of no small importance. If you have not yet done them, I will relieve you of part of the work. Send at any rate my

* Quidam familiarium meorum. See observation, p. 117.

Elegantiæ; also the third book of *Laurentius*, if it is written out. If not, I should like you to undertake a different work. Moreover communicate to me everything of your own that you write. I will explain why I so much wish this. I am living with a most courteous English gentleman,* together with two young men of good condition, and I am so treated that if I were in a bishop's house, I could not be more splendidly or honourably used, even if I were a bishop myself. This gentleman has a marvellous confidence in your writings, so that if you will take care that the courier may always bring something fresh, you will do what will be most agreeable to me, and not without advantage to yourself. Above all things write a friendly letter to him, in which you will compliment him on disregarding everything but Letters. You will extol learning united with probity, commend me, and politely offer your own services. Believe me, William, you may also advance your own reputation. There is one of the party, who has great influence in his own country, and you will have a friend who can spread your writings through England. I beg you again and again, if you have any love for me, give your heart to this matter.

I am angry with you for writing so briefly and so seldom. Poor me! has it come to this, that you grudge giving up one night's sleep for my sake? Or are we fallen among pleasures? I wish I may live to share them with you. But see where ambition has cast us. We are still rolling Sisyphus's stone. I have a scheme in hand; but if it fails, I shall fly to you. As to an honorable livelihood I have no anxiety; I am eagerly courted and sought for all round. But oh, that I could live with you, or you with me! You do not know how I am tormented with the wish for you and for you alone. I believe you practise some witchcraft; I

* The name of the gentleman was no doubt given in the original letter (in order that Herman might write to him), and struck out in editing the Epistle for publication. The reason for doing this will appear in Epistles 55, 56.

had rather live with you than with the Pope himself. Out of regard to our character we are living here rather strictly.* Farewell to the name of Theologian ; farewell to fame, and useless dignity. I have already tasted what it is to be somebody. What is there better than a snug chat with a friend ?

It is now three months since I have paid a visit to Faustus or Gaguin. Nevertheless you must write a brief and learned letter to Faustus, and to Gaguin at greater length, discussing a few points in a friendly way or rather providing material for discussion.

That your cousin the messenger may be the more careful in forwarding our papers, you must talk to him in the grandest style, for he has a good appetite for praise. As to payment, that shall be my business. If you want or wish for anything, let me know. We have always a crown or two for William. See how French we have become !

To speak seriously, my affair with the bishop of Utrecht has cooled. I hear he is a niggardly man. Let me know how life is going on with you there, what my brother is doing, what Cornelius, what Servatius and the others ; write at length and with attention ; and always have a letter ready when the messenger comes Boschius writes that he has received a letter from Cornelius, who asks for your poems, but I understand does not write anything about me. I suspect Cornelius is offended ; he has never written to me. I wonder what is the matter. I love the man provided he loves you, for about myself I do not care.

Write and say what you receive, for I am sending fifteen copies of your poems. I have written a rather long letter, partly before my illness and partly since my recovery. I receive nothing from the bishop of Cambrai. Farewell.

Paris [February, 1497]. †

* Honestatis studio duriuscule hic vivimus.

† Lutetiæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

The reference in the above letter to the Bishop of Utrecht may perhaps be explained by the Epistle to Servatius (Chapter xxiii), where it appears that Erasmus had been advised by Prior Nicolas to seek admission into the household of a bishop.

Epistle 52 may possibly have accompanied the last to Holland. In writing to the Prior of his convent, Erasmus takes care to attribute his late recovery from sickness to the favour of St. Genevieve, whose relics, being preserved in the church of the Augustinian monastery at Paris, gave the Order a claim on her protection as well as an interest in her glory. The winter of 1496-7 had been marked in Paris by excessive rain, and consequent inundations. The procession mentioned in the following Epistle took place on the 12th of January, 1497 (Félibien, *Hist. Paris*, ii. 892). The prominence assigned to the Augustinian Order in this procession, a distinction to which Erasmus calls the Prior's attention, gave offence to the Benedictines of Paris, and was the occasion of a contest between the two Orders concerning the manner of marching in processions, which, on the 15th of March following, was referred to the Rector of the University for his opinion (Bulæus, *Hist. Universit. Paris.* v. 814). It is interesting to note, that in the year 1236 a great inundation at Paris had been successfully encountered by a similar procession. On that occasion it occurred to some "astronomers" to attribute the lowering of the river to the cessation of rain. But this suggestion was met by another marvel; three weeks of wet weather followed, and the river continued to fall every day. *Recueil des Histoires de France,* tom. xxiii. p. 136.

Epistle 52. Merula, p. 196; Ep. xxxi. 27; C. 1884 (504).

Erasmus to Father Nicolas Werner.

Most reverend Father, I wrote some time ago to your fatherhood, but I conclude that the messenger failed to deliver my letter. I hope you are in good health. We are fairly well. We have lately had an attack of quartan fever, but have now recovered our health and strength, not by any doctor's aid, though we do employ one, but by the aid only

of the noble virgin St. Genevieve, whose bones, preserved in the church of the Canons Regular, are illumined by daily miracles.

I am afraid the rain must have drowned the fields and everything else about you. Here it rained continually for nearly three months. The Seine left its bed and poured into the fields and into the middle of the city. St. Genevieve's shrine was brought down from its place to Nôtre Dame, the Bishop with the whole congregation coming out to meet it in a grand procession. The Canons Regular led the way, the Abbot and all the Brethren walking barefoot. Four, with their bodies bare, carried the shrine. Now we have a quite cloudless sky.

I am prevented from writing further, being more than fully occupied. I commend William, who is part of my own soul, to your fatherly kindness and esteem. His name is worshipped in this University, and with good reason. He deserves to be admired and loved by the whole world, though his singular learning brings him nothing but envy among his familiars. He cannot but become a man of great renown. Those who are pleased to do so may turn up their noses. Nevertheless no one will prevent it. Farewell.

[Paris, February, 1497].*

The following letter forms a sort of postscript to Epistle 50, to which the Bishop had failed to pay sufficient attention.

Epistle 53. Farrago, p. 251 ; Ep. ix. 5 ; C. 34 (34).

Erasmus to Henry Bishop of Cambrai.

When, most distinguished Prelate, I was anxious to secure the greatest celebrity for the rare genius of one to

* No date in *Merula.*

whom I am much attached, I thought this purpose would be effectually attained, if your illustrious name shone like a torch before his new work. Not that I judged the present either of any great importance or suitable to your high position, but I hoped that the new author might gain from your reputation some small portion both of favour and of authority. In this I appear to have been fully successful. With such warmth is my William seized and read by all the students of this University, that the facts could scarcely be believed. Already his name is echoed everywhere in the public class-rooms and in the colleges.

If I find that you are not offended with this present, I am satisfied with my success; if you are pleased, I triumph. I give what belongs to another, since I have not been able to publish anything myself, occupied as I am with theological studies. Following Jerome's advice we learn in order that we may teach. It will not be long however before you may expect some fruit of our labours, which we shall appropriate to your name. I have been much exhausted by illness. My skin and my purse both need filling, the one with flesh, the other with coins. Act with your usual kindness, and farewell.

[Paris, about March, 1497]. *

Lord Mountjoy was recalled home about April, 1497, for the celebration of his wedding, his mother and guardian, the countess of Ormond,† having arranged a marriage for him with Elizabeth, one of

* M.CCCCXCVIII, *Opus Epist.* No date in *Farrago.*

† Lore, daughter of Sir Edward Berkeley of Beverston, married, first, John, Lord Mountjoy (father of William), who died 1485, secondly, Sir Thomas Montgomery, K.G. who died 1495, and thirdly, Thomas earl of Ormond, who survived her and died 1515. The young Lord Mountjoy's wardship and marriage were bought from the king by Sir James Blount, his father's brother and executor, who appears to have assigned the marriage to Sir Thomas Montgomery, who bequeathed it by will to his wife. *Testamenta*

the daughters and presumptive heirs of Sir William Say, a rich proprietor in Hertfordshire. Erasmus in the Catalogue of Lucubrations, written in 1523, has an anecdote, which is of some use in fixing the chronology of his own life, as it evidently belongs to the time when Mountjoy was his pupil before his marriage, and, as we may guess from the circumstances, very shortly before it, that is in the early part of 1497. The subject of matrimony had probably been suggested by Mountjoy's correspondence with his mother.

Catalogue of Lucubrations. C. in Præf. Jortin, ii. 427.

* * *

We have also tried the declamatory style, for which we are naturally more fitted than for those compilations, to which however we have been conducted by some sort of genius. In that way we wrote playfully a long time since in praise and blame of matrimony. It is now part of the little book on Letter-writing, and was done to please a young nobleman, William Mountjoy, to whom we were then giving lessons in rhetoric. When I asked him how he liked what I had written, he answered with a laugh "I like it so much that you have quite persuaded me it is right to marry." "Nay," said I, "suspend your judgment, till you have read the other side." "I pray you," said he, "keep that for yourself, I am content with the first side." He is now a widower for the third time, and is likely enough to marry a fourth wife,† so easy is it to upset the coach on the side to which it leans. * * *

Vetusta, p. 396. The evidence of the date of Lord Mountjoy's marriage depends principally upon a recovery suffered in Easter term, 12 Hen. VII., to the use of the feoffees of his marriage settlement. For details of Lord Mountjoy's life, see *The Hall of Lawford Hall*, 175-350.

† Lord Mountjoy became a widower for the third time, 8 June, 1521, and before 11 Nov. 1523, was married to his fourth wife, Dorothy, widow of Lord Broke, and daughter of Thomas Grey, marquis of Dorset (*Hall of Lawford Hall*, 308, 310). The Catalogue of Lucubrations appears to have been written in the spring of 1523.

About the time of Lord Mountjoy's departure from Paris, Erasmus, to meet the requirements of his pupils, and especially by the desire of Robert Fisher, began to compose a treatise on Letter-writing. In this he inserted the argument in favour of matrimony above referred to, which was retained in the revised work, *De conscribendis Epistolis* C. i. 414, 415. This book, after having been taken up and laid aside by the author more than once, was first printed surreptitiously at Cambridge in 1521, and afterwards with his sanction and revision at Strasburg in 1522 (see p. 165). Upon the subject of this inchoate work Erasmus appears to have written to Mountjoy in England, and to have received an answer urging him to complete it. Meantime the young lord, then nineteen years of age, had been introduced to the duties incumbent on his class, having been among the knights and noblemen assembled in London in the summer of 1497 for the suppression of the Cornish insurgents, who had marched into Kent. "In which company," says Hall, "was the erle of Essex, the lord Mongey, with diverse other" (Hall, Chron. f. 42; Pol. Verg. Hist. f. 600). At this time the letter *t* in the name of Mountjoy or Montjoy was not sounded, and the name was frequently written Monjoy. See Epistle 76.

Epistle 54 may be a draft of an intended preface or dedication of the treatise on Letter-writing. Only the opening words, which have a personal interest, are here given. In the part omitted the author criticizes a book on the same subject by Franciscus Niger, and another circulated under the name of Marius Philelphus, which contained examples of epistles; and refers to the grammatical, or rhetorical, treatises of Sulpitius and Perotus, as furnishing some hints on the same subject.

Epistle 54. Farrago, p. 248; Ep. ix. 1; C. 41 (43).

Erasmus to William Lord Mountjoy.

When you ask us for a fuller and more complete treatise on Letter-writing,—a request which you make with your usual excess of modesty, but still in such a way as to convince me how warmly you are interested in the matter, —I am not a little delighted with the disposition you show, while I cannot but highly approve your judgment. I am

pleased on the one hand to recognize that, involved as you have suddenly been in so many affairs both private and public, and much occupied, as is natural, with your recent marriage, you have not wavered in your old affection for Good Letters. * * *

[Paris, 1497]†

We have seen in Epistle 51, on what excellent terms Erasmus was with the Tutor of the English boarding-house; to whom as a token of regard he presented a manuscript book, upon which he had spent much pains, *librum multis sudoribus evigilatum*. This fact is shown by a fragment of a letter, evidently addressed to the Tutor by Erasmus, which is found in the edition of the Treatise on Letter-writing printed at Cambridge in 1521, and is retained in the later edition. C. i. 463 C. Of Erasmus's skill as a transcriber and decorator of books other examples occur in these pages. See pp. 54, 155. He continued to reside in the boarding-house until about the end of July, 1497. The circumstances attending his departure form the subject of the first two epistles included in the following chapter.

† Anno M.CCCC.XC.VIII. *Farrago*.

CHAPTER V

Erasmus leaves the English boarding-house, July, 1497, Correspondence with Thomas Grey, August; Theological lectures; Visit to Holland and Cambrai, October; Paris, November, December; Letter to Hector Boece upon Poetry, November, 1497 *Epistles* 55 *to* 63.

TOWARDS the end of July, 1497, Erasmus had a quarrel with the head of the establishment in which he was living, which led to his suddenly changing his residence; and on leaving the boarding-house he found a temporary refuge at the lodging of his pupil Henry. Epistle 55 was written by Erasmus in Henry's name to his brother Christian, to apprise him of what had taken place, and Epistle 56 is devoted to the same subject; but, long as these letters are, the cause of the quarrel is left unexplained. We infer that some charge was made which affected Erasmus's character (see pp. 138, 170, 171); and in these and subsequent letters he could find no language too opprobrious to be applied to the person, by whose courteous treatment he had been at first so much gratified. The extreme violence of his language may lead to the suspicion that he was in the wrong; but he does not appear to have lost the respect and friendship of the other inmates of the house. We must remember that he was extremely sensitive by nature, and by profession a rhetorician. His status prevented his crossing swords with his antagonist, but he had a more deadly weapon at his command to revenge his real or imaginary wrongs, and to use this weapon in the most ruthless way afforded some consolation to his wounded pride. The circumstances of his position may also palliate the extravagant self-praise with which he seeks to salve the humiliation to which he has been exposed. It will be seen that he represents the Tutor as a spy in the service of Henry VII. His position in the English colony was a favourable one for observing the movements of his countrymen

who obtained leave to stay at the French court, and he may possibly, with or without treachery, have supplied some useful information to the Government.

Epistle 55. Farrago, p. 85 ; Ep. iv. 35 ; C. 30 (32).

Henry to Christian.

(*A letter composed by Erasmus.*)

You want to know, sweetest Christian, what we are about here. We dream. What dream, you ask. We dream of what we love,—Letters, than which nothing in life is more agreeable to us, and after that, we dream of Christian, our soul's dearest part. Think you that you are absent from us? Nothing less. * * * *

If aught that poets say is true, I cannot doubt that the dream I lately had, came from the gate of horn. It was the most charming dream that ever was, and I shall be glad to tell it you, if you are willing to listen. On the first of August, which was to me the brightest of days, when we had had a cheerful, and quite luxurious supper,—but who and how many, you will ask. I answer, three as good men and true as ever trod the ground ; Erasmus, now indeed our own, Augustine the common friend of all, and especially devoted to you, and thirdly myself, while you were not altogether absent. Delightful companions, the time suitable, the place well-chosen, the proper arrangements not neglected. How often did we drink Christian's health, how often did we long for his company ! Did you not feel, my dear Christian, some tingling in your right ear? After the second course we took a stroll in the very place among the vineyards, where, as Erasmus told us, he had more than once sauntered with you after finishing a bottle, when he recalled you by his eloquent exhortations from sordid cares, and ravished your whole soul with love of Letters. Do you recognise the spot? There

Erasmus fed us with lettered speech, more delicate fare than the supper we had eaten. When we had returned home, we prolonged till late our talk about you ; at last we retired to bed, where partly in consequence of my supper with the wine I had taken, and partly of my fatigue in walking (for you know my habitual indolence), I was soon wrapt in the deepest sleep. Then the scene of the day returned. I walked in the same vineyards, and remeasured the whole space, but all by myself. The thought of you came into my mind ; and I became anxious to know what you were doing, not having heard from you for some months. While I was longing for our old companionship, you were suddenly before me, as if walking at your ease, with cheerful face and in good condition. And this, my dear Christian, I accept as an omen of your present happy state of health.† * *

The supreme good, said I, if there be any supreme good in this life, has by the blessing of heaven fallen to my lot. For what could be more in accordance with my prayers or my needs than a friendly and learned teacher. Erasmus, whom I have long sadly sought, I possess at last all to myself, and enjoy his society night and day.

You seem, said you, more fortunate than Fortune herself. But what propitious god has blessed you, brother, with such a guest ?

It is, I said, a long story of wrong, which it is difficult to trace, and I fear the whole day would not suffice to tell it ; but I will try to reduce it to a small compass. Do you know the old man named N. ?

When offended at the barbarous sound, you exclaimed, What devil's name is that ? Stop, said I, the name would not strike you as barbarous, if you knew, even in part, the

† In the part omitted the shade of Christian relates at some length, how in the midst of his commercial pursuits he missed the delights of literature and the society of Erasmus, and became so jealous of his brother that he could bear the privation no longer.

barbarity of the man. His history is this. Having diligently spent his whole life in the practice of every sort of wickedness, so as to fear no competition with any thief or impostor, he reached that degree of proficiency in his trade, as to fill the part of traitor at Paris on behalf of his king. This is a class for which no one is fit who is not a thorough traitor ; and although there was no villany of which he was not a master, he claimed the credit of counting this appellation as specially his own.

I do not know, said you, with some hesitation, whether I have ever seen this portent.

You are lucky, said I, if you never see him. I had rather set eyes on any fury than on this creature. But to present you with his portrait in a few words, if you will weld together in one image whatever you recollect to have seen that is disagreeable, horrid, distorted, or ugly in men's bodies you will then have a faithful likeness of the old man. If you could see him, you would say he was neither man nor beast, but Erinnys herself. And, not to detain you longer, this half-Scot is the assassin of our Erasmus. It would be a long tale to tell with what acts this consummate hypocrite, when it came into his head to persecute Letters, decoyed our simple and candid friend.

Ah, wretched Letters, said you, that they have even begun to be named by such creatures ! You would indeed have thought so, Christian, said I, if you had seen this 'ass at the harp.' There the man sat, grey-headed, wrinkled, looking at his teacher from under his bushy eyebrows with those brutal eyes ; his head trembling, his lips livid, his teeth discoloured, he breathed a poisonous air from those foul jaws. And to increase your wonder, he used to say that he intended to be admitted to holy orders. Would you not think a play was being acted, in which they commonly bring in a reprobate, who pretends in his sickness that he wishes to become a monk ? However, with his grey hairs and

his tears, which in harlot fashion he has always ready, he imposed on our Erasmus, who taught the man for some months, not aware that he was nursing a serpent in his bosom. But venom cannot exist for ever without showing itself, and those Furies that he had kept in his breast did in the end burst forth. Then at last Erasmus, finding he had bestowed so much service on an ungrateful villain, left him at once of his own accord ; and I, who had long been anxious for his companionship, was thought most worthy of affording him a retreat. The wretch has so much confidence in his wealth, that he has no fear of being unable to recall Erasmus. The rest of the household weep for his return. Robert, a man with abundance of money, solicits him with promises, Thomas, a noble youth, opposes his going with endearments. The master and mistress of the household call him back, the maid-servants and lads all beg him to come again to his old quarters, so completely had he gained the attachment both of great and small by a marvellous sweetness of character. The old wretch himself is now sorry for what he has done, but a strong and resolute man is ashamed of recovering too quickly from a fit of madness. He rages, and lives detested not only by his own household and by all the rest of mankind, but by himself. Erasmus, who is no more disturbed by these events,

> Than if he stood a mass of flinty rock,
> Or Parian marble,*

has become one of our household , and consoles himself by saying, that it was by God's grace he fell in with that ruffian, as a means of teaching him patience, as Xantippe is said to have exercised the virtue of Socrates. In this way the comedy has had a happy ending for us both ; and you, Christian, may well clap your hands at your brother's success.

* Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes. Virgil. *Aen.* vi. 471.

Indeed, said you, I am quite unable to express my pleasure. But why not go straight home and pay our compliments to Erasmus?

You are right, said I, it is the very first thing to be done.

At this point, while I was trying to place myself on your left, and you were insisting on taking the other side, in this mutual struggle of politeness, I awoke, and my Christian was lost to me. Erasmus, who was sleeping in the same bed with me, became conscious of my agitation, and asked me what was the matter. I told him the story as it occurred. He then called up his boy, and had the matter set down in writing, so that you might understand, that not even our dreams are to be kept from your knowledge. Farewell.

Paris, 2 Aug. [1497].*

Erasmus, after leaving the boarding-house, still remained on good terms with his fellow-lodgers, Thomas Grey and Robert Fisher, although the former being *in statu pupillari* was compelled to employ the services of another Latin teacher. Epistle 56 is a long letter from Erasmus to Grey, written soon after their parting, a great part of which is occupied with copious invective against the tutor, whose disagreeable features and manners, as well as his jealous and ungrateful conduct, are all again described with unsparing amplification, but no further explanation is given of the cause of quarrel. The greater part of the letter is therefore omitted in the following translation; but it may be remarked, in case there should be any hope of identifying the object of Erasmus's wrath, that while a second portrait is drawn of him with all the deformities of old age, he is described in another place as a boy of fifty (*puer quinquagenarius*). His boasted nobility is alluded to, and he is denounced as *malum quod nobis Gothia nuper evomuit*, whereas in Epistle 55 he is *Semiscotus*, and in the earlier days of Erasmus's favour, he was *nobilis homo et humanissimus Anglus*. We may infer, that he was an Englishman of gentle family from the Scottish border. Some fourteen years later Erasmus, on a short visit

* Parisijs. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago*. The month date is found near the beginning of the letter.

to Paris, stayed with an Englishman, named Eden, in the Rue Saint Jean. (See Chapter XVIII.) The name suggests the possibility that the *Semiscotus* was still living in 1511, and that the old feud was healed.

Epistle 56 has in *Opus Epistolarum*, but not in *Farrago*, the apologetic words *Scripsit juvenis* following the address. Glancing in later years at its exaggerated language, the author or his editor may have thought of it as belonging to a younger time, though, in the strict sense of the Latin word, Erasmus at thirty might still plead *calida juventa*. And the right year-date is by an exceptional good chance set down at the end. A long passage that is omitted (p. 138) is almost entirely occupied with the Tutor, but contains a few lines giving a most complimentary description of Grey, in whose handsome body Nature had implanted a happy soul, had contributed a charming grace of manner, to which good birth, wealth and intelligence were added, and in brief had formed him upon such a mould as the ancients attributed to the sons of Gods.

EPISTLE 56. Farrago, p. 254 ; Ep. ix. 13 ; C. 18 (20).

Erasmus to Thomas Grey.

My letter would have come to you sooner, young and noble Sir, than whom there is no man living more dear to me,—for though the Fates have grudged you your title of 'merriest,' Fortune cannot snatch from you the character of dear,—I should have written sooner to you, as my affection for you led me to wish, and as I knew that our mutual love led you still more to expect, but I was afraid of chafing the bitter wound which I had lately received, while it was still fresh. That wound is so far from bearing any touch, that even now I feel that it becomes sore at the slightest recollection. See how that most righteous sorrow brings tears to my eyes ; when I already hoped that the scar had healed over. No insult is so intolerable as that which is done in return for acts of kindness. Would that I might drain such a draught from the river of Lethe, that the old man with

his outrages and my benefits might entirely fade from my mind. * * *

Considering my friendship, my services, my loyalty, my almost fraternal love, when could I ever have expected such a signal indignity from a man grey, as is apparent, noble, as he boasts himself, and religious, as he pretends to be? I used to think it the height of ingratitude not to return kindness with kindness. I had read that there was a sort of men, to whom it was safer to do wrong than to oblige them with good offices; but I did not believe, until convinced by experience, that it is much more perilous to do good to the evil than to do evil to the good. For when this ungrateful scoundrel felt his obligations to me to be greater than he could repay, he takes a holiday from that literature which he has too long persecuted, and bends all his study upon ruining me by his wicked plots; and after he despairs of doing this by other efforts, which he has already tried in vain, he endeavours to kill me with his envenomed tongue, and has killed me as far as in him lay. That I live and am even well, I owe to Letters, which have taught me not to yield to any of Fortune's storms. * * *

If you are disappointed at being deprived of our teaching, you must consider that it is no great disadvantage to have changed your preceptor. You have taken one that is fresh instead of one that is tired out, one that is very industrious instead of one that was somewhat careless, one perhaps more learned, but not, I think, more loving. And whatever he might have been, how small a loss could you suffer by my removal! Even when I was with you, you were but grudgingly allowed to enjoy my society. What could I say worthy of you, when that 'ass at the harp' was always by. And lastly if there is any loss, we can easily make up for it, and more than make up for it, by an exchange of letters. * * * Your model must be yourself; fix your mind on what is worthy of your family, of your character and of your

intellect. You have a teacher as worthy of you as he is ill-matched with the old man; follow his instructions.

Do not quarrel with Robert,* for I want the man to be my friend. If you do not hate the old man, it will show that you bear in mind modesty and patience; but if you can ever love a monster of the kind, you will be the most fickle of mortals; if you really mean it, you will be the greatest of fools, if you do it for adulation, the meanest of flatterers. It is as mad to embrace an enemy, as it is ungrateful to neglect a friend. Farewell.

Paris [Aug.], 1497 †

The letter of which we have just given an incomplete translation, not including some of its most violent passages, appears to have been exhibited by the author to his friends as an example of rhetorical invective. See Epistle 57 The treatise on Letter-writing contains an example of an "Epistle of exprobation," which was evidently addressed at this time to the Tutor himself. See pp. 130, 165.

Epistle 57 Farrago, p. 252; Ep. ix. 11; C. 44 (47).

Erasmus to Thomas Grey.

If I have ever either done or intended anything to gratify you, please do not refuse me this favour in return. Deliver to the bearer the letter I wrote you. When I have given an opportunity of copying it to those friends who are begging for it, I will let you have it again. Farewell.

[Paris, 1497]‡

In Epistle 58, also addressed to Grey, the part omitted is occupied with professions of regard and commonplaces about friendship. This is followed by a friendly warning as to the choice of books. Some of

* Robert Fisher.

† Parisijs. An. M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

‡ No date in *Farrago*, M.CCCC.XCVIII, *Op. Epist.*

the least edifying works of the classical authors were those most often reproduced in the early years of the printing press.

EPISTLE 58. Farrago, p. 253; Ep. ix. 12; C. 21 (21).

Erasmus to Thomas Grey.

Although, my sweetest Thomas, I am much occupied, yet that you may understand that I am not going to allow myself any excuse, when the time comes for writing to you, I have made up my mind to have some talk with you by letter even among the interruptions of business. * * *

I shall think my love for you abundantly repaid, if I see that singular disposition towards virtue which I was the first to observe in you, come by my aid to good effect; and I entreat you to use every effort to that end. This you will do, if you choose for your reading all the best authors, and shun those that are lascivious or indecent, especially at your present age, which is naturally weak, and more prone to vice than disposed to the reception of what is right. But what purpose does it answer to read such books to the ruin of your character, when there is no lack of others which advance you much more in learning without any taint of indecency? Of these you will read, among the first, Virgil, Lucan, Cicero, Lactantius, Jerome, Sallust, and Livy.

To save you from further wonder at the new colour of the writing, you must know it is done with lovers' blood. For want of ink we are writing with mulberry juice.

Paris, 1497.*

It had long been part of Erasmus's scheme of life to obtain the degree of Doctor in Theology, to the possession of which an enormous significance was attached by his contemporaries. See p. 118. And there is evidence in some of his letters, that, though he had probably not attained even the position of a Bachelor, the mere fact that he was a

* Parisijs. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

student of theology in a great university gave him an importance in the eyes of his fellow Canons. See Epistle 51, pp. 121, 124. To obtain the Doctor's degree with greater credit, and still more with the object of seeing a renowned country and becoming acquainted with celebrated scholars, his mind was set on a journey to Italy. See pp. 152, 160, 168, But when in 1506 he was made a Doctor at Turin, it appears by his diploma, that he was already a Bachelor in the same faculty (Chapter xvi.). It will also be seen in a future chapter, that some facilities had been offered to him at Cambridge in the same year for proceeding to the higher degree. See p. 401. On the other hand Epistle 59 affords evidence that at the time when it was written, probably in the autumn of 1497, Erasmus was turning his attention afresh to the study of scholastic divinity in Paris; and we can scarcely doubt that this distasteful employment had some relation to his proposed diploma. The lively attack on the theologians contained in this letter was apparently written to relieve his impatience. In the collected Epistles, but not in Farrago, it has the words *Scripsit juvenis* prefixed to it; compare Epistle 56. We may suppose these words to have been added by Erasmus himself, as a sort of apology for the violence of his onslaught, in his younger days, upon the professed theologians. It is probable that the submission to University routine, which gave occasion to this letter, was followed by his becoming a Bachelor of Theology in the course of the following year.

Epistle 59. Farrago, p. 169; Ep. vi. 39; C. 76 (85).

Erasmus to Thomas Grey.

The interruption which has taken place for some days in my old habit of writing need not make you afraid, however true it may be that Love is full of anxious fear.* It is not that my love has grown cold. What then, you will say; what has happened to make Erasmus drop his pen? You shall hear the cause, marvellous exceedingly and yet true. I, who have always been a primitive Theologian, have began of late to be a Scotist,—a thing upon which you too, if you love me, should pray the blessing of Heaven. We are so

* Res est solliciti plena timoris amor. Ovid. *Heroides*, 1, 12.

immersed in the dreams of your compatriot,—for Scotus, who, like Homer of old, has been adopted by divers competing countries, is especially claimed by the English as their own,—that we seem as if we should scarcely wake up at the voice of Stentor. Then you will say, you are writing this in your sleep. Hush, profane one! thou knowest nothing of theological slumber. There are many that in their sleep not only write, but slander and get drunk, and commit other indiscretions. I find many things are done in reality, which the inexperienced could in no wise be made to believe. I used to think the sleep of Epimenides was the merest fable; now I do not wonder at it, having had myself a like experience. What on earth, you will say, are these stories you are telling me? Well, profane person as you are, and not worthy of approaching the sacred precincts of Theology, you shall see what favour I bear you in admitting you to such a secret.

There was once a man called Epimenides, the same who wrote that all Cretans are liars, being himself a Cretan and yet for the moment telling no lie. He lived to a great age, but this was not enough, for long after his death his skin was found with marks of letters on it. Some declare that it is preserved in these days at Paris in the Sorbonne, that sacrosanct temple of Scotistic theology, and is in as high esteem as the *Diphthera* was of old among the Cretans, or the Sibylline books of Rome. For indeed they are said to go to it for oracles, whenever they are at a loss for syllogisms, and no one is allowed to set eyes on it, unless he has borne the title of M. N.* for full fifteen years. If any other person ventures to direct his profane glances towards it, he straightway becomes as blind as a mole. That what I am telling you is no mere song, is shown by that most ancient Greek proverb, τὸ ἐπιμενίδειον δέρμα, by which they meant a thing abstruse and

* *Magister Noster*, was the title of a Professor or Doctor of Theology. See *Moriæ Encomium*, C. iv. 470 c.

not to be communicated to the vulgar. Epimenides also published theological books, for he was most distinguished in the profession of theology; but prophet and poet have been held to be the same. In these works he put together such knotty syllogisms as not even he was able to untie, and compounded mysteries which he could never have understood himself, if he had not been a prophet.

He is said once upon a time to have gone out of his city to take a walk, being out of humour with everything at home. After a while he betook himself to a cavern which had a deep recess. This he may have done either because he suffered from the heat, or because he had lost his way (for Divines do this sometimes) and was afraid of being exposed by night to the wild beasts in the open country, or, as is most likely, merely to seek a suitable place for meditation. While he was biting his nails there, and making many discoveries about *instances* and *quiddities* and *formalities*, he was overcome with sleep. I know you will not believe me, if I tell you that he did not wake till the evening of the next day, though even drunkards sleep longer than that. But this theological slumber was prolonged, as is constantly affirmed by authors, for forty-seven years, and they say that there is some mysterious meaning in his sleep ending at that time, neither sooner nor later. For my part I think Epimenides was uncommonly fortunate in coming to himself even so late as he did. Most divines of our time never wake at all; and when they sleep on mandragora, they think themselves most awake. But to return to the waking of Epimenides. After he had risen and rubbed his eyes, being not quite sure whether he was awake or asleep, he walked out of the cave, and when he saw the whole appearance of the country altered, while the very entrance of the cavern was changed by the moss and briars that had grown over it, the man began to doubt his own identity. He goes into the city, where he finds every thing new. He addresses each person

he meets: "Ho there! do not you recognize Epimenides?" The other thinks he is mocked, and bids him go to the devil or look out for a stranger. In this ridiculous way he walked about for several months, until he fell in with some old boon companions, by whom he was recognized.

But look now, my Thomas, what do you suppose Epimenides dreamed of, all those years? What else but those subtlest of subtleties of which the Scotists now make boast? For I am ready to swear that Epimenides came to life again in Scotus. What if you saw Erasmus sit gaping among those blessed Scotists, while Gryllard is lecturing from his lofty chair? If you observed his contracted brow, his staring eyes, his anxious face, you would say he was another man. They assert that the mysteries of this science cannot be comprehended by one who has any commerce at all with the Muses or with the Graces. If you have touched good letters, you must unlearn what you have learnt; if you have drunk of Helicon, you must get rid of the draught. I do my best to speak nothing in true Latin, nothing elegant or witty, and I seem to make some progress. There is hope that they will acknowledge Erasmus some time or other. But what, you will say, is the upshot of all this? It is that you are not henceforth to expect anything from Erasmus that would savour of his ancient studies or character. Remembering amongst whom I live, with whom I daily sit, you must look out for another comrade.

Sweet Grey, do not mistake me. I would not have you construe this as directed against Theology itself, which, as you know, I have always regarded with special reverence. I have only amused myself in making game of some pseudo-theologians of our time, whose brains are rotten, their language barbarous, their intellects dull, their learning a bed of thorns, their manners rough, their life hypocritical, their talk full of venom, and their hearts as black as ink. Farewell.

Paris, [1497.] *

* Lutetiæ. An. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

Erasmus and Fisher had been fellow-inmates of the English boarding-house, and we have no hint of their having lodged together anywhere else. It is probable therefore, that Epistle 60 has reference to their relations with that household. The master and mistress of the house with their servants are mentioned in Epistle 55. See p. 135.

Epistle 60. Farrago, p. 252 ; Ep. ix. 10 ; C. 38 (38).

Erasmus to Robert Fisher.

Only look how greedy and querulous womankind is. The day before yesterday my boy brought me a string of complaints from our old landlady The husband was grumbling in some sort about both of us. The mother, to keep up her character as a Norman, complained that she had had no thanks for the work she had done for me. The daughter said you had sheered off very ill-naturedly and had forgotten your former intimacy For my part I buy a favour ten times over, for after recompensing a service with a most exorbitant payment, I am nevertheless still in debt for it ! When I reflect on these ways of women, I am glad to have fallen into the kind of life I have adopted, if by accident, luckily, if by judgment, wisely.

You have a paltry letter, the subject being furnished me by that paltry woman. I am glad if you are in good health. For ourselves we wish, nay, we already hope ; for the sickness is beginning gradually to relax.

Paris, [1497].*

In the late autumn of this year, after a slight threatening of sickness, Erasmus paid his usual annual visit to Holland for the benefit of his health. Pp. 10, 150, 152.

Epistle 63 suggests the conjecture, that he stayed at Cambrai either in going or returning. During his residence with the Bishop he had probably established friendly relations with some of the clergy of that

* Lutetiæ, M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Op. Epist.* No date in *Farrago.*

Cathedral. He appears to have come back to Paris about the end of October, in which month he had undertaken the charge of the son of a gentleman of Lubeck, whose name appears to have been Rodolf Lang. The terms for the boy's board and instruction had been arranged during Erasmus's absence by his older pupil Henry, and the boy had apparently arrived in Paris and been placed with Augustine, who took care of him and taught him until it was convenient for Erasmus to receive him. See Epistle 64.

As an author, Erasmus was at this time best known by his poetry, some specimens of which were circulated among the learned. In Epistle 61, addressed to Hector Boece, an attempt is made to define his actual relation to studies of that kind. The letter is dated the 8th of November, without year, but may most probably be attributed to the latter part of the intercourse between the correspondents in France, which appears to have ended about 1498. See p. 105. It was accompanied by some verses "lately composed in a country walk by the side of a stream." In this description we may perhaps recognize a poem, composed in honour of Gaguin and Faustus Andrelinus, and described in the title as *Carmen ruri scriptum et autumno*, which was included in a small collection of verse, printed at Paris, probably in 1499. See pp. 22, 198, C. i. 1217. The poem begins with the lines:

Nuper quum viridis nemoroso in margine ripæ
Irrigua spatiarer in herba.

Gaguin is described as putting the last touches to his History, a second edition of which was published at Paris in March, 1497-8; and Faustus is imagined as occupied with his poetry among Gallic vineyards and in Parisian fields. These words suggest the conjecture that the author's own country walk was not in France, and that the verses were written, a few weeks before Epistle 61, in the Cambresis or Holland. The Epistle itself is also dated from the country, by which is probably meant some country residence within easy reach of Paris. In Epistle 64, written soon after this letter, Erasmus speaks of the necessity of retreating to the country, when the town was more than usually unhealthy. It will be observed, that in spite of the disclaimer contained in this Epistle, we find Erasmus printing a collection of his poetry about two years later. P. 198. The renunciation is repeated in Epistle 102. But in Colet's banquet, shortly after, Erasmus is still pleased to fill the part of Poet. P 215.

EPISTLE 61 Merula, p. 189 ; Ep. xxxi. 22 ; C. 1784 (396).

Erasmus to Hector Boece.

What is the meaning of so many scolding letters ? What is all this insistence about? You write again and again, you threaten, reproach, and in fact, declare open war against me, if I do not send you a copy of some of my poetry. Only look, how unfair it is of you, to demand from me a copy of that, of which I have no copy myself. I solemnly swear that I have not for a long time been versed in such studies ; and if I did as a boy amuse myself with them, I left all that behind me at home. For how could I dare to bring my barbarous Muses with their dull and foreign tones to this famous school, in which I knew there were so many persons absolute in every sort of Letters ? But I see you do not believe this, and suspect my professions to be themselves poetical. Who on earth induced you to believe that Erasmus was a poet ? For you repeatedly call me in your letter by that name, once honorable, but now odious, thanks to the stupidity and incompetence of many that are so called. Therefore, if you love me, pray do not address me again by that title.

However, Hector, my dear friend, that you may not tire yourself and annoy me by writing the same thing over and over again, it is well we should speak more freely and plainly of the matter In the first place, I am not such a fool as to wish to be taken by any one at more than my true value. Although, when I was a boy, the Muses were above all things my delight, I have not laboured so carefully in this sort of study, as to produce out of my workshop anything worthy of Apollo. * * *

It is no pleasure to me, when I fail to satisfy my own judgment, to be approved by that of the unskilful ; of whom

one admires nothing but what he does, or could do, himself, another on the contrary nothing but what he does not comprehend. This person is captivated by fine writing and ornament, 'tuneful trifles' as Flaccus has it.* Another worships what is obsolete, derived from the age of the Aborigines, and reads with respectful emotion, *aurai frugiferai*. A third, delighted with a heap of words, takes garrulity for eloquence. What is solid, is admired by few, as indeed there are few that recognize it. The painter Apelles (unless my memory fails me) disliked to have his works criticised by Alexander, a powerful monarch. May not then a learned man well dislike to be judged by every cobbler or by every clown? Consider too that persistent monster of jealousy, which attacks most eagerly everything that is best. Why should I for no reason at all provoke the hissing of that cobra? No, I leave the contest for those who are urged to utterance by the command of hunger, or who at any rate are so charmed by that siren of praise and fame, that they had rather be ennobled after the fashion of Herostratus than live inglorious. For my part I will not buy glory at such a cost.

But what does this all tend to, you will say. Simply to this, that as I am not learned enough to satisfy the ears of the learned, if there be any such, and am too learned perhaps, or at any rate too proud, to condescend to a contest with those busybodies, I am resolved, if I have written anything, to dedicate it rather to Harpocrates than to Apollo.

Nevertheless, not to appear too much in the character of Demea towards a friend who is united to me by so much kindness, I have taken Mitio for a pattern, and allowed myself to be overcome; for who can resist Hector? Departing therefore a little from my plan, I send you a few verses with which I lately amused my leisure when taking a country

* Nugæque canoræ. Horat. *Ep. ad Pisones*, 322.

walk by the side of a stream, and in which you must not look for the felicity of Maro, the sublimity of Lucan, the copiousness of Naso, or the seductiveness and learning of Baptista Mantuanus. For while I appreciate all excellences, yet in writing I somehow prefer that Horatian dryness and simplicity. If your admiration is given to solid and more ambitious works, I still hope you will not altogether despise what I send.

I had almost forgotten, by the way, what of all things I most wished to enjoin upon you. If you have any love for Erasmus, do not bring his trifles out anywhere. Farewell.

Written in haste in the country, 8 November [1497].*

Epistle 62 is without date in *Farrago*; in *Opus Epistolarum* it is dated 1497. The passage cited is from Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, lib. ii. c. 19. Evangelista may have been one of Erasmus's pupils. P 155.

Epistle 62. Farrago, p. 253; Ep. ix. 9; C. 22 (23).

Erasmus to Evangelista.

I have found that word, *accensi*, over which we stumbled, in Vegetius, whose words are these: "To take the orders of the judges or tribunes, and also of the *principales*, certain soldiers were told off, called *accensi*, that is, added after the legion was complete, whom they call supernumeraries." It is therefore most clear that *accensi* are so called *ab accensendo*. I want you to be informed of this. Farewell.

[Paris] 1497.

The following letter is apparently addressed to one of the clergymen with whom Erasmus had lately associated during his absence from Paris, probably at Cambrai. The winter date assigns it to this year rather than 1498, when Erasmus returned from his journey in the summer. P 164. In December, 1499, he was in England.

* Scriptum ruri tumultuarie. Sexto Idus Novemb. Merula.

EPISTLE 63. Farrago, p. 78; Ep. iv. 23; C. 66 (77).

Erasmus to Chaplain Nicasius of Cambrai.

Although, most learned Nicasius, you were most dear to me before by virtue of our correspondence, it will be difficult for me to say what a mass has been added to my affection for you by that personal intercourse of ours. I was before your humble servant, now much more closely attached to you. But it is a suspicious thing to repay an act of kindness by words. If you would make trial of my feeling towards you, pray take your turn, and impose some task upon me. You cannot throw on me any burden so heavy or so troublesome as not to seem most light and even pleasant on your account.

I carefully delivered your letter, and greeted Thomas of Cambrai in your name. Pray keep your promise of writing to me as often as you can. You will present my respects to Michael Pavius my teacher, and especially to our entertainer, a man that ought, so help me Heaven, to be a bishop. His name has slipped my memory, but the kindness and courtesy with which he treated me have not been, and will never be, forgotten. Thank him for me in your own fashion, that is, most heartily. I pray that you and yours may be well.

Paris, 14 Dec. [1497].*

During the winter of 1497 and the early part of 1498 Erasmus was preparing for a journey to Italy, where he proposed to spend some months in study at Bologna, and after taking his Doctor's degree there, to go on in the next year to Rome in time for the Jubilee. Pp. 152, 168. But considerations of health, and unwillingness to undertake so expensive a journey without ample means, led to its postponement for some years. Pp. 158, 160, 190.

* Parisijs, postridie Id. Decemb. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

CHAPTER VI.

Erasmus in Paris, January to May, 1498; *New pupil from Lubeck; Fever, April and May; in Holland and Brabant, June and July; in Paris, July to December The Bishop of Cambrai in England. Lord Mountjoy's second residence in Paris. The Treatise on Letter-writing. Scandal reported at Stein, December*, 1498. *Epistles* 64 *to* 80.

IF the date of Epistle 65 is to be trusted, Henry, who was himself its bearer, returned to Lubeck in February, 1498. It is probable that Epistle 64, addressed to the father of Erasmus's young pupil from that city (see p. 146), was also sent by the same hand. The allusion made by Erasmus in the last paragraph to his own want of facility in writing German is of some interest. He had made Latin his own language; and the variety of dialects in his native tongue,—High German and Low German,—increased the difficulty. The name of the person addressed appears to have been Rodolf Lang. Epistle 65.

EPISTLE 64. Farrago, p. 73; Ep. iv. 18; C. 15 (17).

Erasmus to a gentleman of Lubeck.

Most honourable Sir, your son is living with me, and is taught by me upon the terms which I accepted from Henry, who promised me in your name thirty-two crowns and a robe. He has lately been seriously ill, but by the favour of God and the help of doctors he has recovered. He has been some few months in my charge, during which time I have supplied him with whatever he has required. I took the boy into my household in October, and he is cared for, not as a stranger, but as if he were my own son. He is gifted

with unusual intelligence, and his manners are for his age tractable and not disagreeable. I shall endeavour to restore him to you worthy both of his teacher and of his father.

I am surprised that his books have not come to my hands. That Antwerp merchant wrote, that he had sent them by a merchant of Paris, and gives his name ; but he stoutly denies the transaction. I have not yet received any money on your son's account. Augustine, under whose charge he was while I was in my own country on account of my health, admits that he received from Henry five or six florins. He boarded, and taught him too, for three months, because I thought I was then on the point of going to Italy. This money I left with Augustine in return for his labour, and added besides what was required to satisfy his account, for it was in his house that the boy was sick. Besides this, he has been clothed at my cost.

A sort of fever was beginning to break out here, but not very common. I have consequently moved to the most open and healthy part of the city ; if the mischief breaks out afresh, I shall perhaps retreat further. For nothing ought to be more sacred to us than health and life. If we would live well, we must needs live. In this matter I wish to be informed of your decision,—whether you would like the boy to follow my movements? For Henry's story was, that even if I had taken your son to Italy, I should have had your approval in doing so.

You are now put in possession of all our circumstances ; it remains for you to inform us of your whole mind. But do not send either money or letters unless by a very sure messenger, and do not send to Paris, but to that Antwerp merchant, lest, if I should retreat from this place, they should come into the wrong hands.

I should be glad if you would also explain fully, for what kind of life you have destined your son, and with what reading you wish him most to be imbued. For we ought in

every thing to put before us the end, to which, as towards a mark, all our doings should be directed ; and although boys may well be instructed in every kind of literature, yet it is important for what purpose their studies are intended, so that when we cannot learn everything thoroughly, we may at any rate get some knowledge of what suits us best.

I have written to you at greater length than I ought to have done, and written in Latin, not from contempt of my native tongue, but because I should neither have written easily in that, nor would you have easily understood me. I pray that you and your excellent wife and whole household may be well. As far as I am concerned, you may assure yourself and your family, that in the education of your son neither loyalty, nor care, nor diligence will be wanting.

Paris [February] 1497-8. *

Epistle 65. Farrago, p. 83 ; Ep. iv. 32 ; C. 24 (26).

Erasmus to Christian, Merchant of Lubeck.

Perhaps you expected a copious epistle with your brother ; but you are quite wrong, as the worthiest ambassadors are charged with the shortest despatches or none at all.

Laggard and trifler, what a greeting would I have given you, if sorrow had not subdued my spirit ! I had already destined for you an epistle such as you deserve, stuffed full of a thousand reproaches. You add sin to sin. You not only do not write, but with your fine-spoken phrases you tear from me Henry, the one joy of my life. From me, did I say, or rather from the Muses ? You are jealous of him, I think, having yourself begun to worship Mercury and Janus instead of Apollo and the Sisters Nine. If you do not promptly send my solace back, I have the bitterest

* Lutetiæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

invective ready, and you may as well choose the beam on which to hang yourself. * *

I have jested enough on the first page ; the second must be given to serious matters. But what serious matters can be discussed with a ridiculous person like you ? None at all, I verily think. The printers are looking eagerly for your works, such a man of erudition you are. I am not laughing ; your Epistles are already in the press ; Augustine is preparing to interpret them ; Faustus is a candidate for the same office, and is plainly jealous of Augustine. It is rumoured that you have been already issuing some impressions at home ; but babies, I fancy, not books. * * *

We have longed to see you, and have often put something in hand to present to you. But you will hear of all our fortunes from Henry. What he says may be trusted, but be on your guard when he praises me. I have written to Rodolf Lang. You will help me and my letter, with a good word from yourself. But this epistle is turning out longer than I intended. The bearer has a tongue of his own ; I leave him to tell the rest. Love me, and farewell.

Paris, 13 Feb. 1498.†

The two following epistles are without date in *Farrago*, but in *Opus Epistolarum* they have the year-date of 1498. Gaguin's letters show that in the winter of 1497-8 he was suffering from a tumour.

Epistle 66. Farrago, p. 252 ; Ep. ix. 7 ; C. 44 (45).

Erasmus to Gaguin.

I am not quite clear, what *Cereales* and *Anabasii* in Jerome's Epistle to Rufinus are. About *Cereales* I have a

† Parisijs, Id. Februarias. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago.* This might mean, according to historical reckoning, 1499 ; but the letter belongs to the previous year. On the 12th of February, 1499, Erasmus was at Antwerp after his visit to Tournehem. Epistle 85.

dreamy notion. Both words seem to be used for investigators sent off in any direction. Please set me right. I have wanted for some time the Dialectic of Laurentius. If you have it, pray lend it to me. If not, let me know from whom I may procure it. Farewell.

[Paris,] 1498.

EPISTLE 67 Farrago, p. 253; Ep. ix. 8; C. 44 (46).

Gaguin to Erasmus.

A severe attack of illness prevents my remembering anything about the *Cereales* or *Anabasii*. I send you the Dialectic, which you will take care to send back some time or other, with the Orations which you have from me. Farewell, and in better health than your Robert.

[Paris] 1498.

In spite of the loss of Henry and the absence of Mountjoy, Erasmus appears at this time to have been in receipt of a sufficient income to enable him to live in comfort and even in luxury at Paris. Epistle 71. He was moreover able to lay by a sum of money, destined by him for the journey to Italy, for which he was preparing in the winter of 1497-8. See pp. 150, 152, 160. We cannot therefore assume, that his only pupils were those named in the fragmentary correspondence which has come down to us. See pp. 149, 178, 193. Epistle 68 purports to be a letter of Erasmus written to accompany a manuscript copy of Terence, sent as a present to one who appears from the conclusion of the letter to have stood to him in that relation. If genuine, it contains a fresh proof of his industry as a transcriber. Compare Epistles 15, 29, and see p. 130. The mixture of respect and familiarity, the obligation of the writer to his correspondent, and the fact of the latter being married, might seem to point to Lord Mountjoy. I was therefore inclined to place it in November, 1499, when Erasmus was at Oxford, and Mountjoy was living with his wife in or near London. But in Merula's volume, where it was first published (without date), the epistle is found among letters addressed to persons in Holland or Brabant; while the reference in it to the schoolmasters, who teach their boys to speak half French and half Latin, does not

point to an English correspondent. And the character of the letter does not seem quite appropriate to the Oxford time. It is therefore placed here, on the assumption that it was written to some friend or pupil, who does not otherwise appear in the correspondence. Erasmus's early devotion to Terence is testified by Beatus (see p. 36), and by himself in the Epistle to Grunnius. C. 1826 F. See Chapter xxx.

EPISTLE 68. Merula, p. 198; Ep. xxxi. 29; C. 1885 (507).

Erasmus to his friend * *

I can never call to mind my many and great obligations to you, and your generous character, without taxing my own fortune, which I call malignant, envious and unjust, inasmuch as after such abundant proofs of your love I want the means of showing you mine. * * *

Æschines, an intelligent youth but poor, seeing his comrades bring presents according to their ability to their teacher Socrates, only felt his poverty when he wanted the means of showing his gratitude. And yet he had the wit to find what fortune had denied him. He gave himself to his preceptor, and by his modesty and wise speech made this present most agreeable to Socrates.† * * *

The accompanying book written with my own hand I beg you to regard as a pledge and memento of our mutual love; in the correcting of which I have spent almost more time than I did in writing it. Therefore this little gift, or memento of ours, if you please to call it so, will be no less welcome to you than the sender has been dear. If I hear that you have been industriously reading it, that it is always in your pocket, in your hands or upon your knees, I shall then be satisfied that it has been really welcome. In my opinion the lovers of books are not those who keep them intact and carefully put away on their shelves, but those who soil them, crease them and wear them by nightly as

† The story is told by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 34.

well as daily use, who cover all their margins with notes and various readings, and would rather see the mark where a mistake has been corrected, than a fairly written but faulty reading. This is what has to be constantly done with other authors, and especially with Terence, by any one who wants to speak, not half Latin and half French, as our schoolmasters with their Alexander* teach, but the genuine Roman tongue. For in these Comedies of Terence there is a marvellous purity, propriety and elegance of diction, and very little of that roughness which might be expected in so old a comic writer. His wit (without which all speech is rude, however loaded with ornament) is both refined and sparkling. This then, if any, is the master from whom we may learn, how Latin, now worse jabbered than our own tongues, was spoken by the ancients ; an author that in my judgment you ought not only to read over and over again, but to learn word by word.

Do not be disturbed by the chatter of those unskilful and jealous teachers who, seeing that they have grown old in the study of such incapable writers as Florista, Ebrardus, Græcista and Huguitio, and are unable to find their way out of the tangled labyrinth of ignorance, regard it as the only comfort of their folly if they can allure younger students into the same error. They pronounce it wicked for Christians to be readers of Terence's plays. Why, I ask. Because, say they, there is nothing in them but licentiousness and young men's low amours, by which the reader's mind must needs be infected. They do not understand that all this sort of writing is adapted to expose men's faults, and indeed was invented for that purpose. * * *

On this subject, when we publish what we have written about Literature, you may, God willing, read our opinions more at large. For the present purpose it is enough to

* Alexander de Villa Dei, author of a Latin grammar in verse.

suggest, that Terence's Comedies, if rightly read, not only do not tend to overthrow morals, but are of the greatest use in correcting them. For the learning of Latin I consider them absolutely necessary, unless we are told to expect that from the Catholicon, Huguitio, Ebrardus, Papias, and others more stupid still.

But enough of this. For the rest, I have received your much desired letter, not ill-composed, and, without jesting, more Latin than I expected. It delighted me, both with its tone of pleasantry, and by the affection it shows. We love you and dream of you, and long to see you. Every good wish for your excellent wife, as well as for yourself.

Epistle 69 may be placed here. It is an undated note addressed to Arnoldus Boschius, described in the Index of the *Opus Epistolarum* as a Carmelite monk. One of Gaguin's correspondents is called *Arnoldus Bostius Carmelita* (Gaguin, *Epist.* 67, 74). Boschius is mentioned in Epistle 51, p. 124; and Erasmus writes to him again after his six weeks' illness. Epistle 71.

EPISTLE 69. Farrago, p. 99; Ep. v. 6; C. 1785 (397).

Erasmus to Arnoldus Boschius.

I have already received from you several letters much to the same effect,—that you suspect me of being offended with you. To put you in the right, I might well take offence at your thinking so unlovingly of me. Farewell.

While Erasmus was still hoping, perhaps somewhat faintly, to accomplish his journey to Italy (see p. 150), he was overtaken by a fever which threatened his life. It was not a quartan fever, like that from which he had formerly suffered (pp. 107, 125), but one that recurred every night. After six weeks of serious illness [April and May, 1498] he was able to report his condition to his friends.

EPISTLE 70. Merula, p. 193 ; Ep. xxxi. 24 ; C. 1883 (502).

Erasmus to his father in religion, Nicolas Werner

I have been most grievously sick for a month and a half, most reverend father, and do not yet see any hope of recovery. What is man's life, and with how much sorrow is it mingled ! I have been almost killed by a slight fever, but one that recurs daily. I have now no liking for the world, and despise all those hopes of mine ; I desire that life of holy rest, in which I may have leisure for myself and God alone, may meditate on the holy Scriptures, and wash out with tears my former errors. This is what I turn over in my mind, and what I hope some time by your aid and counsel to attain.

Cornelius of Gouda is in high feather here. He is most dear to the Bishop of Paris ; also most dear to the Abbot.* Farewell.

[Paris, May, 1498.]†

EPISTLE 71. Farrago, p. 108 ; Ep. v. 21 ; C. 4 (3).

Erasmus to Arnoldus [*Boschius*].

I have been grievously sick for a month and a half with a nightly fever, of a low kind, but one that recurs daily and has almost put an end to me. I am not yet free from the sickness, and yet I am a little recovered ; not yet alive, though some hope of life has dawned upon me. You ask me to communicate to you the purpose of my mind. Take this for one thing ; the world has long lost its attraction for me. I pass sentence on all my hopes. I wish for nothing but that leisure may be given me, in which I may live wholly to God, bewail the sins of my thoughtless age, busy

* The Abbot of St. Genevieve.

† No date in Merula.

myself with the holy Scriptures, and read or write something. I cannot do this in a college or retreat, as I am in extremely delicate health. My constitution, even when at its best, cannot bear vigils or fastings or any discomforts. I fall ill from time to time even here, where I live so luxuriously; what should I do among the hardships of conventual life! I had resolved to go to Italy this year, and to work at theology for some months at Bologna, and take a doctor's degree there; and afterwards to visit Rome in the year of Jubilee. This done, I intended to return to my country and settle there. But I fear we shall not be able to carry the plan out as we wish. In the first place I am afraid my health would not bear so long a journey, and the heat of that country And then I call to mind that one cannot travel to Italy nor live there without great cost; and besides, a considerable sum is required for procuring the title. The Bishop of Cambrai gives sparingly. He is decidedly more generous with his affection than his presents, and extends his promises further than his performance. I am myself partly in fault for not pressing him, and there are many, who go as far as extortion. I shall do however what seems best for the time. Farewell.

[Paris, May, 1498.] *

When his health was sufficiently restored, probably about the beginning of June, 1498, Erasmus left Paris for Holland. He considered a visit to his native country to be the best antidote to the infectious atmosphere of Paris. See p. 10. While in the Low Countries, according to his holiday habit, he appears to have indulged freely in the good cheer which his friends provided for him. Abstinence from wine was at no time part of his regimen. He reached Brussels on his return journey about a week before the end of June. Epistle 72 is addressed to a physician, probably residing at Gouda, where he would have Erasmus's uncles and cousins as fellow towns-

* Anno M.CCCC.XLXXXIX. Corrected in Errata, M.CCCC.LXXXIX. *Farrago.*

men. We learn from it, that the Bishop of Cambrai left Brussels on the 3rd of July on an embassy to England. There is no trace of this embassy in the *Fœdera*; but some interesting notices of it are contained in a despatch (dated 25 Aug. 1498) of De Puebla, the Spanish Envoy in England, who found the Bishop the most truthful Fleming he had ever seen. The wretched Perkin Warbeck was brought from his close confinement in the Tower to repeat before the ambassador, who had known him in Brabant under other circumstances, the confession of his imposture. Bergenroth, pp. 185, 189. The expected present from the king of England (see p. 168) appears in the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII. "Aug. 1498. For the Bushipps of Flanders rewarde, 1ool. For the Doctour that come with hym, 33l. 6s. 8d." (*Excerpta Historica*, p. 119). The old diocese of Cambrai comprised the greater part of Brabant, Flanders, and Hainault. The present of £100 sterling received from the king of England was about equal in value to the six hundred gold florins contributed by the archduke.

An uncle of Erasmus named Theobald, of whom we do not hear elsewhere, is honourably immortalized by the following letter.

Epistle 72. Merula, p. 204 ; Ep. xxxi. 34 ; C. 1852 (460).

Erasmus to Master Martin, physician.

Pray go on, as you have begun, most courteous Martin, and ennoble Erasmus with your praises. I am sensible of your compliments, which have already cost me something. For my uncle Theobald was encouraged by them to relieve me of one of my shirts, being anxious, I suppose, to accommodate his nephew by lightening his luggage before his long journey Really, my dear Martin, I am gratified and pleased with your affection. Only, if you are rightly reported, your praise is not only excessive but inappropriate. You cry up Erasmus as a man of money Who will believe that of a poet, and a fatally unfortunate one ? If you must glorify your new friend with fibs, do feign him a man of excessive modesty, pretend that he is learned, make him

out such as he ought and wishes to be. What on earth has Erasmus to do with money?

Of my health it is right you should be informed. I tried it all through Holland, as I began while with you, by drinking a great deal. However I plunged through all risks, and came out a man; both my colour and spirits have returned. Pray Heaven preserve the gift it has sent me. I made the last trial of my strength at Dordrecht. It went well, and I was not conscious of any failing.

Unwillingly as I was dragged from that town, and loth as I was to leave Holland, I linger here no less against my will. What, you will ask, detains you? I think it is my evil genius, which is exhausting my purse here without any profit. I stayed about ten days with the Bishop, who on the 3d of July went off on his embassy to England. This embassy too has done me mischief. For the Bishop, embarrassed by a crowd of engagements, anxious about the raising of his own supplies, and somewhat angry too, that Prince Philip, in whose name he is sent, has helped him with only six hundred gold pieces, expended on me plenty of complaints and very little money. And now I linger here to my great inconvenience and cost. No opportunity of a carriage or of companions has occurred,* and I have need to be at Paris as soon as possible.

Enough however of this. I was sorry not to meet you on my return. I visited Louvain, where I stayed a night and day, and was treated with singular hospitality by Franciscus Cremensis, a man of uncommon learning, and by others.

If you ask me for any more news, the Pope has sent a splendid present to our archduke, a golden rose, admirable not only for the material but much more for the workmanship. The Prince went with the Bishop two leagues to meet the papal Ambassador. That was on the 30th of June.

* Neque vehiculi neque comitatus adfertur copia.

The present was solemnly brought into Brussels, the Bishop riding on either hand and the Ambassador in the middle holding the Rose aloft; and when the Prince had conducted the Ambassador to his lodging, they all returned home. The next day, the 1st of July, the pontifical gift was presented to the Prince before a great assembly in the church of Cold Hill.* A speech was made about the importance of the present, and the Prince's merits; and thanks were returned through the Chancellor.

I have poured forth a mass of trifles. Writing to you has been, like talking with you, a great pleasure to me. Farewell, and do not cease to love me.

Brussels, from the Bishop's Library [July, 1498].†

EPISTLE 73. Merula, p. 194; Ep. xxxi. 25; C. 1883 (530).

Erasmus to Father Nicolas Werner

We have recovered sound health and the full measure of our strength; and have tarried at Brussels for many days much against our will, not having had as yet either the offer of companions or of a carriage.‡ We spent about ten days with the Bishop, and have been during the rest of the time with his Vicar. The former is gone to England as ambassador from our Prince. What the occasion is, is a secret. The Bishop, as I guess, besides the Prince's affairs, is looking after his own interest, to obtain the Cardinalate by English support. For he is much in favour with the English King, and still more dear to the Cardinal of England,§ from whom he has lately had a present of a

* In templo Frigidi Montis. The old Augustinian Abbey-church of St. James on the Cold Hill (Koudeberg) was replaced in the last century by the present church in the same locality, now the Place Royale.

† Bruxellis e bibliotheca Antistitis. Merula, without date of time.

‡ Neque comitatus neque essedi copia.

§ Cardinal Morton.

magnificent vestment, and is also by his letters urgently recommended to the Pontiff and College of Cardinals.

In any case, this Embassy has been most damaging to my purse, both because the Bishop was so full of business, and because he was as anxious as myself about the provision of Ways and Means. A man of his magnificence is being sent to a people both rich and very ostentatious, with the help of only six hundred florins from the Prince; and the presents which are wont to be given to ambassadors are contingent, not in hand.

On the 1st of July, a most beautiful mystic present was offered to our Prince by the Pope,—a golden rose, as admirable for the workmanship as for the material.

Myself and my fortunes I commend with the greatest affection to your prayers, and bid your fatherhood to be of good confidence. The powers above will, I hope, be present and waft our ship to the wished for port. Meantime, while we hoist our sail to the winds, we will take care not to let go the helm. May God immortal keep you.

Brussels [July, 1498.] *

The above Epistle is dated in Merula the 13th of September; a date which may perhaps have been repeated by mistake from Epistle 49, which is printed near it in the same collection. It was more probably despatched from Brussels, together with Epistle 72, soon after the Bishop's departure on the 3rd of July. It is quite unlikely that Erasmus, who was anxious to reach Paris as soon as possible, should have allowed the difficulties of travelling between the capitals of Brabant and of France to detain him for two months and a half. We may probably assume that he was in Paris again about the middle of July.

Among the reasons alluded to in the letter to Master Martin, which made it expedient that he should be in Paris as soon as possible, may be reckoned the arrival in that city of his old pupil, lord Mountjoy, who had obtained permission, for though married he was still a minor, to leave his child-wife and return for a while to his studies. He

* Ex Bruxellis Id. Septemb. Merula, without year-date.

travelled this time with a larger retinue, and among his suite brought with him as his chaplain, Richard Whitford, a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, who obtained from the Provost and Fellows of his College a dispensation for the term of five years to attend the lord Mountjoy in parts beyond the sea. This document is dated the 23rd of March, 1498.* It may be mentioned here, that lord Mountjoy had himself been a student at Cambridge (Epistle 267), of which University he was afterwards High Steward; but there is no evidence to connect him with any college. Looking at the date of Whitford's dispensation, it is probable that the English visitors had arrived in Paris during the illness or absence of Erasmus.

After the return of Erasmus to Paris, Robert Fisher left that city, and returned to his diplomatic employment, which before long took him to Italy. See Epistle 110. Upon his departure Erasmus presented him with the most perfect copy in his possession of his unfinished treatise on Letter-writing (see p. 129), adding a short Preface in the form of an Epistle to Fisher, which was afterwards prefixed to the first edition of the treatise, *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis,* printed by Siberch at Cambridge in 1521 without the authority of the author. This Epistle, which is of little importance, has not been reprinted in any of the collections of Erasmus's works, but may be seen in our Appendix. (EPISTLE 74. *De conscribendis Epistolis,* Cantabrigiæ, 1521; Appendix I.) The little volume, the issue of which was an event in the annals of Cambridge typography, beside this dedication to Robert Fisher, has a preface addressed by the printer to John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Chancellor of the University, in which it is stated, that it was printed from a copy of the autograph original presented by the author to Robert Fisher, who is described as a cousin of the Bishop. The examples of epistles, real or imaginary, contained in the treatise, supply some evidence of the period of its composition. See pp. 130, 139. An Epistle of Narration, which describes the death of the King, and the speculations to which it had given rise, shows that the book could not have been completed in the form

* The licence is set out in one of the notes to Dr. Knight's Life of Erasmus, p. 65. The date in the College register is 23 Mar. 1497, which according to our modern reckoning would be 1498. I have ascertained, that the other entries in the Register show that there is no mistake in the year.

in which Robert Fisher received it, until after the 7th of April, 1498, the date of the sudden death of Charles VIII.*

In return for a present, upon which he had spent much time and labour, Erasmus may naturally have expected a handsome compensation from his wealthy pupil; and the complaint which he makes of the perfidy of Fisher in the following Epistle may be attributed to his disappointment in this expectation. His old discontent reappears in the Preface which he wrote in 1522 to his revised work. C. i. 343.

Epistle 75 was probably sent in answer to a communication announcing some arrangement between the brothers, which extinguished all hope of Henry's return to Paris. The letter to Rodolf Lang may be presumed to be Epistle 64. The boy appears to have remained in Erasmus's charge for several months without any letter or remittance from his father. See p. 178.

Epistle 75. Farrago, p. 74; Ep. iv. 19; C. 4 (4).

Erasmus to Christian.

Do you not fear Erasmus's pen, when you have on your conscience so audacious a misdemeanour, having torn from me my charming Henry? English Robert has also deserted me, but in quite a different way, I mean with the greatest perfidy, as beseemed his character. Jesting aside, I not only am not displeased with your plan, but strongly approve of it. It is wiser to throw off a load that is too much for you, than to sink under its weight. I am as pleased with his courage as if it were my own. Pray imitate your brother and love Erasmus, however far away.

I wish you would give Rodolf Lang a hint both to answer my letter, and to fulfil his engagements. Farewell.

Paris [1498].†

* Another unauthorized edition of this Treatise was printed at Leiden with a fictitious dedication (imitated from Epistle 74) to Peter Paludanus, a name unknown to Erasmus (C. 1517 E). This dedication is reprinted in an unauthorized collection of Epistles, entitled *Breviores aliquot Epistolæ Erasmi* Paris, 1525, p. 132.

† No date in *Farrago*. Lutetiæ. 1496. *Opus Epist.*

The date of Epistle 76 is not clearly ascertained. I have thought it better to place it during Mountjoy's second visit to Paris, when he was not living in the same house with Erasmus. We may suppose that on the return of the latter, the old lessons had been resumed. By the opening words the reader may be reminded, that the young lord's title was at this time usually written Monjoy (see p. 129), though in the patent creating the peerage it is Mountjoy (Rot. Pat. 5 Ed. IV p. i. m. 6), as this lord afterwards wrote it. The earlier editions of the Adages were dedicated *Gulielmo Monioio*, the later *Gulielmo Montioio*.

Epistle 76. Farrago, p. 74 ; Ep. iv. 20 ; C. 4 (5).

Erasmus to Lord Mountjoy.

My greetings to you, well-named Monjoie. I ought to beg pardon, but I prefer to make a defence. I acknowledge the trespass I have committed in cheating you of your lesson to-day, but necessity and not my will has been the cause. I am compelled to provide their burden of letters for two messengers at the same time. Beware how you shift the position, and object that my plea of necessity is false ; for then the status of the plaintiff and defendant will be changed, and the subject will cease to be judicial, and be conjectural, or at least a matter of definition, the question being, what is necessity. But look what a clever defendant you have. I plead before I am summoned ; and, with no prosecutor, and myself both defendant and judge, I am sure of acquittal. Farewell, and remain in favour with the Muses.

[Paris, 1498.] *

Erasmus, when he went to Holland in the summer of 1498, had left Cornelius of Gouda at Paris, where he had been well received by the Bishop and the Abbot of St. Genevieve. Epistles 70, 79. He had also made the acquaintance of Gaguin, who in a later edition of his History inserted a commendatory letter from Cornelius, in which

* M.CCCC.XCVI. *Op. Epist.* No date in *Farrago.*

'meus Herasmus' is mentioned (Gaguini *Historia*, Ed. 1504). It may be assumed that some of these great Parisian acquaintances were the grandees to whom, according to Epistle 77, Cornelius had addressed his correspondence.

EPISTLE 77. Farrago, p. 72 ; Ep. iv. 17 ; C. 16 (18).

Erasmus to Cornelius.

Has France sent you home so proud, that you have begun to be tired of your plebeian friends ? You write to grandees, but not to Erasmus. How have I deserved this ? You have however a plausible excuse ; I know not whether it is the real reason. You will say, "I thought of nothing less than of your settling again in France, when you were preparing so resolutely for your journey to Italy." I accept the excuse, provided you make amends by one of your longest letters. I wonder what has happened to Boschius; I have long been expecting an answer from him. There is some murmuring here about our retreat.† * * *

Please keep our friend Peter, as you do, in your closest regard. If I remind you to propitiate Harpocrates with respect to those matters which I imparted to you in confidence, I shall appear to misjudge your loyalty and your affection for me ; though there are some that make a sort of charge against you, as if you had failed to defend my honour with entire loyalty. But my own opinion of your integrity is so confirmed, that I shall doubt of myself sooner than of you; and I would have you make sure that Erasmus will remain, while he lives, your loving friend. Farewell.

Paris [1498].‡

The correspondent addressed in the following letter appears to have been one of Erasmus's companions, while staying at Brussels. It is placed in this, rather than the previous year, because it is certain that

† recessu. ‡ Lutetiæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

Erasmus was at Brussels in this year, with the Bishop's Vicar (p. 163), and there is no evidence of his being there in 1497. A letter of a later date (Epistle 152) is addressed in *Opus Epistolarum* to John, Canon of Brussels,—probably the same correspondent. Nothing more, as far as I am aware, is known of the household referred to in Epistle 78.

Epistle 78. Farrago, p. 77 ; Ep. iv. 22 ; C. 15 (16).

Erasmus to John of Brussels.

I am really quite at a loss how to begin a letter to you, and do not know whom to blame, whether the perfidy of some persons whom you know too well, or the silly sensitiveness of Antonia, or perhaps rather my own credulity. But about the whole matter, the less said the better. I will only say this, that in return for the service I performed I have contracted ill-feeling on all hands. And so Erasmus is banished from that house, and others reign there, not, I suspect, to Antonia's satisfaction. But of this better, when we meet. Meantime pray maintain your old kindness for us. You will take care to greet severally in my name all those with whom I lived when with you. But especially you will commend me again and again to my lord the Vicar. Farewell, and return my love.

Paris [1498].*

Epistle 79, first published in *Farrago*, was reprinted by Merula, at the end of his volume, from a copy, which contained some various readings, perhaps derived from the original draft. It may be suspected, that upon its first publication some alterations had been made, to conceal the identity of persons named in it, who were then living. It appears to belong to 1498. Cornelius, if we accept Merula's reading, has been at Paris. Pp. 159, 168, 171. Erasmus has recently been at Stein, but has received a letter from William since his return to Paris. He gives expression to the annoyance he suffered from some imputations

* Luteciæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

on his conduct, which had reached the ears of his comrades, possibly a renewal of the Paris scandals of the previous year. See pp. 131, 138.

EPISTLE 79. Farrago, p. 74 ; Ep. iv. 21 ; C. 13 (15).

Erasmus to William of Gouda.

It is so indeed. There was one thing only wanting to complete the sum of my unhappiness, and that was to receive from you so insulting a letter, as if I had not here abundant cause of sorrow Truly, my William, you would have done an act more worthy of our old affection, and more suitable to my fortunes, if you had sent me comfort instead of rebuke. Why do you pursue with reproaches a poor friend always devoted to you and now most wretched ? In my present condition I could not have borne any encouragement without emotion, and you aggravate my troubles with hard words. What do you lead me to expect from our jealous comrades, when such blows are dealt me by a friend united to me not only by ancient intimacy, but by what I think the closest of all ties, the association of studies. You have been told by some one, that I had left you in indignation. It is true, I have remonstrated with you often by letter and lately by word of mouth, on account of your stopping short in literature and attempting nothing worthy of your genius. I exhorted you to consider the immortality of your name, to publish some such work as all expect of you, to prefer nothing to your glory, and to leave those frolics of yours to the common herd. If I have been at all angry with you, the only reason has been, that you do not rate your own abilities so highly as I do. You cannot now patiently tolerate my zeal for your good, when you have very often put up with my ill-humour.

But what is the sense of those words, "in the way you live there" ? You know your own meaning, and I do not fail to guess it. I am sadly afraid you think that I do

nothing here but play the fool and fall in love. But in truth, my William, you must imagine Erasmus not playing the fool, but most wretched, and him whom you used to call unflinching, now quite broken and lifeless. Beware of measuring me by my old habits or by your own happiness. It is true that, when I was at Gouda, I chatted somewhat freely with you in accordance with our old familiarity; but that freedom of language you should have attributed either to the wine, in which you know we were often obliged to indulge, or to considerations of health, for the full re-establishment of which, I purposely relaxed somewhat from my old severity of life. But such is now my state of mind that I would not play the fool if I might, and such the state of my affairs, that if I wished it ever so much, it would be quite out of my power. You will perhaps be angry here, and will say, "What ails you then? Are you in want? Have you not the fullest liberty to do as you please?" If I had you with me, I could scarcely explain my woes, so far am I from being able to do so in this scanty letter. I think even the labours of Ulysses are not to be compared with ours. I have experienced too much of this liberty, and you too little!

But why do I disturb the mind of a loving friend with these complaints? When you write, that you sustain in those parts the envy which attaches to my glory, what does that come to? I am able in these parts to advance your fame. And why should you undertake my defence, invidious as it is? Who does not know that William, even in the least favourable case, will take the part of Erasmus? * *

As to Henry,† pray do not suspect anything of him that is unworthy of a most friendly soul; for he has spoken of you throughout in a very loving way. And if he has made any complaint to me, such as might arise out of our excessive intimacy, he has done so with the utmost consideration and

† De Henrico, *Farrago.* De Cornelio, Merula; probably right; Pp. 159, 168.

as one that loved you from his heart. A tale has been brought to me of his not having dealt quite honourably in his intercourse with the English, while I was absent with you. Of anyone else this might readily be believed, so rare is good faith among mortals, and so inconstant are the hearts of men; but of him I am not disposed to believe or even to suspect it. And indeed in these matters I think it better to be taken in, than to search out with odious carefulness what had better be left in the dark.

What I showed you about N * in reliance on your accustomed taciturnity, I entreat you on your honour to beware of indicating even by a glance. You would do yourself no good, while you would give him a very sufficient reason for being angry with me. † I have written about Henry to Servatius.† I cannot wonder enough at the man's character. But what is one to do? These are the manners of the day. We are compelled to accept Chilo's saying: Love as one that is to hate, and hate as one that is to love.

You say, many tales are told of me,‡ which are not at all agreeable to hear. For my part, my William, I can make sure of my own innocence, and that I do; but not of what men will say of me. The thing I fear most is what you think of me after all. I am more concerned about that, so help me Heaven, than about all the others. For what was the meaning of your letter, in which you seem to point at my life? Do you really want to know how Erasmus lives here? For there is nothing concerning me which you may not know. He lives,—if he can be said to live,—the most unhappy of men, overwhelmed by every sort of sorrow, assailed by a thousand plots, disappointed over and over again of the protection of friends, tossed up and down by numberless accidents; but he lives most innocently. I know I shall

* de N. omitted in Merula.

†-† omitted in Merula.

‡ Ais Priori nostro multa de me renunciari. Merula.

scarcely persuade you to believe this, for you will still have in your thoughts that old Erasmus, and my freedom, and my touch of splendour; but if I could speak to you by word of mouth, nothing would be easier than to convince you. If therefore you would form a true picture of Erasmus, imagine him, not a person given to dissipation, to feasting, or to love, but one most afflicted, woebegone, hated by himself, who cares not to live and is not permitted to die; and yet full of love and zeal and ardour for you.

Oh, my William, my old and would I might say my constant support, sorrow almost forces a cry from me with my tears. If I had done violence to our friendship by some grievous wrong, still in place of righteous anger you would have owed some pity and some tears to an unhappy friend. Now you can assail with hard words, you can pursue with reproaches one whom no accident, no change of circumstances has been able to shake in his affection for you; as if there was any lack of men bent heart and soul on my ruin, who would put an end to me with fire and sword. What was there at Stein so dear to me, that it has not among these mischances been lost in oblivion. You have yourself seen me at times playing the youngster, and have often laughed. You know the heart that speaks to you. What have I ever loved more tenderly? Now it is marvellous how cold I am. All those common attachments have been dropped. You alone have remained fixed in my heart, and so fixed that the interruption of our intercourse has not extinguished but increased my love. And is it possible that a friend so obstinately devoted to you, whom you could not envy in his prosperity, can be hated by you in his misery? I know that this is the common habit, but am sorry indeed if Letters have failed to guard you from the fashions of the crowd. But let me have done with tears! One thing I beg and adjure you by our old kindness and my afflicted fortunes, that if you must hate and cannot pity me, you will

at least refrain from chafing my cruel wound with hard words, and will give to a friend, who has not deserved ill of you, the treatment which you ought not to refuse to a vanquished enemy.

Nurse your health all the more carefully, as mine is beyond hope. Commend me to your father, to whose courtesy I am much obliged; also to James your companion. I am much beholden to your friend Jasper, and am ashamed of having taken leave so carelessly of so good a friend.

Paris, 14 Dec. [1498].*

Faustus Andrelinus corresponded, probably through the introduction of Erasmus, with William Herman, to whom we assume the following letter to be addressed. This extraordinary missive, which is without date, was apparently provoked by some attack made upon Erasmus's character, in which his brother Canons were disposed to side against him; and on that account it is placed here.

Epistle 80. C. 1839 (499).

Faustus, the King's Poet, to William.

When I think to myself, my William, how great is the learning of our Erasmus, and at the same time how free his life is from every kind of fault, I cannot but rejoice that your Order possesses such a man, whom not only yourselves, but all this University is bound to admire, esteem, revere and love. For what can be found more excellent or more divine, than a man whose Letters and character are alike brilliant and stainless. * * I would not write this to you or to any one else, if Erasmus were not a person of whom, I say it with no little warmth, not only your Order, but your country is unworthy.

[Paris, 1498.]

* Parisijs, postridie Id. Decemb. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.* Sim. Merula.

CHAPTER VII.

Correspondence from November 1498 *to June*, 1499; *Paris, Tournehem, Antwerp, Paris. Erasmus and the Lady of Veer. Printed collection of Poems. Epistles* 81 *to* 96.

IN the winter of 1498 we find the mind of Erasmus much occupied with a project for improving his position by means of the patronage of an illustrious lady. His old friend, James Batt, who appears to have left Bergen before the end of 1496,* was now resident in the household of Anne, lady of Veer, at the castle of Tournehem on the frontier of Artois, as instructor to her son. The lady was the widow of Philip of Burgundy, sometime Governor of Flanders, son of Antony, "le grand bâtard" (illegitimate son of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy), who had been legitimated by Royal Letters dated in 1485, and was proprietor of the Castle of Tournehem, where his daughter-in-law was living.† The lady herself could boast a descent more dignified than that of her husband. Her father, Wolfard de Borssele, lord of Veer and Flushing in Zeeland, who is styled in a French record of 1464 Marshal of France, earl of Buchan in Scotland, and Chamberlain to king Louis XI.,‡ and was stadtholder of Holland after the death of Charles the Bold, 1477-1480 (see p. 87), made two

* One of Herman's Odes printed by Erasmus at the end of 1496 is addressed to Batt, qui *fuit* senatus oppidi Bergensis publicus a secretis. *Silva Odarum*, num. 36; Richter, *Erasmus-studien*, p. 27.

† Antony of Burgundy died in 1504 aged 83, and was buried at Tournehem, which had become his property through his wife, Marie de Viéville. Père Anselme, *Hist. Généal.*, vol. i. p. 254.

‡ P. Anselme, vii. 104. This earl is unknown to the Scottish historians. In their epitaphs at Sanderburg in Zeeland, Wolfard was styled count of Buchan, and his wife, Mary of Scotland, countess of Buchan (*Genealogist N. S.* vol. 14, p. 11). Mary died in 1465, and Wolfard in 1487. It is probable, that the territorial earldom was granted to Mary on her marriage, and that after her death and failure of issue, her husband was unable to maintain his possession. It was granted in 1469 to James Stuart, uterine brother of James II. Douglas, *Peerage*, i. 266.

illustrious alliances. He married, first, Mary, daughter of James I. king of Scotland; and secondly, in 1468, Charlotte, daughter of Louis de Bourbon, count of Montpensier. Ann, lady of Veer, was his eldest daughter and heiress by the second marriage, his children by the Scottish princess having died in infancy. (Père Anselme, *Hist. Généal.*, vii. 104; Anderson, *Royal Genealogies*, ii. 761.) Erasmus, in Epistle 87, alludes to the descent of her son from the princely house of Burgundy on the one side, and from the royal family of France on the other. C. v. 67 B.

Batt had already succeeded in interesting the lady of Veer in the fortunes of his friend, for whom he had obtained an invitation to Tournehem; and her mind being bent on a pilgrimage to Rome in view of the coming Jubilee, Erasmus hoped to receive some assistance from her in his own proposed journey to Italy.

From the end of 1498 until the death of Batt in 1502, the letters addressed to him form a considerable part of the extant correspondence of Erasmus. It must be admitted that this series of letters does not present the author in a favourable light. But in order to judge him fairly we must endeavour to see his circumstances from his own point of view. He was then a poor scholar, conscious of the possession of a degree of ability and learning, which we now recognise as unequalled in its kind among his contemporaries. These talents he was prepared to expend in the public service without sparing any labour of mind or body to accomplish the mission of enlightenment with which he believed himself to be entrusted, and the importance of which, however highly he might rate it, could not well be exaggerated. In order to perform that service to society which he judged himself best fitted to render, it was necessary that he should be placed in a position of independence and comfort, so far as regarded the ordinary wants of life, and also provided with the means of meeting the expenses of the literary assistance, books and journeys, which might be required in order to carry out his objects. The position of a man of learning nervously anxious to obtain from some wealthy bishop or illustrious lady the benefice or pension which may enable him to pursue his literary labours, is not a dignified one. In watching the struggles of Erasmus at a period when he thought, not without reason, that his success or failure in the great purpose of his life depended upon what the lady of Veer or some other possible patron could be induced to do for him, let us bear in mind the actual influence of his work upon the age in which he lived, and the consideration that without the patronage

which he condescended to solicit with a reckless sacrifice of his personal dignity, his work could not have been done. The reader must be prepared for shameless begging and shameless adulation, and what is worse, for importunate exactions in which the feelings of a devoted friend and ally are little regarded. See p. 308.

We find in the following epistle the first mention of a new relation between Erasmus and Augustine Caminad (see p. 111). The latter, who was by trade a transcriber and seller of books, appears to have possessed an interest in some of Erasmus's writings. This he may have had either as a purchaser or as a creditor claiming a lien for money advanced or service done. It was probably part of his trade to sell manuscript copies of Erasmus's works, in the preparation of which the author employed the assistance of Herman and also of Batt (pp. 123, 182). It should be remembered that of the books in use among the learned, comparatively few had been printed before the end of the fifteenth century, and a person requiring a copy of any other had still to depend on the transcriber. It is therefore not surprising if Erasmus had some reputation as an author before he had printed anything of importance. It is probable that specimens of his poetry, Epistles, and other works had been for some time circulated by means of transcription. See our Introduction. The long continuance of this practice side by side with the rival activity of the printing press, has not been generally realized. But it is well known, that even at the end of the next century Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems were circulated in manuscript long before they were printed. Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 88.

Epistle 81. Farrago, p. 284 ; Ep. ix. 32 ; C. 27 (31).

Erasmus to James Batt.

I am not unaware, most excellent Batt, how contrary it is to your expectation, that I do not at once fly to you, especially as the event has turned out even more happily than we had either of us dared to wish. But when you have heard my explanation, you will cease to wonder, and will see that I have considered what is best for you as well as myself. It can scarcely be expressed how much pleasure

your epistle has given me. I already form in my mind a picture of our happy companionship, with what freedom we shall amuse ourselves together, how we shall constantly live with our Muses. I already long to fly from this hateful slavery. "Why then do you delay?" you will say; but you will understand that this is not done without good reason. I did not expect the message would come so suddenly. A small sum of money is due to me here, and I am obliged to think any sum important. And there are engagements unfulfilled with several persons, which I cannot relinquish without loss. I have just begun a new month with my lord.* I have paid the hire of my chamber. I have business to settle with Augustine. My boy's books have gone somewhere astray, and I have not received on his behalf either letter or money, and the accounts give rise to some question.† These matters are not, as you see, to be neglected. But another consideration affects me most of all,—that, if I tore myself suddenly away, the notes that I put together on Letter-writing would be lost, because Augustine has the only copy. We could not hope even for the *Laurentius*, nor for any of my writings. For there is nothing less to be expected than that he should send you what are his, while I am away, on whose authority only he will act, if he does anything at all. It is only by the greatest exertions that I have forced him to send you a part of *Laurentius*, and that on condition, that you should send him in return something of our *Letters*.‡ He demands an equivalent. "Caw me, caw thee. Give and take."§ Induced by these reasons I have made up my mind to stay here another month, until I have

* *Cum comite.* This is the title by which Erasmus elsewhere speaks of lord Mountjoy. See p. 183.

† See Epistles 64, 75.

‡ Aliquid nostrarum literarum. *Qu.* the Epistles in the hands of Batt. P 197.

§ Manus enim manum fricat. Da aliquid et aliquid accipe.

received the money that is owing me, finished my engagements, and recovered my manuscripts. If you approve of this plan, I shall not be sorry If not, you will let me know. I shall be guided in all things by your decision.

You will hear from the courier a new tragedy. He came to my house leaving his horse at the Inn, and told me he had hidden some money in the saddle. On this I bade him run back to the Inn and take out the money ; and he went. As he was returning in the twilight, the watchmen set upon him, hustled him, kicked him, wounded him, haled him to prison and snatched the money from him. I suspected at first, that he had found some companions to drink with ; but when the next day was going by without his return, just as I was guessing at some adventure of the kind, in he comes covered with dirt and blood and very pitiably treated.

We went straight to an advocate, and from his chamber to the Provost.* New portents met us there. I had rather enter any sewer than that den ! I lay the complaint myself before the judge. He produces a sword broken in the middle. The watchmen had reported, that this had been done while the man was cutting somebody's arm off in the street, and that he had been apprehended in the act. We had witnesses to prove that his sword was broken when he entered the city ; for that accident had happened by the donkey falling off his horse. The judge replied, that he would give his decision when we had produced the guilty parties. But they, after having been at their judge's side, had taken themselves off, as soon as they saw us enter. This Adrian† noticed, but only after they were gone. So we left the case ; I might well be frightened by this omen.

* Ad urbis præfectum : le Prévôt de Paris. In *Farrago*, p. 285, where this letter was first printed, this whole paragraph is omitted, and the following words only inserted: Nos frustra iudici sumus questi. Poteram iam hoc omine terreri. The full paragraph is printed in the *Opus Epistolarum* of 1529.

† Adrian, the young courier, who was principal complainant. See p. 182.

I was inclined to keep him with me on account of his wound, but I want you to be informed as soon as possible about our plans, and to learn your decision without delay. Besides I am pressed by so many occupations that I have scarcely time for sleep. I have given him eighteen douzains,* to make up his travelling money; he says he received no more than thirty from you; and what there was had been taken by the watch. Besides this, I have changed a gold crown † for a young man, because the courier had changed gold for gold with him on the journey. Take care, that when money is sent him again, as I hear it will be soon, the proper coin be paid back to me, and I will return them our coin, to be brought back to you.

There is no need of reminding you, my Batt, to do your best both for my profit and my honour, for I know your loyalty and diligence. I am a little frightened at the ways of a Court; and I recognise the malignity of my fortunes. I am heartily glad, that the Lady is so kindly disposed towards me. But how well disposed the Bishop used to be! what hopes he held out! And now what can be colder? For my part I should prefer a certain amount of cash sent with your letter to a most ample sum on paper. I will not cite against you Virgil's saying:

Woman, a fickle everchanging thing.‡

For I count her not a mere woman, but a heroine. But how few in your parts have any admiration for our letters! Who is there indeed that does not hate all learning? My whole fortune depends on you. But if (may Jupiter avert the omen!) the thing falls out otherwise than we both wish, what help could you give your poor friend, encumbered as

* Duodenarios. See p. 253.

† Scutatum aureum.

‡ Varium et mutabile semper,
Foemina.
Virg. *Aen.* iv. 570

you are with debt, and by a sort of fatality like my own, unlucky in money matters.

I will not allow that your desire for my society is more warm than mine for yours. But I think we ought to be very careful how far this sort of heat carries us. And if I had not the highest opinion both of your loyalty, your prudence, and your diligence, I might be already frightened and regard this beginning of things as an unlucky omen. A hired horse is sent that might be bought for an old song, and journey-money not only scanty, but almost none at all. If the beginnings are so cold, is the end likely to be warm? When will you find a more decent, or a fairer occasion for begging on my behalf than now, when I am to be fetched, and that from this city and from the engagements I have? With so small a sum I could not even have come on foot. How is it possible on horseback and with two companions? If the affair is conducted with the lady's money, as I suppose, I am not delighted with the outset; if with yours, I am still less pleased, because it is done not only with inadequate but with borrowed means. What could be more inconsistent for such a personage as you have described me in that quarter, than to fly to hand at once at the first beckoning, and upon such terms? Who would not conclude I was either of no account, or a fool, or at any rate in the most wretched circumstances? If I did not love you, my Batt, so excessively as to regard the happiness of being with you as a compensation for any inconvenience, these circumstances might divert me from my intention, but they have no effect upon me. I only remind you to have a due consideration for my honour.

What then do I propose, you will ask. I will tell you. We will exert ourselves to prepare everything here, collect our writings, and finish our business. You meantime will copy what we shall send. You will write fully and carefully about your decision by the boy, who I understand is shortly

to come here for study Then when you have transcribed the *Laurentius*, after three weeks, if you please, you will send again by this lad, I mean Adrian, who will bring back both the *Laurentius*, and journey-money, with very positive letters,—journey-money, I mean, worthy of me. For as to my coming at my own cost, I cannot do it, naked as I am; neither is it reasonable, as I shall be leaving here some liberal engagements. Besides, I want you to send, if it can be done, a better horse. I do not ask for a splendid Bucephalus, but one that a man need not be ashamed of riding. And you know I shall want two horses, as I have quite determined to bring the boy. I have therefore destined the one that is here for him. You will easily persuade my lady to do all this. You have the best of causes, and I know the eloquence with which you are wont to make even the worst causes appear the best. And if she makes a difficulty in doing this, how can she be expected to give a stipend, after refusing journey-money?

You are now in possession of the reasons why I am compelled to put off our meeting. It remains now for you to bring the affair to maturity as soon as you can. I shall not slumber here, and I hope you will be awake there.

John Falke sends you a thousand greetings; Augustine, his good wishes. We all love you. I need not suggest to you what you should say for me to my lady. Farewell, my Batt. See that you show yourself a man. For with my packing in view, I have terminated my engagement with my lord in spite of all his entreaties and promises. I would add more exhortations if I had not full confidence in your loyalty. Greet severally in my name Peter and Francis the doctor, and your noble boys. Farewell, and be awake.

Paris, 29 Nov. 1498.*

* Parisijs. Tertio Cal. Decembr. *Farrago.* Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. added in *Opus. Epist.*

The two persons named in the last sentence were known to Erasmus either by Batt's report or by some older association. Peter, apparently Peter de Vaulz (p. 233), an official of the little Court, was a married man and had his own house in the town, where Erasmus appears to have slept during one of his visits to the castle. Pp. 258, 287.

The proposed visit to Tournehem took place in January, 1499, and it is no small proof of the importance attached by Erasmus to his introduction to the lady of Veer, that he thought it worth while to travel so far in the worst season of the year. The journey appears to have occupied at least four days. The castle, which was in early times an important fortress, and in the fifteenth century the residence of a princely household, has long since been pulled down; but the village of Tournehem (pronounced Tourn'en) still lies about fifteen miles from Calais in the picturesque valley of the Hem, an affluent of the little river Aa, with a station on the railway between Lumbres and Guînes. The district near it is called the Forest of Tournehem; and the Chronicler Hall mentions this "fair castle standing in a wood country" in describing the march of Henry VIII. from Calais to Thérouanne in July, 1513. Hall, *Chronicle*, Hen. VIII. f. 26.

We do not know the duration of Erasmus's visit, which evidently lasted some days. See Epistle 83. When he wrote to his friends, he was just concluding his stay, during which he had received from Mountjoy or Whitford a proposal that he should reside with them on his return. We have three epistles, all written a day or two before his departure, and probably sent to Paris by the same messenger. The short letter to Falke is dated the 3rd of February, and the longer epistle to lord Mountjoy the 4th. The note to Whitford is without date. But as the writer expressly says in the letter to Falke, that he was just paying his adieux and was going away the next morning, I have put the letter to Mountjoy first. It is amusing to observe, how Erasmus furnishes appropriate fare for each correspondent, the finest rhetoric for my lord, friendly confidence for the chaplain, and familiar banter for Falke. The address of the first letter in *Farrago* is *Guilhelmo Comiti Anglo.* See p. 178, note.

Epistle 82. Farrago, p. 70; Ep. iv. 14; C. 5 (6).

Erasmus to lord Mountjoy.

We did arrive at last safe and sound, in despite, as it seems, of Heaven and Hell. What a fearful journey!

What Hercules or Ulysses will seem of any account to me again? Juno was in the field, ever hostile to poets. Once more she had summoned Æolus; and not only raged against us with winds, but attacked us with all arms. As the night came on after long rain, a sharp frost suddenly set in. Then followed a heavy fall of snow; then sleet and rain, which froze as soon as it fell on the ground or trees. Some of the peasants, elderly men, swore they had not seen the like in their lives. Meantime the horses had to make their way, now through heaps of snow, now through thorns coated with ice; and sometimes over a crust covering the snow, too soft to bear a horse, and too hard not to cut his feet. What do you suppose was your Erasmus's state of mind? If the horse was alarmed, his rider was no less so: as often as he pricked up his ears, my courage went down; when he lost his footing, my heart jumped into my mouth. Now was the time to think of the poetic warning of Bellerophon, and to curse my own rashness in trusting to a dumb beast my life, and with it the fate of my Letters!

One circumstance you might think to be taken from the true stories of Lucian, if it had not happened to myself within sight of Batt. When the castle was all but in view, we found everything coated with ice, which, as I said before, had fallen upon the snow. The wind was so violent, that on that day more than one person was blown down and killed; and it blew directly behind us. So I slid down the hill side, sailing on the top of the ice, and guiding my course with my staff, which served as a rudder, a new mode of navigation! Almost the whole journey we had met nobody, and nobody overtook us, the weather was so, I do not say bad, but portentous. It was not till the fourth day that we just saw the sun. One advantage we reaped from all these evils, that we were less afraid of being attacked by robbers. We were afraid nevertheless, as was natural with moneyed men!

So much for our journey. As it was bad, everything else has been most prosperous. We came to the Princess of Veer alive. What account shall I give you of this lady's courtesy, kindness, and generosity? I know that the amplifications of rhetoric are suspected, especially by those who are not uninstructed in the art. But in this case, believe me, that I exaggerate nothing, and that our art is surpassed by the reality. Nature never made anything more modest or more prudent, more charming or more kind. To put the whole matter in a word: she has gone as much beyond our deserts in her beneficence, as that old man went against our deserts in his malice, and has heaped on me as great attentions, without any courting on my part, as he loaded me with insults after receiving the highest benefits.* What shall I say in vaunt of my Batt? He has a heart as single and loving as the world has ever possessed. I begin now to hate those ungrateful monsters. How could I have been a slave to them so long? And why did I come to know you so late? Before we are joined by friendship, we are parted by fortune.

I am now going to pay my country a visit; and shall then return at once to our beloved Paris, where perhaps I may arrive before this letter. As to our living together, I am not in a position to write with certainty. The matter must be decided when we meet. Of this at any rate be assured, there is no one living that loves you more heartily than your Erasmus. Batt, who shares all my likes and dislikes, regards you with similar affection. Take care of yourself and farewell.

Tournehem Castle, 4 Feb. [1499].†

* This appears to have reference to the English tutor, with whom Mountjoy had lived during his former sojourn at Paris.

† Ex arce Tornenhensi, pridie nonas Februarias. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.* Compare p. 187.

EPISTLE 83. Farrago, p. 72; Ep. iv. 16; C. 7 (9).

Erasmus to Richard Whitford, Chaplain to lord Mountjoy.

I was looking forward with pleasure to writing you a very full letter, if it had not been that leisure fails me, and I have determined to be with you soon. I will make no apology for not writing before, but prefer to plead in person and hope for acquittal. I have had many a long talk with Batt about the charming character of my lord and you. I am pleased with what you both wish, and only regret I did not know it sooner.

When we have been to Holland, we shall run back at once to Paris, and then will play the fool with our cheeks full, as the saying is. Meantime, farewell, and enjoy your philosophy My greetings to the prior at St. Genevieve, to your countryman and our table-fellow, Canon William, and the other familiars by name.

[Tournehem, Feb. 1499.]*

The following letter to a Brabançon merchant and scholar, resident in Paris and known to Batt (p. 182), was written on the eve of Erasmus's departure from Tournehem.

EPISTLE 84. Farrago, p. 71; Ep. iv. 15; C. 6 (7).

Erasmus to John Falke.

You must not expect any greeting from us. I damn you, whenever your abusive words come to my mind, whenever I see in imagination those glaring eyes, that mouth shaped for mere scurrility. It is plain therefore I can have no

* No date in *Farrago*, or *Opus Epist.*

liking for you; but I shall hate you less, if you contrive to prefer Good Letters to your paltry gains.

My Fates have pursued me up to this time. For we had a prodigiously rough and cruel journey. What has followed I owe to the fortunes of my friend Batt. You are much to be pitied for having failed to accompany me. Who would have been more delighted than you? But I am glad you have suffered for your pride. Be wise in future, shun poets and go after butchers!

I shall, please Heaven, be back with you shortly. Keep what you have of mine, and get together what you can, that there may be no delay when I come.

I shall bring my epistle to an end when I have given you a bit of advice. He is wise in vain who is not wise for himself. Admire Literature and praise it, but follow Gain. Beware of being out of humour with yourself; it casts a shadow on your beauty. Above all things take care of number one. Postpone everything else to your own convenience. Cultivate friendship for the sake of yourself. Touch learning with a sparing hand. Love ardently; study moderately. Be prodigal of words and sparing of money. There was more advice for you, but I have to say farewell, in court fashion, to my lady; and to-morrow I fly off to Holland.

I am leaving my best coat at home; and do you know why? I am afraid your sisters will tear it, as I have to take Antwerp on my way. There's a good joke for you! You see you are not the only clever fellow in the world. I shall not expect a letter from you; indeed I am not sure whether I shall not arrive before this myself. Live well and fare well for yourself, and love yourself and no one else, as you do.

Tournehem, Feb. [1499].*

* Ex arce Tornenhensi. Tertio nonas Feb. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.* Sim. *Epist. Selectæ* (1520). See p. 183.

The following letter was written from Antwerp, after a hasty visit to Holland. Parts of it were, we can scarcely doubt, intended to be translated to the lady.

Epistle 85. Farrago, p. 78 ; Ep. iv. 24 ; C. 6 (8).

Erasmus to Batt.

Hail, my protector, my dearest Batt. If the lady of Veer, formerly your patroness, and now mine as well, is in good health, and if all things are prospering with her, it is as we wish and trust. I could not, if I dared, and should not dare, if I could, to commit to writing, how I desire to know, whether she has yet taken flight from Tournehem, and whether she has taken her dear pledges with her. You will be indeed blessed if you have sailed past those rocks, and are able to enjoy without ill-will that happiness which from my point of view seems to be supreme. That this will be the case, I am encouraged to hope by the character of the lady, to whom I doubt not the Powers above will be propitious.

In her case I have experienced the same feeling as I often have with respect to you, that I begin to love and admire her more warmly now that I am away from her. Good Heavens, what unaffected simplicity, what courtesy in her high position, what mildness of temper in the midst of such wrongs, what cheerfulness in such anxieties ! And then what constancy of soul, what innocence of life, what consideration for men of learning, what affability for all ! I must fain think you, my Batt, the most lucky of all mortals, if it is given you to enjoy her favour as long as you would wish ; and given you it will doubtless be, if you respond, as you do, to her kindness by good service in return.

We have reached Antwerp safe. Augustine with his

party has already gone on to Brussels ;* he has promised to wait a few days for me there. I must therefore make haste, not to lose the convenience of so sure an escort. I have no instructions to give you ; for I know your diligence in my affairs, and such is the kindness of your most generous lady towards me, that I blush to think I have been so loaded by her beneficence, without having deserved anything from her. But it shall be my business to consider how I may show that her favours have not been altogether thrown away upon me. I will fly again to Tournehem as soon as possible, if the higher Powers permit. I pray that I may find you all safe and well, and especially her, upon whom the hope and safety of us both entirely depend.

You need not be surprised at the handwriting being so hurried, as I am writing this in the boat just before starting, with everybody around me making the greatest noise.

Farewell. I pray that the amiable young lord, and his sister, who is so like her brother and mother, may be in good health. You will greet your companions in the household severally in my name.

From Antwerp, 12 Feb. 1498-9.†

Erasmus, as we have seen, had been for a few days in Holland, probably at Stein, where the news of his intended journey to Italy, and of the wealthy patroness, whom he thought he had secured, made no slight sensation among his cloistered friends. The name Rogerus, found in the address of Epistle 86, does not occur in any other Epistle. William's correspondent is evidently the same Servatius, who was Erasmus's friend at Stein, and afterwards prior there, and who appears

* The printed text has *Parisios*, but the sense requires the name of some place not too far on the way to Paris. I have therefore ventured to read *Bruxellas*. It may be observed that Erasmus was just starting by boat. The Schelde and its tributaries would ease the way to Brussels.

† Ex Antuuerpia. pridie Idus Februarias. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago*. This date would mean 1499 both at Antwerp and Paris.

to have been for the time away from the monastery. It will be remembered that Rogerus or Rogerii (Rogierszoon) appears to have been the patronymical surname of Erasmus (p. 39), but there is no reason for supposing that Servatius was a kinsman. See Epistle 2.

Epistle 86. C. 1873 (491).

William Herman to Servatius Rogerus.

The letter I received from you yesterday gave me incredible pleasure. I am delighted and triumphant, that the merits and learning of my Erasmus have at last met with a suitable response from Dame Fortune, whom he has been pursuing all the world over, and seems to have caught at last. Our Erasmus has been here, perhaps to see us (may Heaven avert the omen !) for the last time. After Easter he is to go to Bologna, a long and troublesome journey, for which he is now procuring the ways and means. If things go on well, he will return in triumph with his degree. If the fates are unpropitious, he will leave us a legacy of eternal mourning, especially to me, for whom as you know he has cared most of all. Our friend James Batt is coming to Holland, and I have no idea what will happen. But you know the man's magnificence ; he will play the Naso after his fashion most handsomely. Nevertheless it is incredible how much constancy, loyalty and sincerity Erasmus has shown in his attachment to him.

Do make haste and come to me, both for the matters you know of, and, if there were nothing else, for my own sake alone. Farewell, most constant of friends, and meantime, as your character and your leisure demand, devote yourself to the fairest of tasks, that is, to the study of Letters. What else is there you can laudably do ?

[Stein, February, 1499.]*

* No date in C.

After his return to Paris in February, Erasmus, either immediately or after a time, joined the household of lord Mountjoy; and he wrote two letters to Batt, which have not been preserved (Epistle 98). Meantime he remained in Paris, teaching and writing, and hoping now to go to Italy later in the year. Before Easter (31 March) he addressed an elaborate discourse (*De virtute amplectenda*), in the form of an Epistle, to Adolf, the young heir of the family at Tournehem, who with the other members of this legitimated branch of the house of Burgundy, appears to have borne the title of Prince (EPISTLE 87. C. v 65). The best thing in this Epistle is a picture of the boy in a riding school, skilfully controlling the motions of a horse too big to feel the weight of his rider. In its extravagant compliments Batt comes in for an ample share. I do not find mention of this composition in any of the other extant Epistles. The scene in the riding-school suggests that it was written soon after the visit to Tournehem, and it is dated at the conclusion in words at length: E Lutetia. Anno a Christo nato millesimo quadringentesimo duodecentesimo. This would imply that it was written before Easter 1499. It was first printed at Antwerp in 1504, in the book entitled *Lucubratiunculæ aliquot.* See p. 361.

Erasmus speaks in Epistle 94 of his intimacy at this period with Faustus Andrelinus, the Poet and Professor of Rhetoric, whose studies were akin to his own earlier pursuits. Though the habits of Faustus were not exemplary, nor his learning profound (p. 28), his warm and sociable nature had brought him into sympathy with Erasmus. The following interchange of (undated) notes may probably belong to this time.

EPISTLE 88. Farrago, p. 103; Ep. v. 11; C. 56 (66).

Faustus to Erasmus.

I should like to have quite a frugal supper, and wish for nothing but flies and ants. Farewell.

EPISTLE 89. Farrago, p. 103; Ep. v. 12; C. 57 (67).

Erasmus to Faustus.

What the devil are these riddles that you are flinging at me? Do you count me an Œdipus, or suppose I keep a

domestic Sphinx? I have a notion that your flies mean little birds, and your ants, rabbits. However there will be a time for jesting. At present there is the supper to be got. You must therefore cease to deal in riddles. Farewell.

EPISTLE 90. Farrago, p. 103; Ep. v. 13; C. 57 (68).

Faustus to Erasmus.

I am now quite convinced you are an Œdipus. I want nothing but the little birds, and really small ones. Rabbits are not to be named. Farewell, most excellent reader of riddles.

EPISTLE 91. Farrago, p. 103; Ep. v. 14; C. 57 (69).

Erasmus to Faustus.

Most witty Faustus, by the same act you raised my blushes and the wrath of the theologian, who was one of the audience. However, in my opinion, it is not worth while to stir up a hornet's nest. Farewell.

EPISTLE 92. Farrago, p. 104; Ep. v. 15; C. 57 (70).

Faustus to Erasmus.

Who does not know that Faustus could die undaunted for his Erasmus? Let us think no more of those chatterers than an Indian elephant of a midge. Farewell. Thine, in despite of envy, FAUSTUS.

Faustus, protected by the Court, defied the Theologians, but his distrust did not extend to Erasmus, whom he was always ready to defend (see Epistle 80); and who at a later time, after Faustus's death, played the part of a candid friend. Qua petulantia solitus est ille in theologorum ordinem debacchari! *Erasmus Vivi* C. 535 E.

Epistle 93 is dated from Paris, the 29th of April, without year, and probably belongs to 1499. Erasmus was busy at this time with the

kind of work mentioned in it. See his work described in p. 195. That passage might suggest the conjecture, that in the address of this epistle (Erasmus Ludolpho suo s. d.) the word *Ludolpho* has been substituted, by accident or design, for *Adolpho*. The former name, not being in the Calendar, was not in common use; and it is not found elsewhere in these pages. The person addressed was a boy of some rank, who might become a patron of literature.

EPISTLE 93. Farrago, p. 104; Ep. v. 17; C. 1852 (458).

Erasmus to Ludolf.

In this one thing you may give me credit, most excellent Ludolf, I will take good care that your present,—for I was aware it came from you,—shall not appear to have been ill-bestowed. I have begun a work which will be of the greatest use in learning Latin. When finished I will send it to you from here. And afterwards I will not cease to hammer out something that may advance your studies. I only ask you to apply yourself with all your heart to the best kind of literature, and at the same time to continue to cherish learned men. Farewell, my dearest young friend.

Paris, 29 April [1499].*

The first two letters written by Erasmus to Batt after his winter visit to Tournehem appear to have gone astray; and when he writes again in May, he goes back to the story of his return to Paris. He mentions a friend of the name of Henry, who is not to be identified with his pupil from Lubeck. One may suspect, that the person, who had charge of Erasmus's property in Paris, was Augustine, who probably had claims against him for maintenance and advances.

EPISTLE 94. Farrago, p. 291; Ep. ix. 36; C. 47 (53).

Erasmus to Batt.

I have already written you two letters, one of which I trusted to a person I did not know, and the other,—which was the longest,—was lost. I will therefore compress my

* Lutetiæ iii. Cal. Maias. *Farrago.*

whole story into the fewest words I can. I had an unfortunate journey A parcel tied on to my saddle fell off, and after a long search could not be recovered. It contained a linen robe, a linen night cap, and ten gold pieces* which I had taken out for the purpose of changing them if I had had an opportunity; also my prayer-book of Hours.

The person to whom on leaving Paris I entrusted my money, has scattered it finely; some he has lent, some he has taken for himself. Henry, to whose wife I had made a loan, is gone off to Louvain, and the wife has followed him. A third person, a printer, received some money for me in my absence for some paper that was sold, and does not refund a farthing. Ghisbert had already gone away Gold can scarcely be changed at any tolerable rate. Augustine is not yet come back; and while away, has thrown every thing into confusion, intercepted moneys that were forwarded, and sent a threatening letter, being afraid I had already clutched them. I see my sum already running out, and become less than you would suppose. I sold the horse for five gold pieces, after he had been fed up nearly a fortnight. He had something amiss with his feet. I have put off the journey not only because the means were deficient, but much more because of the loss of the prayer-book.

I am living with my lord on the old terms, in which, to have the greater freedom, I have not shown myself exacting. He loves and respects me. I am most intimate with Faustus and another poet,—a new one,—and have had a sharp fight with Delius. I give myself up to books, collect my scattered works, and compose new ones. I leave myself no leisure, as far as my health will allow, which I find somewhat broken by hard travelling.

You have heard in what state my affairs are. I will tell you shortly what I intend for the future. I have determined

* *Aurei decem.* In Epistles 71, 72, *aurei* and *floreni* are equivalent.

to put off the Italian journey till August, if I can meantime get together the things that such a journey demands. My lord has himself resolved to visit Italy, if his mother gives him leave, but not till next year; and not a word has passed between us about his taking me. I remember how finely I was disappointed before in a similar hope. And if I wait here a year, when shall I revisit my Batt? It would not be believed how my soul longs to fly back to your companionship; and for this reason I prefer to hasten my departure as much as possible.

My book on Letter-writing is put in hand again. It shall be finished before long and sent to you, and indeed dedicated to your pupil Adolf. The notes on Copiousness, on Amplifications, on Argumentations and on Figures shall be added. These being scholastic matters I have resolved to dedicate to the boy and you together. I had rather send the work in print, and will see to it. I have gathered together a few writings which have lately come by accident out of some hiding-place, and am going to send them to you corrected, if a sure messenger is available. Therefore please send Adrian as soon as possible, and let him bring all my things with him. Do take care that nothing be left behind. Natalis, a Minorite divine, has been with me, and I will write by him to my lady and the others. Piquard has resolved to visit the lady again at Whitsuntide;* this individual gives me no pleasure; he is personified theology, or rather a fester personified.

Pray endeavour, my dear Batt, that we may live together at Louvain as soon as possible. Complete what you have begun. I am ashamed to say how excited I am at the thought of it. I see that my supplies, which are in great part exhausted, must be made up, and they are necessarily reduced every day. I have no substantial hope from any

* Whitsunday, May 19, 1499

mortal, except from you, and I know by experience what you can do, provided the decisive mind is not wanting. You know what I desire to bring to pass, and I should blush to burden with entreaties a man from whom I have received so many kind services. If you lend a hand, I will at the same time make an effort myself. If not, we shall bend our course wherever the fates invite. You will have no want of excuse for asking; either because my journey had to be put off from inevitable causes; or because it is better for the book to be printed at my expense. Let me know what hope you have, or what is your intention. Farewell.

Paris, 2 May, 1499.*

Batt appears at this time to have indulged the hope of a life of comparative independence, in charge of his pupil at the School of Louvain, where his correspondent had still some thought of joining him. P. 195. But the above letter also contains towards the end an obscure hint of a proposal that might carry Erasmus in a new direction. In Epistle 95 he alludes at greater length, but without being much more explicit, to an invitation which he had received from lord Mountjoy to accompany him to England. Meantime the courier Adrian had sent him an alarming report of Batt's health.

Epistle 95. Farrago, p. 91; Ep. iv. 36; C. 37 (37).

Erasmus to Batt.

Are you so come to life again as to knock me down with a reproachful letter? You were reputed to be tied to your bed and waiting to be cut with the surgeon's knife; while we in mournful sadness were meditating what your epitaph should be. And now, Heaven save the mark, you are all at once on your legs, and challenging me to invective. Nevertheless, my dear Batt, I had much rather wage war against you with the very bitterest invective, than play the

* Postridie Calend. Maij. *Farrago.* Lutetiæ, M.CCCC.XCIX. added in *Opus Epistolarum.*

part of a pious friend in writing your epitaph. Let us set to then, since you are the first to throw down the gage. What reckless audacity! Does a twopenny-halfpenny fellow like you dare to assail with reproaches a man of such a splendid fortune? But joking aside, I am most heartily glad, my Batt, that you have leisure to laugh. For that lying letter of Adrian had so dispirited me, that I was deliberating whether I ought not to go to you.

As to what I wrote about the parcel that dropped, I only wish it was the sort of thing to be written in jest. You say you are aware which way I am tending. This I will explain in a word. I mean to steer, not in the course I had begun, but in a direction in which I am driven by a cross breeze,—unless you send fresh supplies. This is not said at all in jest, my dear Batt; as you will soon find by evidence of fact; although we shall follow the example of clever shipmen and use craft to fight against the gale. Even when the winds are adverse, if we are driven from the straight course, we shall still use our sails, and if we are not allowed to reach the harbour we most wish, we shall at any rate be landed on some shore or other.

We have been hitherto disturbed by changing our quarters and moving back again, and are scarcely yet settled. I am collecting all my writings with great care. Please pack off our donkey* with his burden as soon as you can; I will send him back to you loaded with a parcel of papers. Besides the clothes of which I wrote, send also my Epistles and those of William. Campanus is no longer to be bought here, and when it was, it was sold too dear. However I will send both him and Sulpitius. But I am waiting for our donkey, as I will not trust such wares to an unknown beast.

Natalis the theologian took the trouble to bring me your greeting, and I learned from him that the lady of Veer had

* *Asellus* appears to be a nickname for the courier Adrian. See p. 195.

resolved to go to Rome with her sister. She showed some wish to have me for a companion.

I should congratulate you on your prospect of flying soon from the Castle to Louvain, if your new liberty did not make you so insolent. As you have become so proud, now that after your long servitude a slight hope of liberty has dimly dawned upon you, what will happen when you reign at Louvain in all your glory! Let me know exactly your whole intention, and what decisive hope is left in your mind about our affairs; for after my departure you do not seem to me to have managed cleverly

I will write by Natalis to the persons you wish. My lord with his usual politeness returns your good wishes. I will never permit the doctor's boy to track me as he was tracked by us. Not to occupy a great part of my letter with court names, I will ask you to salute in my name those gentlemen with collars, to whom it is due, and each one in due fashion. I pray a blessing on your pupil Adolf. Farewell.

Paris, [1499].*

The Campanus mentioned in the above letter was Joannes Antonius Campanus, bishop of Crotona, whose works, including Epistles and Poems, were printed at Venice in or about 1495. Sulpitius was probably Joannes Sulpitius, whose book on Grammar, already in use, was printed in an enlarged form at Paris in 1503.

In Epistles 94 and 95 we find Erasmus, among his other occupations, carefully collecting his scattered works (pp. 194, 197), while he is evidently becoming familiar with the Press (pp. 194, 195, 196); of which, as far as we know, he had not before made use for the multiplication of his own writings. It was probably about this time, that a small collection of his poetry was printed, of which he gives the particulars in the Catalogue of Lucubrations. See pp. 21, 22, 209. 260. The date of this publication is confirmed by Epistle 141, dated 4 Feb. [1501], in which he enclosed his *nugas ante annum impressas*, with the observation, that he had been hindered by ill health from correcting the

* Parisijs. *Farrago.* Parisijs M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Opus. Epist.*

press with his own hand. After his fatiguing journey to Tournehem and Flanders, he had allowed himself for some time the privilege of an invalid. See towards the bottom of p. 194. The printing was probably superintended by Augustine. Of this little brochure, Erasmus's first independent publication by means of the printing-press, no copy is known to the bibliographers. The publication of the Treatise *de Copia* and other prose compositions (p. 195) was postponed for some years.

We may conclude from the following Epistle, that Batt had plainly intimated by letter, that Erasmus must not expect him for the present to make any further application on his behalf to the lady of Veer; who, according to the last news received by Erasmus, was preparing to leave the Low Countries for Rome.

Epistle 96. Farrago, p. 102; Ep. v. 9; C. 22 (22).

Erasmus to Batt.

See how successful your denunciations are. Beaten by a single epistle, I lay down my arms, retire from the field, and fly to England for refuge. There at any rate I may hope to be safe from your reproaches. For if you want to pursue me, you will have to come to another world; I know your laziness well, and that, although born in the midst of waters, you hate nothing so much as waves. If your insulting letters reach me there, I hear that at the extremity of Britain are the Orkneys, and intend to fly to them or to any other place still further, if not to the Antipodes.

Now go and celebrate a splendid triumph for your glorious victory.

Paris [1499].*

* Parisijs. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Farrago.*

CHAPTER VIII.

First Visit to England; London, Greenwich, Oxford, London, 1499, 1500; Residence at Oxford, October to December, 1499; Association with More and Colet. Return journey and loss of money, January, 1500. Epistles 97-110.

IN the summer of 1499 Erasmus accompanied lord Mountjoy to England. The latter had been married for more than two years; but his child-wife had remained in the custody of her father, and his long absence had given her time to grow into a woman. The young lord, who was himself still a minor, appears on his return to have taken up his residence with his father-in-law, Sir William Say (Epistle 104), bringing his preceptor with him as a visitor. We may conjecture that it was in Say's house in London, that Erasmus began his memorable acquaintance with Thomas More, who was probably already known to Say and Mountjoy.* Sir William appears also to have had a house at Greenwich in the neighbourhood of the Court,† which was occupied in the autumn by his son-in-law.

This young lord, whose studious habits had attracted the attention of Henry VII., appears to have been already designed by that prudent king to be an elder companion in the studies of the young duke of York, afterwards Henry VIII., who was being educated, with the other younger children of the royal family, in a sort of nursery establishment which was maintained at Eltham, near Greenwich. Pp. 387, 424. His elder brother Arthur, Prince of Wales, had his residence on the Welsh

* In a settlement (20 May, 1515) of Sir William Say's property, both Thomas More and Serjeant John More, his father, were trustees. Miscellaneous Charters in Record Office, vol. vi., No. 64.

† Lord Mountjoy's daughter, the marchioness of Exeter, had an estate at Greenwich derived apparently from her mother (Gairdner, *Letters, etc., Hen. VIII.*, ix., No. 401); and Sir W. Say, by his will, dated in 1529, left a legacy for masses to each house of Friars in Greenwich. It appears by the same will, that he had a residence in London. *Topographer and Genealogist*, i. 414.

frontier. Prince Henry was receiving what has been regarded as a clerkly rather than a princely training; but it seems that the elder prince had also had a learned education. Erasmus's Catalogue of Lucubrations, in an account of his early efforts as a Poet, contains an often quoted reference to an incident of this period. More was at this time a member of Lincoln's Inn and resident there. His companion Arnold Edward was also a lawyer. See p. 235. Prince Henry entered his ninth year, June, 28. 1499. Edmund, baptized in January, 1499, was buried in or before May, 1500. *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 120, 124.

Catalogue of Lucubrations (1523). *C. i. Præf. Jortin*, ii. 419.

A Poem, in heroic lines and iambic trimeters mixed, upon the Praises of king Henry VII. and his children and also of the country of Britain, was only a three days' task; but a task it was, for I had for some years neither read nor written poetry; and it was extorted from me partly by shame and partly by vexation.

I was staying at lord Mountjoy's country house when Thomas More came to see me, and took me out with him for a walk as far as the next village, where all the king's children, except prince Arthur, who was then the eldest son, were being educated. When we came into the hall, the attendants not only of the palace but also of Mountjoy's household were all assembled. In the midst stood prince Henry, then nine years old, and having already something of royalty in his demeanour, in which there was a certain dignity combined with singular courtesy On his right was Margaret, about eleven years of age, afterwards married to James, king of Scots; and on his left played Mary, a child of four. Edmund was an infant in arms. More, with his companion Arnold, after paying his respects to the boy Henry, the same that is now king of England, presented him with some writing. For my part, not having expected anything of the sort, I had nothing to offer, but promised that on another occasion I would in some way declare my duty

towards him. Meantime I was angry with More for not having warned me, especially as the boy sent me a little note, while we were at dinner, to challenge something from my pen. I went home, and in the Muses' spite, from whom I had been so long divorced, finished the poem within three days.

This poem, entitled *Prosopopœia Britanniæ*, in which Britannia speaks her own praise and that of her princes, was printed in 1500, together with Epistle 97, at the end of the first edition of the Adages. See p. 245. It is to be found in Erasmus's works, C. i. 1215. A copy of it was sent to the young prince with a dedicatory letter, in which the writer magnifies the monuments of Poetry as being more permanent and valuable than any other human works. The conclusion of the dedication, which is without date, is here given.

EPISTLE 97. Adagiorum Collectanea, Paris, 1500; Ep. xxix. 27; C. i. 1213.

Erasmus to the most illustrious prince, Duke Henry.

* * We have for the present dedicated these verses, like a gift of playthings, to your childhood, and shall be ready with more abundant offerings, when your virtues, growing with your age, shall supply more abundant material for poetry I would add my exhortation to that end, were it not that you are of your own accord already, as they say, under way with all sails set, and have with you Skelton, that incomparable light and ornament of British Letters, who can not only kindle your studies, but bring them to a happy conclusion. Farewell, and may Good Letters be illustrated by your splendour, protected by your authority, and fostered by your liberality.

After a short sojourn in the neighbourhood of the English court, Erasmus sent the following account of his experience to his friend Faustus; from whom he lately received a letter. Delius was a rival, against whom Erasmus had himself entered the lists. See pp. 194, 261.

EPISTLE 98. Farrago, p. 103; Ep. v 10; C. 56 (65).

Erasmus to Faustus Andrelinus, Laureate Poet.

Heavens, what do I hear? Is our Scopus really turned all at once from poet to soldier, and handling deadly weapons instead of books? How much better was it when he did battle with Delius the Volscian, as he called himself, and what a triumph awaited him, if he had slain that champion!

We too have made progress in England. The Erasmus you once knew is now become almost a sportsman, no bad rider, a courtier of some practice, bows with politeness, smiles with grace, and all this in spite of himself. If you are wise, you too will fly over here. Why should a man with a nose like yours grow to old age with nothing but French filth about him? But you will say, your gout detains you. The devil take your gout, if he will only leave *you!* Nevertheless, did you but know the blessings of Britain, you would clap wings to your feet, and run hither; and if the gout stopped you, would wish yourself a Dædalus.

To take one attraction out of many; there are nymphs here with divine features, so gentle and kind, that you may well prefer them to your Camenae. Besides, there is a fashion which cannot be commended enough. Wherever you go, you are received on all hands with kisses; when you take leave, you are dismissed with kisses. If you go back, your salutes are returned to you. When a visit is paid, the first act of hospitality is a kiss, and when guests depart, the same entertainment is repeated; wherever a meeting takes place there is kissing in abundance; in fact whatever way you turn, you are never without it. Oh Faustus, if you had once tasted how sweet and fragrant those kisses are, you would indeed wish to be a traveller, not for ten years, like Solon, but for your whole life, in England.

The rest of my story we will laugh over together, for I hope to see you before long. Farewell.

From England, 1499.*

The freedom and simplicity of manners which prevailed among English ladies in the fifteenth century excited the wonder of other foreigners who visited the country. A very similar account of the manners of our ancestors is given by Laonicus Chalcondyles, whose work *de Rebus Turcicis*, with its incidental description of Northern Europe, appears to have been written about 1470.†

At the time when Epistle 98 was written, probably in the autumn of 1499, Erasmus was already proposing to return to France. His departure however was retarded by causes which are alluded to in a subsequent letter (p. 222). The Michaelmas term at Oxford was approaching, and Erasmus resolved to make use of the delay by visiting that University, among whose members were some of the few great scholars that England at that time possessed. It has been assumed, I do not know on what evidence, that Grocin and Linacre, and Thomas Latimer, all proficients in Greek, were then in residence. It is certain

* Ex Anglia. Anno M CCCC.LXXXXIX. *Farrago.*

† Chalcondyles *de Rebus Turcicis*, lib. ii. p. 73, ed. Bonn. This passage of Chalcondyles has been understood in a scandalous sense by Gibbon, and by the editors both of Gibbon and Chalcondyles. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 66, vol. viii. p. 88, ed. Milman. It is worth while to clear away, if possible, this old misconstruction. The passage stands as follows: "Their habits touching their wives and daughters are excessively simple. Throughout all the island, when a person is invited to a friend's house, upon his arrival he kisses the lady, and in this fashion is welcomed as a guest. And even in every street they permit their friends to use this freedom with their wives. The same custom extends to the country of the Frantali (qu. Flanders) on the opposite coast as far as Germany, no shame being felt in allowing their wives and daughters to be kissed." The whole difficulty has arisen from the words κύσαντα and κύεσθαι, which are used where the English verb, to kiss, appears in the translation. These words have been interpreted *impregnare* and *impregnari*, an interpretation which scarcely makes sense. If the writer had meant what is supposed, he would have used a more appropriate expression. The word κύσαι is good Greek for "to kiss," and it is not unreasonable to suppose that κύεσθαι may have been used, as the passive verb, by Chalcondyles and his contemporaries.

that Colet was there, delivering a course of lectures on the Epistles of St. Paul.

We must not expect to hear from Erasmus what impression the city of Oxford made upon him as he entered the High Street by the East Gate, outside which the fair college of Magdalen had just been built. He was received as an inmate of St. Mary's College, a house for students of his own Augustinian Order, called by Colet Jesus' House, whose great gate, says Antony Wood, is almost opposite to that of New Inn. Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 97. The gate still exists, and the site of the college is occupied by a house and garden, now called Frewen Hall, which was chosen in 1859 as the residence of the Prince of Wales during his studies at Oxford. Erasmus found the Prior of his College, Richard Charnock, an intelligent companion and useful friend. Colet, whose acquaintance he had yet to make, having heard from Charnock of his arrival, addressed to him a letter of welcome, which in the midst of its formal civility has a characteristic touch of Puritan sincerity. To this Erasmus replied in his own rhetorical fashion with a letter of elaborate compliment.

EPISTLE 99. Farrago, p. 96; Ep. v. 3; C. ix. 11

John Colet to Erasmus.

My friend Broome has written me a letter recommending you highly to me, as the reputation of your name and the testimony of some of your writings had done before. When I was at Paris, Erasmus was not without celebrity in the mouth of the learned; an epistle of yours, addressed to Gaguin, in which you express your admiration of the labour and skill shown in his French History, served me, when I read it, as a sort of sample and taste of an accomplished man with a knowledge both of literature and of a multitude of other things. But that which recommends you to me most is this, that the Reverend Father with whom you are staying, the Prior of the House and Church of Jesus Christ, affirmed to me yesterday, that in his judgment you were a singularly good man. Therefore, so far as learning and general knowledge and sincere goodness prevail with one,

who rather seeks and wishes for these qualities than makes any profession of them, you, Erasmus, both are and ought to be most highly recommended to me.

When I see you, I shall have to recommend myself to you and to your wisdom, as others, not so fitly, have recommended you to me. For the less ought to be recommended to the greater, and the unlearned to the learned. But if in my insignificance there is anything by which I can either gratify or help you, it will be as readily and freely at your service as your surpassing merits demand. I am glad you are in this country, and hope that our England may be as agreeable to you, as I am convinced you may by your learning be useful to her. For myself I am and shall remain what I ought to be to one whom I believe a good as well as a learned man. Farewell.

From my chamber at Oxford, [1499].*

EPISTLE 100. Farrago, p. 96 ; Ep. v. 4 ; C. 39 (41).

Erasmus to John Colet.

If, most courteous Colet, I recognized in myself anything worthy of the meanest praise, I should indeed rejoice with that Hector of Nævius, to be praised by you, who are of all men most praised, and whose judgment I so much regard, that your silent esteem would be more agreeable to me than if I were acclaimed and applauded by the whole Forum of Rome, or admired by a multitude of unlearned persons as numerous as the army of Xerxes. For as I have followed Horace's plan, and never tried to catch the votes of the windy crowd, which is equally hasty in its approval and in its censure, so I have always thought it the greatest honour to be praised by men of approved character, who are too

* Ex cubiculo Oxoniæ. *Farrago.* Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo septimo, added in *Op. Epist.*

candid to wish to praise any one falsely, and too sagacious to be deceived, whose wisdom admits no suspicion of error, nor their life any suggestion of flattery Nevertheless your praises, my Colet, have been so far from elating me, that being naturally diffident I am still less pleased with myself than before. For I am reminded of what I ought to be, when those qualities are ascribed to me, which I reverence in others, but miss in myself. I know only too well where my own shoe pinches. And yet I do not find fault with the civility of those who have commended me so lovingly to you, nor blame your good nature in accepting their commendation. * * *

I am better pleased that you should be led astray by your kindness, than that you should form a strict and impartial judgment of me. Nevertheless that you may not complain of unknown wares having been foisted upon you by a false recommendation, and may choose before you love, I will write you my own description, and shall do so all the better as I am better known to myself than to any one else. You will find in me a man of slender fortune, or rather of none at all, averse from ambition, most inclined to love, little skilled indeed in Letters, but a most warm admirer of them; one that religiously venerates goodness in others and thinks nothing of his own; who is ready to yield to all in learning, to none in honesty; simple, open, free, equally ignorant of simulation and dissimulation; of a character humble but sound; sparing in speech; a person in short from whom, except character, you have nothing to expect. If you, Colet, can love such a man, if you deem him worthy of your friendship, then reckon Erasmus as much your own property as anything you possess.

Your England is delightful to me for many reasons, but most of all because it abounds in that which pleases me more than anything else, I mean in men most proficient in Good Letters, among whom by general consent I reckon

you the chief. Such is your learning, that without the commendation of high character, you deserve to be universally admired, and such the holiness of your life, that you cannot but be an object of love, respect, and veneration to every one.

How can I express to you how much I have been touched and charmed with that style of yours, so placid, sedate, unaffected, flowing out of the abundance of the heart like a limpid fountain, everywhere equal and like itself, open, simple, full of modesty, and having nothing anywhere rough, distorted, or out of place, so that I seem to recognize in your letter a sort of likeness of your character? You speak what you wish, and wish what you speak. Words born in the heart and not on the lips spontaneously follow the thought, instead of the thought following the utterance. In short, by some happy facility, you pour forth without any trouble what another person could scarcely express with the greatest pains. But I must abstain from praising you, at least before yourself, that I may not throw a stumbling-block in the way of our new friendship. I know how unwilling those are to be praised, who alone deserve it. Farewell.

Oxford, [1499].*

The compliments on Colet's style are so out of proportion to the opportunities that Erasmus had apparently had for forming a judgment about it, that it is no wonder if one of his readers should infer that Erasmus, before he wrote his letter, had heard Colet lecture.† I do not however think that this was the case. If he had either heard him lecture, or seen anything more important of his writing, he would hardly have failed to found some eulogy expressly upon it. There is a complimentary passage in a later epistle to

* Oxoniæ. Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo. *Farrago.*

† "How else could Erasmus describe Colet's style of speaking so clearly in his first letter to him?" Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, p. 42 note.

another correspondent, not so elaborate, but expressed in remarkably similar terms. See Epistle 144. One is reminded by such passages, that Erasmus was by profession a rhetorician.

Among the persons recommended to Erasmus during his stay at Oxford by Colet and Charnock was a learned native of Friesland, Ioannes Sixtinus, who, having previously graduated at Siena, appears to have practised as a lawyer in the English Ecclesiastical Courts, and was in 1510 admitted to the degree of Doctor of Civil Law in the English University. He held some church preferments in England, and died in this country early in 1519 (Knight, *Life of Colet*, p. 218). The poetry of Erasmus to which the following letter refers, is assumed by Dr. Knight to have been the Ode on the birthplace of Jesus (C. v. 1317; Knight, *Erasmus*, p. 20; App. xvi.), which he supposes to have been written in compliment to the College of St. Mary, or, as Colet calls it, the House of Jesus, where Erasmus was staying. But this poem appears to have been printed at Paris not long before, either with some other pieces or separately. See pp. 22, 198, 260. A copy of the printed poems had probably been presented to Charnock.

Epistle 101. Auctarium Epist. (1519) f. 24 dors.; Ep. ii. 21; C. 9 (12).

Joannes Sixtinus to Erasmus.

Our kind Master, Prior Charnock, has shown me to-day some poetry of yours running in no common or trivial strain, which, if it had been composed with much labour, would still in my judgment not have deserved to be placed in the lowest rank. But when we hear that it was unlaboured * and written off hand, what reader of your verses that has any taste will not assign you a place with those ancient and highest bards? They possess the charm of an Attic Venus, and reveal the marvellous sweetness of your genius. Proceed therefore I beseech you, my Erasmus, and wake those delightful Muses of yours, so that all may learn from you and those like you,—what has before appeared

* *Elaborata*; read *illaborata*.

incredible,—that the German wits are in nothing inferior to those of Italy. Farewell, most accomplished of bards.

[Oxford, October, 1499.]

The above letter, which is without date in the original, was accompanied by a short poem in Elegiac metre addressed to Erasmus, in the last line of which the writer proposes, if his verses are acceptable, to follow them up with a personal visit. In his reply, Erasmus reviews his own position in the same spirit as in his Epistle to Hector Boece. Epistle 61. But in Colet's banquet (p. 215) he is still the Poet.

Epistle 102. Auctarium Epist. (1519) f. 25 ; Ep. ii. 22 ; C. 9 (13).

Erasmus to Sixtinus.

Your entire sincerity, Sixtinus, does not admit the slightest suspicion of flattery, from which you are abundantly vindicated by the weighty testimony both of Charnock and of Colet, and, independently of any testimony, by your manners and character, which while they are clear of any stain, are also so strongly opposed to fiction and pretence, that not simplicity itself is simpler or freedom more free. If it were otherwise, I should certainly think myself laughed at, when I am praised so immoderately by you, and that for a thing so moderate or rather so trifling and worthless. * * *

But that I may not fail to acknowledge some of your praise, there is in fact, Sixtinus, something Attic in my verses. They spare the feelings or touch them lightly, abstaining altogether from passion ; no storm, no torrent bursting its banks, no δείνωσις. With a wonderful economy of words they choose to remain within bounds rather than be carried beyond them, and to hug the shore rather than launch into the deep. There is no high colouring, but a natural tint, real, if you like, and dingy. They so thoroughly hide any artifice, that if you were Lynceus himself, you

could detect none. In this one respect I am superior to the Greeks themselves; for while they so conceal their art as to make it invisible to others, I do the same to myself. They contrive that it may not attract attention, but if it is not perceived by the gaping reader, it is plain enough to the careful student, or the rival author. * * * We do not adopt the Ennian fashion of not offering to tell of arms until we have cracked a bottle; and we do not importune any Muse. In perfect sobriety we write such sensible verses as are absolutely without any hint of Apollo. And I am so far from being sorry for this, that I am pleased with myself for having this quality in common with Cicero, as I am not likely to have any other. The fact is, I have fallen into a dry, poor, bloodless, sapless kind of poetry, partly from poverty of genius and partly by effort misapplied. Cicero is rightly of opinion, that nothing does so much to modify men's genius as locality. We wrote when young, not for Consentine but for Dutch, that is, for very dull, ears. We sang for Midases, and in adapting ourselves too religiously to them, we ended by pleasing neither them nor the learned. We tried to daub two walls out of one jar, to please the unskilful by simplicity of language, without altogether failing to please the learned by elegance and wit. This plan, clever as it then seemed to me, has turned out unsuccessful. We write too learnedly to please the unlearned and too unlearnedly for the learned. You have now my own judgment about my verses. * * *

As to your exhortation to wake my Muses, a Mercury's wand will be required to rouse them again. We did wake them not long ago from a more than ten years' sleep, and angry indeed they were, when they were compelled to chaunt the praises of the royal children. They chaunted unwillingly and half-asleep some sort of ditty, so drowsy that it may well dispose any one to slumber. I disliked it so much myself, that I was glad to let them fall asleep again.

But to make the world understand that German wits are not inferior to those of Italy, that is a thing, Sixtinus, for you, or nobody, to do,—you whom Friesland, that fertile parent of noble intellects, that Africa always teeming with fresh marvels, has produced, it seems, as a sort of Hannibal to contest with Rome the chieftainship of learning. * * Your poem appeared to me to have just that merit which you attributed to mine. It pleased prior Charnock as much as you are dear. Believe me also, Sixtinus, that you are dear to me. Farewell.

Oxford, on the festival of SS. Simon and Jude (28 Oct.), [1499].*

On the same day, Erasmus's thirty-third birthday, he wrote a short letter to Thomas More. This letter, the first of their correspondence which has been preserved, shows how intimate the two men had become during their short intercourse in London. More, born the 7th of February, 1477, was then in his twenty-third year. See Epistle x. 30; C. 4730; and, as to the date of More's birth, *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, 1897, p. 321.

Epistle 103. Farrago, p. 143; Ep. vi. 11; C. 55 (63).

Erasmus to Thomas More.

I cannot find any malediction sufficiently strong to hurl at the head of the messenger, to whose carelessness or perfidy I attribute it that I am defrauded of that letter which I so certainly expected from my More. For I cannot and ought not to suppose for a moment, that the fault is yours, though we were a little vehement in our expostulations in that former letter; but we are not afraid of our freedom giving offence to you, who are not ignorant of that Spartan fashion of fighting at close quarters.

* Oxoniæ, natali Simonis et Iudæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. *Auctarium.*

Jesting aside, I do beg, sweetest Thomas, that you will cure that sickness which we have contracted from the long want of you and your handwriting, by a payment with interest. We expect not a mere letter, but a huge packet, enough to weigh down Aegyptus Achthophorus. And it will be a kindness, if you will incite any persons within your reach, who are cultivators of Good Letters, to write to me, that my circle of friends may be complete; I could not venture to challenge them myself. As for you, I reckon you will not care in what fashion I write to the best-natured of men, and one who, I am persuaded, has no little love for me. Farewell, dearest More.

Oxford, the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, (28 Oct.) 1499.*

As bearing upon the length of Erasmus's visit to Oxford (p. 224), it will be observed, that he speaks in the above letter of having been long parted from More, to whom he had written one or more letters already.

Lord Mountjoy appears to have proposed to leave his wife, for a while, in order to renew his studies under Erasmus at Oxford.

Epistle 104. Farrago, p. 98; Ep. v. 5; C. 41 (42).

Erasmus to lord Mountjoy.

If you and your noble lady and kind father-in-law and the rest of the family are well, we have every reason to rejoice. Here we are better and better every day. Indeed I cannot tell you how your country wins upon me, partly owing to habit, which softens every asperity, and partly to the kindness of Colet and prior Charnock, than whose characters nothing can be imagined more sweet and amiable. With these two friends I would not refuse to live in farthest Scythia! What Horace writes, that even the vulgar sometimes see true, I learn from experience. You

* Oxoniæ. An. M.CCCC.CXIX. (sic) Natali Simonis et Iudæ. *Farrago.*

know it is a vulgar saying, The worse things begin, the better they end. What could be more ill-omened, if I may say so, than that arrival of ours was? Now things turn out more lucky every day. I have got rid of all that weariness with which you formerly saw me suffering. I only implore you, that as you kept up my spirit when it failed, you will maintain your own, now that mine is not wanting.

I have neither the wish nor the right to find fault with you for not coming on the appointed day I do not know what has detained you; but I am sure, whatever it was, it was a legitimate and just reason which hindered your coming, for I have no doubt of your wish to do so. You have no cause for pretence, and such is the ingenuous simplicity of your character, that with the greatest cause you would neither know how to lie if you would, nor wish to lie if you knew how.

Send my money carefully sealed with your ring. I am now much in debt to the Prior in more ways than one. He attends to my wants both kindly and promptly. And as he has been very liberal, it is right that we should be grateful and readily repay what he has so readily given. I hold that good friends, like rare furniture, should be sparingly used. If anything fresh occurs, let me know by letter. Farewell.

Oxford [1499].*

Epistle 105 contains a picture of a social gathering of divines at the close of the fifteenth century, with an ingenious elaboration by Erasmus of the story of the offence of Cain. Unfortunately the place of meeting is not mentioned. It was apparently at Colet's house, or at the Hall or College where he was residing; but where that was, does not seem to be known.

* Oxoniæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago.*

EPISTLE 105. Farrago, p. 92 ; Ep. v. i ; C. 42 (44).

Erasmus to Sixtinus.

How I wish you had been present, as I expected, at that feast of ours. Nothing was wanting. A choice time, choice place, no arrangements neglected. The good cheer would have satisfied Epicurus ; the table-talk would have pleased Pythagoras. The guests might have peopled an Academy, and not merely made up a dinner party. First, there was prior Richard, that high priest of the Graces ; then the divine who had preached the Latin sermon the same day, a person of modesty as well as learning ; then your friend Philip, most cheerful and witty. Colet, asserter and champion of the old theology, was at the head of the table. On his right sate the prior, a man in whose composition there is an admirable mixture of learning, benevolence, and honesty. On Colet's left sat the more modern theologian. His left was covered by me, that the banquet might not be without a poet, while opposite to me sate Philip, to represent the legal profession. Below was a mixed and nameless assembly. The ranks being so disposed, many subjects gave rise to discussion, but upon one point there was a vehement conflict of opinion. Colet maintained that Cain first offended God by this fault, that in distrust of the bounty of his Creator, and in over-confidence in his own exertions, he was the first to break up the soil, while Abel was content with what grew of itself and fed sheep. The theologian and I did our best to contend against this theory, he with syllogistic and I with rhetorical arguments. Not Hercules himself is a match for two, say the Greeks. Nevertheless Colet alone overcame all ; he seemed indued with a dignity

and majesty more than human. His voice had another tone, his eyes another look, his countenance and figure appeared magnified and lighted up by inspiration.

At last, when the dispute had continued rather long, and become more serious and solemn than was suitable to a banquet, I thought it time to take up my rôle of poet, and cheer the dinner with a more lively story, which might have the effect of breaking up the discussion.

"I chanced," said I, "some time ago to meet with a very ancient manuscript, of which the title and the author's name were obliterated by age, or eaten away by those worms which are the constant enemies of letters. In it there was one page which was neither decayed nor worm-eaten, thanks to the Muses who watch over what is their own. In this page I read an account of the very thing you are discussing, which was either a true story or at any rate very like truth. If you wish it, I will repeat it to you."

At their request I continued. "That Cain of yours, as he was a laborious, was a greedy and avaricious man. He had often heard his parents tell, how in that garden from which they were expelled, rich harvests of corn grew unsown, with full ears, and heavy grain and straw as high as alder sticks, among which no tares or brambles or thistles were ever seen; and bearing this in mind, when he saw the soil which he was beginning to worry with his plough, produce a stingy crop, he used craft to eke out his industry. He went to the angel who was the guardian of Paradise, and assailing him with all the wiles of an old hand, endeavoured to bribe him to supply him privately with a few grains of that happier harvest. He represented to him, that God had become by this time secure and negligent of the matter: and if he was informed of it, there need be no fear of punishment, as the thing was of no importance, if only they did not meddle with the apples which alone God had forbidden to be touched. Come, said he, do not be too careful a door-

keeper. What if, after all, your excessive watchfulness may even be displeasing to him? Perhaps he would like to be taken in, and will be better pleased with clever industry, than with blundering idleness in mankind? And how, may I ask, do you like yourself in that office? Instead of an angel he makes you an executioner, and has tied you to the door with that flaming sword in your hand to keep us lost wretches out of Paradise, just the business we are beginning to train dogs to! We men are certainly very wretched, but you do not seem to me to be much better off. We are deprived of Paradise, because we tasted an apple that was too sweet for us. And in order to keep us out, you are deprived of Heaven and of Paradise too; and are so far worse off than we, as we are free to wander wherever our fancy leads us. And let me tell you, this country of ours, with which we console our exile, has woods with fairest foliage, a thousand kinds of trees for which we have scarce yet invented names, springs which issue in all directions from the hills and rocks, rivers with limpid waters which glide on by grassy banks, mountains that rise into the sky, shady valleys, seas full of wealth. Nor do I doubt, but this earth in her inmost recesses hides some good wares, to extract which I will probe all her veins, or if my time is not long enough, my grandsons at any rate will do it. We have here golden apples, luscious figs, all sorts of fruits, many of which grow of themselves all around, so that we shall not much miss that Paradise of yours, if only we could live here for ever. It is true, we are attacked by sickness, but even for that, human industry will find a cure. I see herbs that breathe some marvellous influences. What if some plant should be found, even here, which may make life immortal. For as for that Knowledge of yours, I do not see its importance. Why should I trouble myself with things which do not concern me? Though in this respect I will not rest, since there is nothing which may not be conquered by per-

severing industry. So that, while we instead of one garden have obtained a wide world, you, shut out from both, neither enjoy Paradise, nor Heaven, nor even Earth, fixed for ever to these gates, and always wielding that Flaming Sword for no other purpose that I can see but to fight the wind. Come now, if you are wise, do a good turn to yourself and us too. Give that which you can bestow without any loss to yourself, and accept in return a full share in all that is ours. Wretched, excluded, and proscribed as you are yourself, take part with those who are in like case.

The worst cause prevailed, when pleaded by the worst of men but the best of advocates. A few stolen grains were carefully sown by Cain; they grew with interest; the interest was committed to the soil, and this was done over again. Before many summers had passed, he had filled an extensive tract of land with this crop. The matter had now become too glaring to escape the notice of the higher Powers. God was greatly displeased. This thief, he said, seems to be fond of labour and sweat; I will heap it upon him. On the word an army of ants, weasels, toads, caterpillars, birds, mice, locusts, and other vermin was sent among the corn, which ate it up, partly while it was still in the soil, partly while it was growing, partly when ripe, and partly when stored in the barn. To complete the destruction, there came a terrific hailstorm and such a hurricane of wind, that those stalks which were as big as oak timbers were broken off like a dry straw. The guardian was changed, and the angel that had favoured mankind was imprisoned in a human body. Cain endeavoured to appease God by a burnt-offering of fruits, but when the smoke would not rise to heaven, he was assured of His anger, and despaired."

This, Sixtinus, was the story that was told over our cups, and which had its birth among them and out of them, if you please. I have chosen to relate it to you, first, that I might have something to write, as I owed you a letter, and next,

that you might not be altogether excluded from so dainty a banquet. Farewell.

Oxford, [1499].*

A more serious theological discussion was carried on at another meeting at Oxford between Colet and Erasmus upon the right explanation of the discouragement and fear which appear to be expressed by Jesus in his Agony in the Garden, when he is described as praying that the Cup might pass from him. The explanation adopted by Erasmus was founded on the dual nature ascribed to Christ. Colet, following a suggestion of St. Jerome, attributed this prayer, not to the fear of his own sufferings or death, but to the compassionate horror felt by Jesus for the guilt of the Jews, by which they were bringing destruction on themselves. On this subject, after the first verbal discussion, Erasmus wrote a long argument in the form of a letter (afterwards printed as a Disputation on the subject), which he sent to Colet, who returned a written answer to the argument, accompanied by a letter. These two letters are EPISTLES 106, 107, C. v. 1265, 1291. Epistle 106 was printed with the title, *Disputatiuncula de taedio etc.* by Theoderik Martens, 15 Feb. 1504 (in a volume including the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, and entitled *Lucubratiunculæ aliquot*, see p. 361), with the observation that Colet sent two answers and Erasmus as many replies, but that they could not be found. Colet's first answer, together with Epistle 107, was afterwards found, and was published by Schürer of Strasburg in June, 1516, in a small volume also containing the *Enchiridion* and *Disputatiuncula* with other tracts, and entitled *Erasmi Lucubrationes*. In the two Epistles the disputants exchange civilities in a spirit worthy of the solemnity of the subject under discussion, the epistle of Colet being accompanied by a *Responsio ad argumenta Erasmiana*.

We have seen that Colet, on hearing of the arrival of Erasmus at Oxford, had expressed the hope that England would benefit by his learning. As the Oxford term went on, and the foreign scholar made no proposal to place his services at the disposition of the University, Colet wrote to him, to express the disappointment he felt. This letter has not been preserved. The following is Erasmus's reply, first published in the *Lucubrationes* of 1516. Epistles 106, 107, and 108 have no date of time.

* Oxoniæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago.*

EPISTLE 108. Lucubrationes (Strasburg, 1516), p. 120; Ep. xxxi. 45; C. 1789 (403); V. 1263.

Erasmus to John Colet.

Most learned Colet, I as little deserve the reproof expressed in your letter just received, as I did the compliments paid me in your former letter. But I bear with much more equanimity the blame which I do not merit, than I bore the praises which I could not acknowledge. For when we are accused, we have an admitted right to defend ourselves; whereas an over-exactness in declining a compliment may seem to argue a wish for its repetition. I suppose in both instances you wanted to put me to the test, how I should be gratified by the honour paid me by so great a man, and what irritation I should show when stung by a rebuff. You are bound to be thoroughly constant in affection, being so cautious and careful, so hesitating and searching in the admission of your friends.

In all seriousness, as I was formerly glad to be praised even unduly by one who of all men is most praised, so I rejoice now to receive admonition from the dearest of friends. For the future therefore praise or blame your Erasmus as you will, only let something of a letter fly hither every day. Nothing can be more agreeable to me.

But to turn to your epistle, that the boy who brought it may not go back empty. In your dislike of that sort of neoteric divines, who grow old in mere subtleties and sophistical cavillings, your opinion is entirely my own. In our day, Theology, which ought to be at the head of all literature, is mainly studied by persons who from their dulness and lack of sense are scarcely fit for any literature at all. This I say, not of learned and honest professors of Theology, to whom I look up with the greatest respect, but of that sordid and supercilious crowd of divines, who think

nothing of any learning but their own. In offering to do battle, my dear Colet, with this indomitable race of men for the restoration of genuine theology to its pristine brightness and dignity, you have undertaken a pious work as regards theology itself, and a most wholesome one in the interest of all studies, and especially of this flourishing University of Oxford. But, to say true, it is a work involving much difficulty and much ill-will. The difficulty your erudition and energy will surmount, the ill-will your magnanimity will overlook. Among the divines themselves there are not a few who are willing and able to help your noble endeavours. Every one indeed will give you his hand, since there are not any of the doctors in this famous School, who have not listened attentively to the lectures on the Pauline Epistles which you have delivered during these last three years. And in this I do not know which most deserves praise, the modesty of those who, being themselves authorised teachers, do not shrink from appearing as hearers of one much their junior and not furnished with any doctor's degree, or the singular erudition, eloquence, and integrity of the man they have thought worthy of this honour.

I do not wonder at your taking such a burden on your shoulders, for you may be equal to it. I do wonder at your inviting so insignificant a person as me to be partner in so noble an office. You exhort me, or rather you urge me with reproaches, to endeavour to kindle the studies of this University, — chilled, as you write, during these winter months,—by commenting on the ancient Moses or the eloquent Isaiah, in the same way as you have done on St. Paul. But I, who have learned to converse with myself, and know how scanty my equipment is, can neither claim the learning required for such a task, nor do I think that I possess the strength of mind to sustain the jealousy of so many men, who would be eager to maintain their own ground, The campaign is one that demands, not a tiro, but a practised

general. Neither should you call me immodest in declining a position which it would be most immodest for me to accept. You are not acting wisely, Colet, in demanding water from a stone, as Plautus says. With what countenance shall I teach what I have never learned? How am I to warm the coldness of others, while I am shivering myself? I should deem myself more rash than rashness itself if I tried my strength at present in so great an enterprise, and, according to the Greek proverb, trained myself as a potter by setting to work on an amphora.*

But you say you expected of me some work of this kind, and complain that you have been disappointed. In that case you must find fault with yourself, not with me. We have not disappointed you, for we never either promised or held out any prospect of such a thing. It is you that have deceived yourself, by not believing what I said truly of my own character. Neither again did I come here to teach Poetry or Rhetoric. These studies ceased to be agreeable to me when they ceased to be necessary. I decline this task, because it is below my purpose, as I do the other, because it is above my strength. As to the one your reproach is undeserved, because I never proposed to myself the profession of what is called secular literature; and to the other you exhort me in vain, because I am conscious of my own unfitness for it. And if I were ever so fit, it could not be, as I am returning before long to Paris. In the meantime, being detained partly by the winter season and partly because there is a difficulty in leaving England on account of the flight of some duke,† I betook myself to this

* Ἐν τῷ πίθῳ τὴν κεράμειαν. *Adag. Chil.* i. *Cent.* vi. *Prov.* 15.

† The nobleman, whose movements were causing anxiety to the Government in the autumn of 1499, was Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, his father's dukedom having been resigned in Parliament 11 Hen. VII., 1495. His mother was sister of Edward IV. In the Act of Attainder (*Rot. Parl.* vi. 546) he is said to have been guilty of treason, 1 July, 1499, probably the

learned University, to spend a month or two with men like you, rather than with those gold-chained courtiers.

However, I am so far from opposing your glorious and sacred endeavours, that, not being yet a suitable fellow-labourer, I will promise my earnest encouragement and sympathy And further when I am conscious of the needful strength, I will put myself on your side, and will make an earnest, if not a successful, effort in defence of Theology. Meantime nothing could be more delightful to me than to discuss daily between ourselves, either by word of mouth or by letter, some subject of sacred literature.

The kindest of presidents, Richard Charnock, my host and our common friend, bids me salute you in his name.

Oxford, at the College of the Canons of the Order of St. Augustine, commonly called St. Mary's, [1499].*

The first sentence of Epistle 108, and the clause which ends at the top of the present page, point to the short duration of Erasmus's residence at Oxford. See p. 224. The only remaining letter, there written, is a note addressed to lord Mountjoy, from whom Erasmus has received a letter, and whose arrival he appears still to expect. The writer is evidently no longer in the same good humour with his residence, as he was when he wrote to Mountjoy before.

Epistle 109. Farrago, p. 142; Ep. vi. 10; C. 56 (64).

Erasmus to lord Mountjoy.

What is the meaning of that repetition in your salutation : *O salve mi praeceptor, salve mi praeceptor?* Is it sorrow in being parted from a dear wife, or joy in the prospect of returning to studies no less dear? For my part I am still

date of a meeting with Sir William Courtenay, who was also attainted. The earl appears shortly after to have fallen under suspicion and fled.

* Oxoniæ, e collegio Canonicorum Ordinis diui Augustini, quod vulgo dicitur Sanctæ Mariæ. *Lucubrationes.*

determined, however disagreeable things are here, to swallow every annoyance for your sake, that I may not be inconstant in my attention to you, when you have shown yourself most constant in your love for me. Only bring with you such a resolution, that your leaving your wife's company may be justified by the result, and my annoyance not borne in vain. Farewell.

Oxford, 1499.*

The residence of Erasmus at Oxford, the duration of which has been over-estimated, lasted about two or three months, between September and December, 1499. Compare pp. 213, 223, and *Epistolæ Mori* (Lond. 1642), p. 19 D. It has been thought that he came to Oxford an adherent of the Scholastic Theology, and was converted by Colet to a system founded more directly on the study of the New Testament.† The influence of Colet has perhaps been exaggerated; but Erasmus tells us himself in the Epistle to Jodocus Jonas, that he was led by a conversation with Colet to distrust the authority of Thomas Aquinas. C. 458 F. See p. 333. Epistle 59 shows him on the other hand already distrustful of the Scotists. It has also been supposed that he used his time at Oxford for the study of Greek under Grocin, Linacre, or Latimer; and Gibbon has lent his authority to the statement, that he learned Greek at Oxford and taught it at Cambridge.‡ I do not know of any evidence, that any of the above-named English scholars was in Oxford during this term; and none of the letters of Erasmus indicate that his time was so employed, while his later correspondence gives the impression that he remained contented with the little Greek he had learned in his younger days until the spring of 1500, when he set himself seriously to master that language, while he was preparing for the press the first edition of his *Adages*. See p. 232, 233.

The idea of compiling this work appears to have arisen during his intercourse with lord Mountjoy; and in his first dedication he

* Oxoniæ, An. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

† Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 20, 24, *Life of Colet*, p. 54; Seebohm, *Oxford Reformers*, p. 40, 76, 103 (2nd ed.); Drummond, *Erasmus*, i. 81. See also Green, *History of the English People*, p. 298. M. Durand de Laur's chronology is on this occasion nearly right. *Vie d'Érasme*, i. 42.

‡ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 66, p. 117 note (ed. Milman).

ascribes his undertaking to the wishes of Mountjoy and the encouragement of prior Charnock. P 243. This last reference connects it more distinctly with the author's residence at Oxford. It may well be, that in collecting his materials he made use of the libraries of Grocin and Linacre, either at Oxford or in London, and obtained some assistance from them personally in the Greek quotations. In Epistle 194, Erasmus gives Linacre the title of preceptor; and in a letter written to Wentford, in 1511, he speaks of Grocin as his patron and preceptor, but this was after having spent some time in his house in the preceding year.

Early in December, Erasmus was again with lord Mountjoy in London, where, we may observe in passing, Perkin Warbeck had been hanged and the young earl of Warwick beheaded a few days before. We may suspect that Epistle 110, which was probably forwarded to its destination in Italy by lord Mountjoy's care, was as much intended for his perusal as for that of the person to whom it was addressed. It is the last known letter sent to him by Erasmus, who twenty years later had not forgotten his old grudge. See p. 166. Fisher died shortly before 17 Feb. 1511-2, when his vacant stall at Windsor was conferred on the king's almoner, Thomas Wolsey. *Fœdera*, xiii. 293.

Epistle 110. Farrago, p. 95; Ep. v. 2; C. 12 (14).

Erasmus to Robert Fisher, English Agent in Italy.

I have been rather afraid of writing to you, dearest Robert, not that I feared your affection had been at all lessened by such distances of time and place, but because you are in a country where the walls are more learned and more eloquent than our men; so that what we here think eloquent and beautiful cannot but seem poor and rude and tasteless there. Your England naturally expects you to return, not only most learned in the laws, but equally loquacious in Greek and Latin. You would have seen me too in Italy before this time, if my lord Mountjoy, when I was prepared for the journey, had not carried me off to England. Whither indeed would I not follow a young man so

courteous, so amiable? I would follow him, by heaven, to the grave itself. You had amply sounded his praises, and described him like a picture; but he daily surpasses both your praises and the opinion I had myself formed of him.

But how do you like our England, you will say. Believe me, my Robert, when I answer that I never liked anything so much before. I find the climate both pleasant and wholesome; and I have met with so much kindness, and so much learning, not hacknied and trivial, but deep, accurate, ancient, Latin and Greek, that but for the curiosity of seeing it, I do not now so much care for Italy. When I hear my Colet, I seem to be listening to Plato himself. In Grocin who does not marvel at such a perfect round of learning? What can be more acute, profound, and delicate than the judgment of Linacre? What has Nature ever created more gentle, more sweet, more happy than the genius of Thomas More? I need not go through the list. It is marvellous how general and abundant is the harvest of ancient learning in this country, to which you ought all the sooner to return. My lord has so kind a remembrance of you, that he speaks of no one more often or with more pleasure. Farewell.

From London in haste, this fifth day of December [1499].*

We have no further particulars of Erasmus's proceedings in England, but we may assume that he passed the remainder of his time with lord Mountjoy at Greenwich or in London, where he would frequently have the opportunity of enjoying the society of More. His English hosts were so little disposed to speed his departure, that, when he was desirous of returning to his literary work at Paris, he appears to have been obliged to obtain his congé by means of the stratagem of a fictitious summons from beyond the Channel. See Epistle 139. He took leave of his friends in the last week of January, and appears to have crossed from Dover to Boulogne on the 27th of that

* Londini tumultuarie. Nonis Decembr *Farrago.* Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. added in *Opus Epist.*

month. This date is given in Epistle 137 (p. 295), and the place of landing (*Gessoriacum*) is mentioned in a fragment preserved in the book on Letter-writing. See p. 277, note. At Dover he met with a misfortune, to which he alludes in some of his epistles, but of which we have no full contemporary narrative. Several statutes from the time of Edward III. to that of Edward IV had forbidden the export from England of gold or silver, either in coin or in any other form, upon pain of forfeiture; and this law had lately been re-enacted by Henry VII. and his Parliament (Stat. 4 Hen. vii., c. 23), the searchers at the ports being ordered to seize and confiscate any gold or silver found upon travellers leaving the country. Erasmus was consequently deprived of a sum of money, described in a later letter as £20, which was his whole fortune. Epistle 281. In his Catalogue of Lucubrations written in 1523, he recalls the incident as follows.

Catalogue of Lucubrations. C. i. Præf ; Jortin, ii. 426.

I embarked at the port of Dover, but before I put to sea, all my money had already suffered shipwreck. A small sum it was, but great to me, as I had nothing left. It was done by the chief, I had almost written thief, of the port,* and in the King's name, though More and Mountjoy had assured me that there was no risk, unless I carried English coin ; and I had none that was English, or gained or received in England. I found out however at the port, that it was unlawful to take out of the country any money, though it might be of iron, beyond the value of six angels. So much it cost me to learn one English law.

So far as regards foreign money Erasmus was right in the practical lesson of law by which his friends' mistake was so disagreeably corrected, since the statute of 17 Edward IV (recited and re-enacted by stat. 4 Hen. vii., c. 23) was expressly applicable to any coin of the realm or *coin of other realm.* It is strange that More should have misled his friend in such a particular. Possibly some indulgence had been at first allowed to foreign coins, which had been withdrawn in accordance with the strict letter of the law.

* A præfecto pene dixeram a prædone litoris.

CHAPTER IX.

Journey to Paris, January, February, 1500; *Residence in Paris, February to June. Publication of the Adages, June,* 1500. *Epistles* 111 *to* 123.

ON his arrival at Boulogne with an empty purse, Erasmus was naturally desirous of consulting as soon as possible with his English friends upon the possibility of retrieving his loss. He was also in need of some immediate pecuniary aid to supply his present necessities. Instead therefore of attempting to proceed at once to Paris, he put himself in communication with his friend Batt, who was still residing at the castle of Tournehem in charge of his pupil, Adolf of Burgundy, during the absence of the lady of Veer upon her Roman pilgrimage (Epistle 95); and, finding the way open, he soon followed his messenger, and spent two or three days at Tournehem. He lost no time in writing to Lord Mountjoy, either from Boulogne or from Tournehem, a narrative of his adventure at Dover, hoping to receive in reply some substantial consolation for his loss. This letter has not been preserved; but in order to keep the matter in Mountjoy's mind, he addressed another letter, Epistle 111, to the same correspondent in Batt's name, which was intended to be forwarded after a short delay. See Epistle 122, p. 257. It will be seen that Epistle 111 contains no account of the circumstances of the embarcation, which I have therefore assumed to have been narrated in a previous letter of Erasmus himself. There is reason to think, that during this short visit to Batt, Erasmus found time to go to the neighbouring town of St. Omer to see his friend the Abbot of St. Bertin, who probably aided him with some small donation of money, though his liberality does not appear from Erasmus's point of view to have been equal to the occasion. See p. 256.

EPISTLE 111 Farrago, p. 247 ; Ep. viii. 53 ; C. 55 (62).

James Batt to Lord Mountjoy.

Much looked for and most welcome to me was my Erasmus's return, not that I grudged him to you, but on account of the boundless love I bear him. Nevertheless I could not help being sadly grieved, when he told me of that bitter tragedy of his, of which I had long ago some sort of foreboding. How often have I dreamed of even more serious disasters ! And indeed I was thinking anxiously of his fortunes, when his letter reached me. But however it has come about, I still rejoice, my lord, in having recovered so dear a part of my life, even maimed and ill-used ; though I do not love him so unkindly, as not to wish that he had rather remained whole with you, than returned to us so robbed, and robbed with such signal contumely. Good God ! not the Muses, nor Literature itself is free from those harpies ! Plato, when accused at Ægina of a capital crime, was allowed some privilege as a philosopher. Even the cruel Phalaris is said to have treated Pythagoras and Stesichorus, a philosopher and a poet, with kindness and liberality. But what is the use of tardy complaints in a matter that is beyond hope ? What cannot be cured must be endured ; and when he himself bears his disaster with a spirit so unbroken, it would not become me to give way to sorrow. What a boon is that philosophy, which he has always both practised and recommended. I felt bound to say something to comfort his trouble, but he reproved my tears with a smile, and bade me be of good cheer. He did not regret, he said, his journey to England, his money had not been lost without the greatest profit, since he had gained such friends, as he would prefer to the wealth of Crœsus.

We spent two nights together. Good Heavens! with what affection did he describe prior Richard's kindness, Colet's erudition, and More's sweetness. His eloquence made me wish, if I were only free, to become myself known to such learned, such candid friends. Of you too, most excellent Mountjoy, he drew such a picture from head to heel, as they say, that, highly as I regarded you before, I now scarcely yield in affection to Erasmus himself, who loves you more than his own eyes. He is so far from casting any blame on you, that he expressed the greatest regret that you should have been put to so much expense and so much trouble for him. Lastly when he left us, he enjoined me again and again to write to you as often as I could; and although your singular learning and my want of skill put me in some fear, still I make bold to send you this letter rather than fail in the duty imposed on me. If I find you are not offended at my presumption, I will venture to repeat it. Erasmus showed us some hope, which I pray may be fulfilled, that we might enjoy your presence in this neighbourhood.

For your kindness and liberality to my Erasmus I am beyond measure grateful, and shall remain so while I live. I am more obliged by any service done to him than if it were conferred upon myself. I beg every blessing on your noble consort, your excellent father-in-law and the rest of your household.

From the Castle of Tournehem [1500].*

When this letter was sent to him (see p. 257), lord Mountjoy could scarcely have read it without being forcibly reminded of the manner of his preceptor. It is the only epistle of this correspondent which Erasmus has included in his collection; and as he has not preserved any of Batt's letters addressed to himself, it may be presumed, that he did not in general put so high a value upon his friend's compositions.

* Ex arce Tornehensi. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX *Farrago.*

The allusion to the likelihood of Mountjoy becoming a neighbour to the household at Tournehem, suggests the probability that he was expecting to be appointed captain of the Fortress of Hammes, a post which had been held by his father until his death in 1485, and was afterwards held by him. But the first known patent appointing him to this office is dated 26 June, 1503, to take effect from the 8th of April preceding. Rot. Pat. (Franc.) 18 Hen. vii. m. 7. See p. 370.

Erasmus had now to make his way to Paris with but poor provision for his journey, in the most unfavourable season of the year. The books and papers which he had brought with him (principally the materials for the Adages) were left in the charge of Batt, to be sent after him to Paris by the first opportunity. Epistle 112. Another package of books and clothes which he had left in England was also to be forwarded, as soon as they arrived at Calais, by the same helpful friend (pp. 233, 235, 274 *n*), from whom, if he was not already supplied by the Abbot, he begged or borrowed a few gold pieces. He set out on the 29th of January, prepared to travel if necessary on foot, but assisted, we may imagine, as far as Amiens, a journey of two days, by the loan of a horse and man from Tournehem. At Amiens he hired a horse to take him to Paris, which city however he finally (on the 2nd of February) reached on foot. His journey was not without adventures, since he was, or supposed himself to be, in danger of robbery and worse usage at the hands of the stable-keeper, from whom he and an Englishman, who had become his travelling companion, had hired their horses. Of these incidents he has left a long narrative in an epistle, apparently completed some months later, when after the hasty publication of the Adages he was more at leisure. Epistle 122.

The literary treasures left in the hands of Batt soon followed Erasmus to Paris; and the messenger, by whom they were sent, carried back a letter from him (mentioned in Epistle 112,), giving an account of his arrival and of the alarm he had had on his journey (to which he refers, in Epistle 113, as a matter already known to his friend). This first letter has not been preserved in its entirety, but a part of it appears to be incorporated in Epistle 122. See p. 246.

Epistle 112 was written a short time after the arrival of Erasmus's literary materials, and before he was far advanced in the composition of the Adages. He was still expecting the other parcel, which was to be brought over from London by an English courier, whom he calls Galba, and who appears to have fetched and carried between the

Continent and England. Pp. 235, 274 *n*. This Epistle contains the first indication of Erasmus being seriously engaged in the study of Greek. Though he may not have learnt Greek at Oxford (see p. 224), it can scarcely have failed to occur to him, in his discussions with Colet, that he should be groping in the dark, if he endeavoured to become an interpreter of the New Testament without a more complete knowledge of the language in which it is written. And the compilation of the Adages was constantly reminding him of the same deficiency.

EPISTLE 112. Farrago, p. 290; Ep. ix. 35; C. 69 (80).

Erasmus to Batt.

By the same messenger, by whom you had sent me my Lucubrations, I sent back to you part of *Laurentius*, with my letter.* I gave him, as you bade me, eight deniers.

Beyond this there is nothing fresh to write. I have experienced, what often happens, that the wound received in England has begun to give pain after it had healed over; and all the more, because, however unmerited the insult, I have no possible means of retaliating. How can I make war on the whole country, or on the king? The former has deserved no ill at my hands, and to write against one, who could not only proscribe but kill, appears to me mere madness. I must therefore in this matter hope with Themistocles to learn the art of forgetting. I am deep in Letters, being bent on compiling a collection of ancient Adages. It will be a hasty work. I see some thousands may be collected, but I propose to publish only two or three hundred. I will dedicate them to your pupil Adolf. But I am still in doubt whether I can find a printer, and you know that my funds are less than nothing.†

* Una meis cum literis. Erasmus sent by this messenger not only a letter to Batt, but also one to Arnold Edward. See Epistle 113.

† These two lines, printed in *Farrago*, p. 290, are omitted in later editions.

I wonder at your having written nothing by this messenger, Francis's brother. Look out carefully for my package; for that Galba, as you know, is a harpy;* and when you have received it, send it on carefully to me. There is a black coat in it partly lined with black and partly with grey: a cloak bought from you, and a pair of violet hose. There is St. Augustine's *Enchiridion*, written on parchment; St. Paul's Epistles, and some other things.

My Greek studies are almost too much for my courage; while I have not the means of purchasing books, or the help of a teacher. And while I am in all this trouble, I have scarcely the wherewithal to sustain life; so much is our learning worth to us!

Greet in my name Master Francis, Peter de Vaulz† the philosopher, your own Peter, and John Chamberlain. Farewell, dearest Batt; pray do not let our complaints disturb you. It has been a relief to pour out my anxieties before you, as I always do; nevertheless we will not lightly abate our courage, but according to the old adage, while we breathe we will hope.

Paris, [March, 1500].‡

In Epistle 112 there is no allusion to the Lady of Veer, who was probably still out of reach. See p. 199. In Epistle 113, dated the 12th of April, she is again mentioned, and was probably at Veer, as Batt had received a command to go and see her. When this Epistle was written, Erasmus expected to complete the manuscript of the

* Harpyia est. *Op. Epist.* In *Farrago*, p. 291, we read, Anglus est, which was probably in the original; Erasmus may be excused, if with his recent experience at Dover, he looked upon rapacity as an English characteristic. The parcel contained some things left in England. See pp. 235, 274, 285.

† Petrum de Vaulg, *Farrago*. These two lines are omitted in the later collections. See more as to Peter de Vaulz, pp. 183, 258, 287. Batt had in 1501 a brother in the service, whose name is not known. See Epistles 162 and 166.

‡ Lutetiæ, M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Op. Epist.* No date of place or time in *Farrago*.

Adages in a few days. He had not received his package from England, about which he gives more complete directions. Meantime the season of Lent had arrived (4 March—19 April, 1500) and his health was occasioning him some anxiety. He refuses to adopt a suggestion of Batt, who appears to have advised him to write some complimentary Epistles to the Lady and others on whose patronage he depended, and insists upon his friend begging for him. He had already written to the Lady in French.

EPISTLE 113. Farrago, p. 289; Ep. ix. 34; C. 26 (29).

Erasmus to Batt.

I pray, my dear Batt, that you may be enjoying the health which I lack myself; for ever since I returned to Paris, mine has been delicate. The fatigues which we underwent by land and sea in our winter journey, have been followed not by careful rest, but by constant night-work, so that there has been no cessation, but only a change of labour. And the weather moreover has been both disagreeable in itself and singularly unfavourable to my health. I call to mind that ever since I came to France, no Lent has ever gone by without bringing sickness to me. But of late having removed my lodging, I have been so affected by the change, as to feel manifest symptoms of that nocturnal fever which was so near sending us below two years ago. We are fighting against it with every care and with the aid of doctors, but have scarcely escaped yet, being still in a doubtful condition. And if that fever does get hold on me again, it will be all over, my dear Batt, with your Erasmus. However, we are not in despair, and have confidence in St. Genevieve, whose present help we have more than once experienced, and all the more as we have the advice of

William Cop, a most skilful doctor, and not only that, but a faithful friend, and, what is more, a votary of the Muses. I send you an extempore letter of his.

About my package, as to which you ask my attention, I in return solicit your memory. For we explained to you, when with you, that it had been entrusted, not to a sailor, but to Arnold Edward, a lawyer, who was to deliver it for transmission to the first suitable skipper he met with. His name is known to all London ; and he lives in the house of his father, Master Edward, Merchant, on London Bridge. It does not matter whether you send to him or to Thomas More, who lives at Lincoln's Inn. I am surprised you do not know Arnold, as I sent you a letter of mine addressed to him, by the hands of that talkative messenger by whom I forwarded the *Laurentius*. I also gave him directions to make enquiry about that robber of ours, but he has neither sent any message back, nor have you written about it. I should be glad, not to have the scoundrel hanged, but to frighten him away from the city. As for the other books of *Laurentius*, which you ask for, Augustine asserts that you have them; not that he makes any difficulty about sending them, but if you will first look what is deficient, it shall be sent at once.

I must beg you, my dear James, to pardon my not sending you the other things you ask. I only wish the circumstances were such, as to give you a right to require from me an attention of this kind. I have much too good an excuse. For in the first place, what is the good of my writing long letters when you are there in person, and prepared to transact the matter *viva voce?* What could I do by the most elaborate letter which you could not do better by speech? And even if it were to the purpose, I durst not hazard my health by the forbidden labour of writing. I know by experience how much easier it is to ward off a disease than to get rid of it when once established, and I

feel, by symptoms I recognize too well, what is now threatening me. Moreover I am devoting all my strength to the preparation of my Adages, which I hope will be made public soon after Easter, a work of some length and demanding an infinity of pains. We have collected some eight hundred Proverbs, part Greek and part Latin. If thought proper, it shall bear the name of your Adolf.

I am glad to hear you are off to my Lady, especially as she has sent for you, since I have no doubt she has done so partly on my account. For I have written to her about the whole matter in bad French. We shall maintain ourselves therefore for another month upon borrowed money, until we receive something worth having from you. But for this expectation I should have returned to your parts myself. Do pray, my dear Batt, resume your old spirit. I am sure there is nothing you cannot do, if you exert yourself. I am only vexed with you for this, that ever since I wrote you once a fictitious letter from England, you have got it in your head that all I say is feigned. And yet in that letter which you suppose to be fictitious, may I die if I put anything false.* Therefore away with that opinion about us, and never believe that we write anything, especially to you, but what is true and comes from the heart.

It is my intention as soon as this work is done, to direct all my efforts to finish the Dialogue, and to devote the whole summer to writing books. In the autumn, if possible, I shall go to Italy to take my Doctor's degree; I depend upon you to obtain for me the means and the leisure. I have been applying my whole mind to the study of Greek; and as soon as I receive any money I shall first buy Greek authors, and afterwards some clothes.

Let me know your opinion about sending Adrian or some one else to England. I think myself for many reasons it

* The correspondence here alluded to is described more fully, p. 299.

should not be neglected. When you have answered this, I will send you a written copy with a letter.

That Gueldrian epigram-writer ought to be arrested and imprisoned. He is certainly a brazen-faced buffoon and capable of any enormity.

Farewell, my dear Batt, and do your best to save your Erasmus. When we have mended our health, we will see to everything.

Paris, 12 April [1500].*

For the apparatus of books required in the compilation of the Adages, Erasmus probably had frequent recourse to the assistance of Gaguin, who appears to have had a good library, and is said to have had the charge of the library of the King (*Nouv. Biogr. Univers.*). Epistle 114 may well belong to this time. Macrobius is cited in the Adages, not only in the body of the revised work, which is mainly of a later date, but also twice in the original Dedication to lord Mountjoy, Epistle 122.

Epistle 114 Farrago, p. 81 ; Ep. iv. 26 ; C. 76 (84).

Erasmus to Robert Gaguin.

The singular kindness, which exalts you above all others, being no less commended than your erudition, gives me confidence to ask a favour which I have done nothing to deserve. I have occasion to hold a few days' colloquy with Macrobius, a pleasant fellow as you know ; and shall be obliged if you will bid him step over to me out of your learned library. For in such an abundance of the best authors you will not miss Macrobius alone, while he will give us a great deal of pleasure in this our poverty. Farewell, and much as we are bounden to you already, bind us to you still more.

Paris [1500].†

* Parisijs, pridie Idus Apriles. *Farrago.* Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Op. Epist.*

† No date in *Farrago.* Lutetiæ. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Opus Epist.*

In another letter to Gaguin, Epistle 115, Erasmus makes a similar application. The treatise on Rhetoric of George of Trebizond is mentioned, p. 98.

EPISTLE 115. Farrago, p. 104; Ep. v. 16; C. 78 (86).

Erasmus to Gaguin.

Most distinguished Sir, only look at the consummate impudence of your Erasmus. Gaguin never comes into his head but when he wants something. I have need, for a few days, of Trapezontius on the Precepts of Rhetoric. I do not ask whether you have the book, as I know that no good authors are missing on your shelves, but I beg your kindness to let me have the use of it. I should be glad to have Quintilian to compare with him, and will send them both back before long. Farewell and love us.

[Paris, 1500.]*

Epistles 116, 117, 118 and 119 are printed together in the collections of Epistles, each being addressed to an unnamed correspondent. They are all without date in *Farrago*, but in *Opus Epistolarum* Epistle 116 has the date 1498. The last and longest of them, with its mention of the work on Adages in preparation, belongs to the time we have now reached, to which also the other three may well be attributed. The reference in Epistle 116 to an apparently notorious misfortune which had befallen the writer, and to the literary exertions which had followed it, are suitable to this period. In each of these letters the person addressed may probably have been lord Mountjoy. But there is not sufficient evidence, in the case of any of them, to justify such an assumption; though the opening words of the Dedication of the Adages (Epistle 121) show, that Erasmus was at this time exchanging letters with his English pupil. It may be presumed that the address was wanting in the copies kept by him, and that he was either unable, or did not think it worth while, to recall it.

* No date in *Farrago*. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Opus Epist.*

EPISTLE 116. Farrago, p. 81 ; Ep. iv. 28 ; C. 44 (48).

Erasmus to a friend.

By your courtesy, dearest N , I beseech you to excuse my not writing you a long letter or one worth your reading. Believe me, I heartily wish I could do so, but it is hard to write pleasantly in such sad circumstances. I have not yet pulled myself together, not yet returned to my old self ; but am endeavouring with the Muses for helpmates to dedicate to you something worthy of you. However, that you may not think meantime that I shirk so trifling an exertion for your sake, I have constrained my spirit and copied our little Denise, who sometimes, as you know, dances and sings in the midst of her tears. When I have got back to my old state of mind, you shall not ask for anything in vain, provided I can give it you. I exhort you as a friend to apply yourself earnestly to Letters, not doubting you will attain a fair proficiency. If you love them, you cannot hate me. I therefore exhort you not only for your own sake but also for mine. I hope you are well, and pray that all the members of your family may be so too.

[Paris, 1500].†

EPISTLE 117. Farrago, p. 81 ; Ep. iv. 29 ; C. 45 (49).

Erasmus to * * * *

You wonder at my discontinuing my old habit of writing, but need not suspect anything amiss. I have not ceased to be what I have always been, your most loving servant and friend. Farewell.

† No date in *Farrago*. M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Opus Epist.*

EPISTLE 118. Farrago, p. 84; Ep. iv. 30; C. 45 (50).

Erasmus to * * *

Hearing that my friend N. is going into your parts I do not want him to go without anything from me, especially as he earnestly begs me to recommend him to you. I therefore beseech you to treat him according to your old habit. I know well, and he is quite aware, how much you are able, and how much for my sake you will be willing to do for him. You will take care that neither his hope nor my opinion of you be disappointed, and will acquire in him a new friend, while you bind me more closely to you. Farewell.

EPISTLE 119. Farrago, p. 82; Ep. iv. 31; C. 45 (50).

Erasmus to * * *

I should have written more frequently to you,—as I am generally willing enough to exchange this kind of civility with friends,—but I was afraid that I might seem more importunate than kind, if my letters interfered with your studies, or if you do not take so much pleasure in your correspondence as I do. Now, to say the truth, I can contain myself no longer; not that I have much leisure,—that being the one thing from which I have totally debarred myself,—but to show that the break in our intercourse has not at all diminished my old affection for you. I have this feeling about you, that I have gone altogether astray, if you do not cling to me with more than common regard.

You want to know what I am doing. I devote myself to my friends, with whom I enjoy the most delightful intercourse. With them I shut myself in some corner, where I avoid the gaping crowd, and either speak to them in sweet

whispers or listen to their gentle voices, talking with them as with myself. Can anything be more convenient than this? They never hide their own secrets, while they keep sacred whatever is entrusted to them. They speak when bidden, and when not bidden they hold their tongue. They talk of what you wish, as much as you wish and as long as you wish; do not flatter, feign nothing, keep back nothing, freely tell you of your faults, and take no man's character away. What they say is either amusing or wholesome. In prosperity they moderate, in affliction they console, do not vary with fortune, follow you in all dangers, and last out to the very grave. Nothing can be more candid than their relations with one another. I visit them from time to time,* now choosing one companion and now another with perfect impartiality. With these humble friends I bury myself in seclusion. What wealth or what sceptres would I take in exchange for this tranquil life?

If there is any obscurity in our metaphor, all that I have said about friends is to be understood of books, whose familiarity makes me a happy man, unlucky only in this, that I do not enjoy this felicity with you. Although there is no need to do so, I shall not cease to exhort you to cling with all your heart to noble studies. Do not admire anything that is vulgar or commonplace, but strive always to read what is highest.

I have conceived an affair on proverbs, maxims, and witty sentences; of which I send you some samples. I trust in a short time to count up more than three thousand. It will be, I venture to prophesy, a work both amusing and useful, and one not hitherto attempted by anyone. If I hear that you are interested in it, it will be a reason for my undertaking the labour more willingly and more warmly. Meantime farewell, and love us, as you do.

* Committo subinde. *Farrago; Opus Epist.* Qu. read, commeto. See Bentley's note on Horat. *Satir* ii. 5. 79.

When Erasmus wrote to Batt a few days before Easter (April 19), he was hoping that the book of Adages would be made public in a few days (statim post Pascha, ut spero, evulgandum. p. 236). The printing was not completed till the middle of June. This part of the labour was superintended by Augustine Caminad; and when the book was finished, the assistance of Faustus Andrelinus was obtained to recommend it to the learned world. This he did by an Epistle addressed to Erasmus, dated Paris, the 15th of June, 1500 (EPISTLE 120), which was printed at the commencement of the original edition, and is reprinted in Richter, *Erasmus-Studien*, pp. 38, 39. In a letter written to Polydore Vergil, 23 December, 1520 (Ep. xvii. 3; C. 671 F), Erasmus,—recalling the date of Faustus's letter in order to fix the time of the publication of the book, and to meet the charge of having borrowed the idea of it from Polydore, who had also published a collection of Proverbs,—says that his own book was printed at Paris in his absence, and that the letter of Faustus was extorted by the printer. The contemporary letters (see also Epistle 129) do not confirm these recollections as far as regards his absence. It may be worth while to observe, that Polydore's *Proverbiorum Libellus* was in reality printed at Venice in 1498, two years before the Adages. Erasmus appears to have known nothing of this book, and when, after Polydore had called attention to its priority, he sought for a copy of it for the purpose of comparing its age with that of the Adages, he found one in the library of Busleiden, which satisfied him that it was published in Italy three months later than his own work. This book must have been the second edition of Polydore's *Proverbs*, printed at Venice in 1500. Dibden's *Bibliotheca Spenceriana*, iii. 469.

In the choice of a patron for the first important book entrusted by Erasmus to the press, it was natural that he should turn to Lord Mountjoy, who had been present at the earliest suggestion of its subject. But we have seen in Epistles 112, 113, that there was some thought of dedicating it to Adolf of Burgundy, provided his mother signified her approbation in the way that the author hoped. This she does not appear to have done, while on the other hand there can be no doubt that Erasmus during this trying time of impoverishment and sickness received some assistance from his English patron. See Epistle 122, p. 255. In inscribing the Adages to him the author probably carried out his own original intention. The dedicatory Epistle is dated at Paris, without day or year, but may be assumed to have been written on the completion of the work of the press in June, 1500. It is re-

printed in the Leyden edition of Erasmus's works (C. ii.), but incorrectly described as a Preface to the edition of the Adages printed at Strasburg in 1517. It contains a long and witty essay on the subject of Proverbs; we have translated only its commencement and conclusion. A second dedication to the same patron was substituted in the Venice edition of 1508. Epistle 207, p. 442.

Epistle 121. Adagia Ed. 1500; C. ii Præf. 5.

Erasmus to Lord Mountjoy.

Instead of the Epistle for which you modestly ask, your Erasmus sends you a volume, and that of fair proportions. Would it were such as to satisfy either your claims upon me or my affection for you, and to have no reason for fearing your nice and accurate judgment. The work was not written, but dictated, at a time when we were suffering, after our journey, from a slight but daily recurring fever; and this was done behind the doctor's back, who was warning us meantime not to touch a book. Accordingly, laying aside all serious labours, and indulging in a more dainty kind of study, I strolled through the gardens provided by various authors, culling as I went the adages most remarkable for their antiquity and excellence, like so many flowers of various sorts, of which I have made a nosegay. I was induced to undertake the work partly by your own wish, which was seconded by prior Charnock; and partly by the thought, that my labour, if not productive of glory to the author, might at any rate be neither unprofitable nor unpleasing to readers, who, weary of our common and trivial language, were in search of more sprightly and brilliant modes of expression. * * * If any one should think that the examples are too few, we reply, that they are a collection made from the two months' dictation of an invalid, who had other business on hand. If too many, that we have left out not a few. If he should observe that

many of them are too bare and naked, let him only wait patiently for the latest handling. We have sent out these pages to make a trial, with small expense and risk, what is likely to be the fate of a New Work. Any one that will point out our mistakes, if in kindness, shall receive our thanks, if in malice, shall still be heard; while he who blames what he does not understand, will be met by the Apellean adage, Let the cobbler stick to his last.* There are some, who will not find in it anything to their taste; it is not written for them. * * *

You have here, dearest William, an Epistle verbose and proverbious, being all about proverbs. We only fear we have forgotten one time-honoured adage, Not too much of anything,† and that you may be already sick of the subject, and go on to the rest of the book with no appetite left. Farewell, therefore, noble sir, with your worthy consort, and accept with indulgence this foretaste of a future work. If you have good hopes of it, we shall submit what you see here to the file, and make no small additions to it. Afterwards we shall add another book, composed as they say, nostro Marte.‡ (Fye, you will say, what a crowd of Adages!) These will not be Adages, but something like them, which I know will delight you much more. Farewell.

Paris [June, 1500].§

In the dedication, to the same patron, of the Venice edition of 1508, Erasmus says that it had been his intention to make a collection of remarkable metaphors, graceful allusions, and poetical allegories, as an appropriate supplement to this work; and we may presume it is to that intention that he refers in the last sentence of the earlier dedication. Some of the materials collected for this purpose were probably employed in the composition of the little book entitled *Parabolæ sive Similia*, dedicated to Peter Gillis in 1514. Epistle 304. A lively

* Ne sutor ultra crepidam. *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. vi. Prov. 16.

† Ne quid nimis. *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. vi. Prov. 96.

‡ *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. vi. Prov. 19.

§ Parrhysiis. *Adagia*, ed. 1500.

review of his great completed work on Adages, introduced in the edition of 1518 as a comment on the phrase *Herculei labores* (Chil. III. Cent. i. Prov. 1), includes a reminiscence of the production of this earliest essay, which he attributes entirely to a desire to gratify Lord Mountjoy The book having been dedicated in several successive enlarged editions to the same patron, the author was disposed to exaggerate his original interest in it. Compare pp. 232, 236.

The first edition of this famous book, of which some dozen copies are known to exist, is a 4to volume of eight and a half sheets (144 pages not numbered), entitled *Desyderii Herasmi Roterdami veterum maximeque insignium paræmiarum id est adagiorum collectanea*, printed by John Philippe, and sold at his shop in the Rue S. Marcel at the sign of the Holy Trinity, and also in the Rue S. Jacques at the sign of the Pelican. The first half-sheet, which is separate from the sheets that follow, contains Epistles 120 and 121. Eight hundred and eighteen Adages are included in the collection, the first being Similes habent labra lactucas. At the end of the book are added the Epistle to duke Henry (Epistle 97), and the poem entitled *Prosopopœia Britanniæ*. See p. 202. The colophon is as follows: Impressum hoc opus Parrhisiis in Via diui Marcelli ac domo que indicatur Diuina Trinitas Augustino Vincentio Caminado a mendis uindicatore M. Johanne Philippo Alamano diligentissimo impressore Anno M.Vc. Vander Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*. Ghent, 1897, p. 3. At the Pelican in the Rue Saint-Jacques was the shop of the brothers de Marnef. Dibden, *Bibliographical Decameron*, ii. 30. Ryland's Library, Manchester, is said to have a copy of this rare book. *Catalogue*, vol. i. p. 626.

Epistle 122 is without date; and if it were necessary to determine its proper place in the series by its opening words, or indeed by its general contents with the exclusion of the last three paragraphs, it might be very confidently placed before Epistle 112, as the first letter addressed to Batt after Erasmus's journey to Paris. See p. 231. But it is clear, that the last three paragraphs were written after the return of the Lady of Veer from Rome (see p. 233); and the concluding words after the completion of the Adages, and therefore after Epistles 119, 120, and 121. I venture to suggest the following explanation of these inconsistent indications of date in the same letter.

Erasmus, early in February, 1500, sent to Batt, by the "talkative courier" who brought his papers to Paris soon after his arrival there

(see Epistles 112, 113), his first letter, probably of no great length, in which he gave some account of an alarm he had had on his journey, the circumstances of which, though they are not mentioned in Epistle 112, were known to Batt before Epistle 113 was written (p. 235). When Erasmus had more leisure at his command, after the completion of his book, it occurred to him to substitute in his Letter-book a more elaborate epistle, partly made up of portions of letters already written, and partly of a longer narrative of his adventures upon the journey from Tourneham to Paris. The opening paragraph of the revised Epistle, acknowledging the parcel sent by the talkative courier (pp. 232, 235), is probably repeated from the original letter; and the new narrative begins, in the second clause, where a more ambitious style is adopted, which reminds the reader at once of the rhetorical picture of the winter journey to Tournehem (Epistle 82). The paragraph towards the end of the Epistle (p. 255), in which the writer relates his first business in Paris (the recovery of his coat), and his contented life with Augustine, is probably another part of the original letter. The two paragraphs which follow belong to a later time, when Augustine's funds were exhausted, when on the approach of summer Erasmus had become nervously anxious about his own health, and when, the Adages being not yet published, he had nothing to present to the Lady, and was sending a begging letter to lord Mountjoy without any excuse for his exaction (p. 255). These paragraphs were probably extracted from another letter, written soon after Epistle 113, in which he proposes to send Adrian, one of his young couriers, to England. A short clause was added at the end, which apparently belongs to a still later letter, written after the publication of the Adages, when a parcel of books, containing a hundred copies, was sent to Batt to be forwarded to England. Epistles 123, 180; pp. 260, 377. The Epistle so composed became part of the stock of Epistles in the hands of Erasmus or his transcribers, while the original letter of February, 1500, and the other letters which had contributed to it, were suppressed.

Epistle 122. Farrago p. 258; Ep. ix. 14; C. 69 (81).

Erasmus to Batt.

I have to thank you, my dear Batt, on more accounts than one; you have sent me my labours, which are my whole fortune, both promptly as you are not wont to do, and in perfect faith as you always do; and have sent them

moreover by a messenger not only careful, but with a tongue in his head, so that there has been not only his labour but his talk to be paid for. But we have been a match for him at his own game, and according to the old proverb, with the Cretan * we played the Cretan.

Our English destiny pursued us to Paris. I have another tragedy to relate to you, more woeful than the other. It was the 31st of January when we reached Amiens. Good Heavens, after what a frightful journey ! Some Juno surely had once more roused Æolus against us. As I was already exhausted by the road and even feared an illness, I began to think of hiring horses, judging it better to spare my feeble body than my feeble purse. And from this point everything turned to disaster. While looking for my usual inn, I happen to pass a house with the inscription, Horses to let. I go in ; the master is called, a man in figure and manner so pointedly suggestive of Mercury, that at the very first approach he gave me the impression of a thief. We came to an agreement about the price for hiring two horses, and began the journey towards evening, accompanied by a young man, whom he spoke of as his son-in-law, and who was to take the horses back.

The day after, some time before dark, we arrived at a village called St. Jullien, a place marked by destiny for robbery. I urged our going on. The thief's apprentice made excuses, the horses were not to be over fatigued, it would be better to sleep there, and to make up for the loss of time by starting before daybreak. I did not make much opposition, not as yet suspecting anything wrong. We had almost done our supper, the young man being at table with us, when the maid called him aside, saying more than once that there was something amiss with one of the horses. The lad left the room, but with such a look as showed that the

* Cretiza cum Cretense, *πρὸς Κρῆτα κρητίζειν*, id est adversus mendacem mendaciis utere. Erasmi *Adagia*, Chil. I. Cent. ii. Prov. 29. In his use of the phrase here, Erasmus may perhaps mean, that he repaid talk with talk.

message was really something different. I immediately called back the maid. "Well," said I, "my girl, which horse is ill, this gentleman's or mine?" For I had an Englishman for my travelling companion. "And what after all is amiss?" Not being able to hide her consciousness, she tittered and confessed the imposture, saying that some one he knew had come and sent for the youth to speak with him. Soon after the job-master himself, who had destined our throats to the sacrifice, entered the room. We expressed our surprise, and asked what had happened, that he had come so unexpectedly after us. He said he brought lament able news, his daughter, the young man's wife, had been so kicked by a horse, that she was almost breathing her last, and he had made a hasty journey to fetch the youth home. To my mind the fiction began to be too perceptible. I watched carefully the look and gestures of both. In the master's I at once observed a sort of unsteadiness, in the youth's, who sat opposite, some confusion. I thought of what Cicero says, You would not act thus if you were not playing false. I now thought there was nothing to be done, but to get clear of the man, as everything I saw pointed to robbery.

There were circumstances in what had passed before, which increased my suspicion.* When we agreed at Amiens about the price, the man had particularly asked me what kind of money he was to have; and all at once there were people at our side,—I do not know where they sprung from,—who gave their assistance at the parley. They praised the job-master, congratulated me on having such a companion, and recommended me to his good offices. The master asked over and over again what *postulate* we had, that is, some special coin.† I said I had none. I took out

* The narrative, which is somewhat involved, goes back here, from the second evening after leaving Amiens, to what occurred in that city.

† Ecquem haberem postulatum, id est, nomisma rarius. "Florens called Postulates" are mentioned in some French accounts, cited by Ducange.

one or two crowns,* and though there was no fault to find with them, he quietly insisted that I should give him some one of special excellence out of the many he supposed I had. It is a trick of that nefarious trade, to make out what amount of money each traveller has with him. I showed him what coins I had, out of which he kept the finest. * *

When it was already dark, after passing a wood, we came to a town. The youth looked about, and pretended he did not know the place. He then took us to a house. I bade him look after himself as he pleased ; and we both went to bed fasting. The Englishman did this for religion,† I for health, as I was suffering in my stomach. Later on, a woman came in, when she supposed we were fast asleep, and had a long and most familiar talk with the youth, who had pretended he was a stranger there, until at last, on a hint of his, the conversation was continued in a whisper, so that I could hear no more of it.

Before daylight I had got them under way. All the journey I treat the young man with consideration. When we reached the town of Clermont, I proposed to go in, not to pass the night there, but to change some gold, that we might not be put to inconvenience if we slept at a village. The young man dissuaded me, asserting that he had himself silver money enough. We accordingly went on, leaving the town on our right.

When we were near the village (St. Jullien) the Englishman happened to be ahead with the youth, and I was following,

As my manner is,
Musing of trifles and on them intent.‡

* Scutatum unum et alterum.

† The 31st of January, 1500, was a Friday, Easter day being April 19. The next day was Candlemas eve. See p. 251.

‡ Sicut meus est mos,
Nescio quid meditans nugarum et totus in illis.
Horat. *Satir.* i. 9, 2.

But before I was aware, the Englishman had dismounted, and the youth had led the horse to a door, where there never was an inn. When I looked up, I wondered what he was thinking of. He stared about him, said he had not been there for fourteen years, and asked me what inn I chose. "Suppose," said he, "we turn in here," pointing to the house he meant to go to. I made no objection, remembering I had been comfortably entertained there before, and not knowing that the host had been changed. We are shown a room, as usual, and wine is put before us, but poorly answering to the palate. And yet we were scarcely in the house, when I had seen that unknown young man served in the kitchen with a glass of wine, the look of which had made my mouth water. Disappointed in my anticipation, I go down, expostulate with the host, and get the wine changed. These circumstances had rather occasioned surprise than suspicion. I now return to the point of my narrative where I broke off.

By that time being convinced that a theft was intended, I set to work to find means of escape. "Well," I said to the job-master, "what do you propose to do?" "Perhaps," said he, "I may myself take you to Paris, my son must certainly return home." "By all means," said I, "and I will suggest a plan that will suit you better still. Since such an accident has befallen you as may deprive you of a daughter and him of a wife, I will do this for you. You have in hand a crown of mine, stamped with the Sun, and there remain fourteen miles of the journey; take off a proportionate amount of the hire, and go back together. We will either walk the rest of the way, or procure other horses." The man shook his head, and went downstairs, like a skilful thief, leaving the young man behind, in the hope of fishing out through him what our opinion of the matter was. I then addressed the youth, "Come now," said I, "tell me true, what is all this about your wife?" He confessed the

story was a fiction, but his father-in-law must needs go to Paris, to obtain payment of a debt. "Don't be disturbed," he said, "by his talking. You had better mount your horses at daybreak to-morrow, and we will both go with you." "Nay," said I, "it is not for nothing that he has taken so long a journey to catch us up in such a hurry, and that by night and on so sacred a day,"—(it was Candlemas-eve),—"and what is the use of inventing so many lies?" The youth bade me be easy, they would do everything as I wished. "What if he is angry," said he, "I will not desert you, till my heart burst." And all this with that stolid face of his,—pretending that he was going to take my part in secret against his father-in-law! He then went down, doubtless to tell the whole story to his prompter.

Being now left to ourselves, I asked the Englishman, what he thought about it. He answered, he saw nothing but a concerted theft. "But what," I said, "is to be done?" It was now night, and the landlady came to make the beds. I asked, where we were to lie. She pointed to a bed. And where are the other two to be? "In this other bed," said she, meaning one in the same chamber. "I have," I said, "some trifling business to transact with my companion; allow us to sleep alone in this room, and we will pay for both beds." The vile woman, who evidently knew what was going on, began at first to argue, that we had better all be together; they were honest people, and there was no reason why we should wish them not to sleep in our room. If we had anything to talk of between ourselves, that might be done in our own language. If we feared for our money, we might safely trust it to them—the sheep to the wolf, as they say! Then she had the impudence to say, that all the other chambers were occupied, when besides ourselves there was not a guest in the house. To end the matter, when she could argue no longer, she stubbornly said she would not do it. I then ordered her to open the door, and turn us out.

She said she would not do that either, and went down muttering in a rage, and lost no time in telling the whole story to that murderer, while I listened on the stairs.

My English companion had no spirit, no plan, and no tongue; for he did not know a word of French. My first scheme was to bolt the chamber door, and put against it a heavy oaken settle; but I gave up this plan, when I considered that we were alone in a great house with many opposed to us; while it was now near midnight, and our cries could only be heard on the side which looked towards the street, where there was a convent church opposite the windows. Meantime while I am looking about in vain for some other device, the maid knocks at the door. I remove the settle as quietly as possible, and ask what she wants. She answers in a lively voice, that she has something to bring in. I open the door, and to conceal my fears address some playful remark to the girl. We now sate like two victims waiting to be sacrificed. It was however arranged between us, that we should remain talking leisurely and soberly over the fire without any liquor, until we went to bed in our shirts and hose, and watched and slept by turns. Not long after, that respectable person comes in, with an air of knowing nothing. I observe him carefully, and the more I look at him, the more certain I am that I see a thief. When at last he settled himself in bed with his apprentice, we follow his example. We noticed nothing in the night; only when the Englishman woke, he found his sword, which he had placed at his pillow, removed to the further corner of the chamber. We two had one sword between us and a gauntlet; that was our whole panoply.

Long before daylight I was stirring, and opening windows and doors. I called out that it was getting light, shouted, and woke up the household. Seeing me so busy, that thief addresses me in no sleepy voice "What are you about," said he, "'tis scarce five o'clock." I shouted in reply that

the sky was clouded, and it would soon be broad daylight. All this as near as possible to the windows. To cut the matter short, a lantern is brought in: I run down to see what is going on below stairs. Peering about in every quarter, I found the thief's horses standing saddled, as they must have stood the whole night, since, except the maid who had just woke up, every one else was still abed.

At last our assassins rise; and a circumstance which appeared unfavourable turned out an occasion of safety. That scoundrel had been only tempted by the belief that we had a great deal of money, and one circumstance convinced him that we had but little. There was a slight want of silver to satisfy the innkeeper for our supper and horses. I told them therefore that either he must change a gold piece, or the jobmaster advance five douzains* (for so much was required) to be repaid by me at St. Denis. The landlady swore she had no scales in the house, nor anyone to change the gold. The thief said he would advance the money, provided I handed him a gold piece in pledge; and the landlady, who was as impudent and stupid as she was dishonest, urged me strongly to do as he wished. A long dispute followed. I told her to open the door, that I might go myself to the Prior of the Convent opposite and get the money changed. She refused. The quarrel went on till daylight. At last we were asked to bring out the money we wanted changed. I brought out one coin after another. One was wanting in weight; another was said to be of base metal; another not solid enough,—all with the object of forcing us to show if we had any reserve of gold. When I had solemnly sworn that I had no other gold pieces but those, "Yes," said he, "but tell your companion to bring out his; I can see he is a moneyed man." And so without rudeness he urged his request. I swore, with the look and voice of a man speak-

* *Duodenarios;* old French douzains, equivalent to *solidi* or sous.

ing the truth and meaning what he said, that my companion had nothing about him but a promissory note.

At last the scales are brought out, and the innkeeper himself makes his appearance. An hour and a half are spent in weighing; and every gold piece is found to want some scruples. I observed at last, that there was cheating both in the scales and in the weights, and by great good luck I caught up the weight that was too heavy, without the landlord seeing me. Nothing was left but to use another weight, and all at once the gold piece weighed down the balance. Whichever side it was put into, the same result followed. It happened to be an old coin, which still contained more than the present standard, as the coinage is always being reduced.

Our throats were now tolerably safe, and the only object was to get some profit by cheating us. Then that thief, being almost disappointed of his hope, whether because he found we had little money, or because he had lost his character with us, and saw me in rather a threatening mood, the day too being now advanced, calls his familiar, the innkeeper, aside. Into what place do you suppose? If you please, into my lady's bedchamber, into which that scoundrel had retired by himself. You see there is more mutual trust and kindness between thieves than among all the world beside. They change the piece between them, and keep what they think proper for the supper and horses. I took back the three and twenty deniers they brought me with cheerfulness; and then concealing my fears as well as my simplicity would permit, "Come," I said, as the jobmaster still stood doing nothing, "let us to horse. What are you about now? Why are we not going? Are not you ready yet?" "No," said he, "not till you pay the whole amount." "And how much do you want," said I. For besides the crown, there were three douzains to be paid him. He demands in the most shameless way some preposterous

amount. "Take us to Paris," said I, "as you have engaged to do, and there we will settle our accounts." "What are you likely," said he, "to give at Paris, when you dispute the matter even here?" The man was wise, and would not let himself be drawn from his highway practice. On my part, all this was put on; nothing was less in my mind than to trust myself again on the road with those ruffians. After a little more sparring, as the man refused to stir, I pretended we were going to the Church, instead of which we crossed the river and took the road straight to Paris, not feeling quite secure from the robber's knife until St. Denis received us in his walls.

I arrived at Paris on the 2nd of February, worn out by the journey and exhausted in purse. The only business I had to do was to claim my coat, and even this I did not find easy. A pretty specimen of French sanctimoniousness! Falke had left directions, even in writing, that the garment should be delivered to me on my return. Well, I went and demanded it. Those religious men, as they would be thought, told me the coat had been left in pledge, and would be restored on payment of a franc.* But when I came to enquire more carefully into the matter, they gave it up, and the writing with it, by which they convicted themselves of a manifest imposition. I have now left me three crowns † of deficient weight. I have taken up my quarters with Augustine, my old friend. We live for literature, in a humble way, but without envying your castle.

I have nothing to send to my Lady; and am despatching the young man who carries this, to England, on purpose to try if I can squeeze anything from my Lord. But my mind misgives me: I feel it is a shameless proceeding, and not at all congenial to my character; but necessity is a mighty weapon, which forces us to try every expedient. If he sends

* *Si francum darem* † *Tres scutati.*

a small sum, do you meantime extract something either from the lady or from some other quarter, so that we may make up thirty crowns.* It is not without good reason, my dear Batt, that I am so set on this. I am convinced that it is dangerous for my constitution to stay longer in this country, lest, if anything should happen, which God avert, I perish with all my small store of Letters. And if a doctor's gown is offered me, I fear my spirit may fail me before my life. Wherefore I entreat and adjure you, my dear Batt, if there is any spark of your old affection left, to give your mind to the means of saving me. You perhaps think, in your goodnatured easy way, that you have already done your best for me. But I see myself, that, unless some measures are taken, I am undone as I never was before, since N. gives nothing, my lady promises from day to day, the Bishop is not even friendly, the Abbot bids me be of good cheer, and meantime not a soul comes forward to assist me except poor N., whom I have so exhausted that he has nothing more to give; and the plague interferes with my earnings by the only means by which, as I told you, I had any hope.† Various considerations meantime press upon my mind. Where am I to fly, bare as I am? What, if the sickness overtakes me? If nothing happens of this kind, still what can I do in literature without an ample supply of books? What fortune have I a right to expect, if I leave Paris? Finally what is learning without authority, —the privilege of being laughed at and called rhetorician by such monsters as those we saw at St. Omer? I write all this, not to deafen you with my complaints, but to rouse you up from slumber, so that we may soon bring to pass what

* *Aureos.*

† The source of profit affected by the plague may have been pupils' fees, or the speedy sale of the forthcoming book, which, when this clause was originally written, does not appear to have been published. See p. 246. The second N. is probably Augustine.

we have so long attempted in vain, and may return at last to that happy intercourse which we always talk of.

Farewell, my dear James. I wrote an answer by the courier that brought my baggage. If you still have by you the letter I wrote to Mountjoy from Tournehem,* please deliver it to the lad who brings this. Give my greetings where they are due. You need have no fear for the honesty of this young man, if there is anything to be entrusted to him.

Augustine is giving public expositions of the Adages,† with the fullest audiences.; up to this time we have made a fair beginning. If you think you can sell any copies at St. Omer, take them out of the parcel. Farewell again.

Paris [1500].‡

We may well suspect that the details of the story, told in the above letter some months after the journey, were partly imagined in order to make a stirring narrative to excite the interest of the Lady of Veer, and of others to whom the Epistle might be communicated. But there is no reason to doubt the truth of the main incidents, to which there is a reference in Epistle 113. See p. 235. And in a fragment of a letter inserted in the book *De conscribendis Epistolis*, C. i. 378 B, Erasmus refers to the loss of his money at Dover, as a fortunate accident, which saved him, in the journey that followed, from being a mark for spoliation and violence. See p. 277. On the other hand, a suspicious mind may have imagined danger in circumstances which would have given no tremor to robuster nerves. See Epistle 125 and the comment upon it, p. 267. The name of St. Jullien appears to be fictitious. I cannot find that there is, or was, any place so called between Clermont and Paris. To fix upon a probable locality for the incident as narrated, we have to find on the road from Clermont, a village, with a convent, and a bridge leading in the direction of St. Denis, within a day's walk from Paris. If Pontoise was in the author's mind, the word *viculus* may have been used to conceal its identity.

* Probably Epistle 111, which was to be carried on to England.

† Opus Adagiorum palam enarrat. See p. 260.

‡ Lutetiæ, anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.* For date see pp. 245, 246.

It may be observed, as bearing upon Erasmus's knowledge of modern languages, that he is described as conversing frequently with his English companion, who did not understand French. And yet many years later, after a long residence in England, he had recourse to a friend, with whom he communicated in Latin, to explain what he wished to the father of his English servant. Epistle 269. It is possible that English was not the common language of Erasmus and his fellow-traveller, who may have been acquainted with the dialect of the Low Countries, or perhaps with Latin, then commonly used as a spoken language.

In the summer or early autumn of 1500, Erasmus, in company with Augustine Caminad, left Paris for Orleans. See p. 262. His reasons for choosing this retreat, rather than rejoining his friend at Tournehem, are partly explained in the following letter. Batt appears to have been unable to invite him to stay at the Castle, but to have suggested his lodging with a certain Peter,—probably "Peter Vaulz the philosopher," Epistle 112,—to whose house, on account of some scandalous imputation, he was unwilling to go. See pp. 183, 272. He writes in evident ill-humour, and the letter was with some reason described in the answer of his correspondent as written morosely, p. 263.

Epistle 123. Farrago, p. 282 ; Ep. ix. 31 ; C. 36 (36).

Erasmus to Batt.

This day we are about to start for Orleans. There is always some evil genius at hand to interfere with our wishes. My inclination would have led me to you, both because I should have been nearer home, and because an opportunity seemed to present itself for helping in some measure, or at any rate encouraging, your studies. But there were many considerations on the other side. I scarcely knew of any suitable lodging, for as to staying with Peter, as you suggested, I have no objection myself, but there is that scruple you are aware of; not that I fear either for my continence or my good name, but I should not like any suspicious

rumour to come round to our friend Peter. For you know how the vulgar herd, and especially the herd of courtiers, dislike learned men, and are ready to attribute to us what they practise themselves. Besides, I thought that perhaps some persons might wonder at my running back to Tournehem so often. And lastly, I was discouraged by your coldness, remembering that your advice to take refuge with you was given coldly and with some hesitation. I do not even know whether you still care for learning : since you have become subject to a new kind of love, in which blandishments foster desire, and yet abundance does not, as in other cases, destroy the appetite.* You know what I mean. I am not unaware of your preference for William, or of your devotion to his interests, and am so far from being jealous, that I own myself indebted to you on that account. But to abandon me, after laying the foundations of my success, is like destroying the children you have begotten and acknowledged as your own. My lady dispatched William on his journey with a handsome gratuity, and sent me back empty,† when he was returning home, and I was going away from my country, he hurrying to his cups, I to my books. You will say that she is more than rich enough to give to both. But you know the ways of these great people, you know, above all, the gusts that sway the female mind. But I hold my tongue ; at any rate, if I am defrauded of my expectations, I am glad that my friend William should profit by the transfer.

If, as I trust may be the case, my suspicions are false and you are the same as you have always been, do persuade

* In quo blandimenta desiderium foveant, nec copia tamen, ut in ceteris, fastidium adducat. Does Erasmus mean that his friend had a touch of avarice ?

† Me vacuum remisit. Erasmus does not appear to have had any interview with the lady since his first visit to Tournehem, when he was gratified by his reception, but did not receive any considerable present. See pp. 185, 194.

my lady to make good her promises, and, what is more, to give me a benefice. You may consider this as a present not to me but to yourself, and may thus find a way of enjoying a benefice without being a priest. I will tell you why I have set my mind upon it. I am eager to leave France as soon as possible, and long to live among my own people. This I find will be more conducive both to my good name and to my health. For now my countrymen at home believe, that I choose to be abroad to enjoy greater liberty, while the people here suspect, that I am not wanted at home and live here as a sort of outcast. Lastly, if there were no other, there is this most urgent reason, that I may see you and my William pretty often. The book just printed has no sale here now, because Augustine has ceased the interpretation of it, and there is a general flight on account of the plague. And yet, if it is not soon sold, I shall not find a printer for my book on Letters, which I now have in hand. Wherefore, dear Batt, do pray exert all your efforts, all your powers, and all your ingenuity to get this done.

I have written with some care to the Lord Provost, and sent him a copy of my Adages. I have also sent William's Odes, and those trifling verses of mine that were printed some time ago about the Birthplace of Jesus.* When I hear Josse has returned, I will write to him and to the Abbot, as I have found something suitable to say to both.

I sent a young man to England with some books to be distributed, and wonder he had not reached you before the Doctor left. When he returns from England, as he is quite safe, and will doubtless follow us to Orleans, take care and write by him in full about our business and our hopes. As soon as I finish anything like a book, I shall forward it to you ; if any accident should take me off, you will not let the

* Nugas meas olim excusas de Casa Natalitia. This poem appears to have been printed at Paris in 1499. See pp. 22, 198, 209.

monuments of my genius perish. I shall take the title of Doctor, if either Mountjoy or my lady send me anything; if not, I shall throw up all hope of that honour, and return to you in any condition. I have long had enough of France. Farewell.

Our health is not what we desire. My Augustine sends his good wishes. I enclose a Poem against Delius; an impromptu piece, and not worth reading, unless once and rapidly. You may treat it as a sort of unedo,* of which one bite is more than enough. I send one copy of the Adages for your Adolf; if I find he takes pleasure in literature, I will present him hereafter with something as his own.

I do wish, my dear Batt, that you knew Greek, both because I find Latin literature incomplete without it, and because it would make our intercourse more agreeable, if we took delight in the same studies. You must put the first elements of that language before your pupil. "Send them," you will say. Well, they are sold here and cheaply; but I answer, that I have not a halfpenny. You will guess the rest, what a slavery I undergo, and you know well my impatience of slavery. However, this state of things must soon end one way or other,—I trust, well.

I am glad that the person about whom we were anxious on his daughter's account has been discharged.† Farewell again, dearest Batt, and fare well indeed.

Paris [July or August, 1500].‡

Erasmus was on the point of leaving Paris for Orleans on the day when the above Epistle was written. It was accompanied by a copy of the Adages for presentation to his correspondent's young pupil.

* A fruit mentioned by Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* xv. 5. 27-28. For Delius, apparently a rival poet, see pp. 194, 202.

† A prisoner accused of heresy, apparently at St. Omer, see p. 265.

‡ No date in *Farrago*. Luteciæ. M.D.CCCC.XC.VIII. *Opus. Epist.*

From this circumstance, and from the fact that the parcel of copies of the same work which had been sent with Epistle 122, had not reached Tournehem before the Doctor left, who had brought the last news from Batt (see p. 260), we may conclude that Epistle 123 and Erasmus's departure from Paris followed shortly after the publication of the Adages. The volume was probably issued from the press soon after the middle of June, 1500 (p. 242); but the author was naturally unwilling to leave the city until, assisted by the public readings of Augustine, he had seen the book fairly launched (p. 257). When these "interpretations" were cut short by the increase of the plague, which was driving all probable purchasers away (p. 260), Erasmus thought it best to follow the example of his neighbours and seek a healthier residence. The book *de Literis*, which he had in hand, and for which he was hoping soon to find a printer (p. 260), was probably the *Antibarbarians*, which was a defence of Polite Literature. See pp. 297, 298.

CHAPTER X.

Erasmus at Orleans, July to December, 1500. *Residence with James Tutor. The Abbot's brother, Dismas. Epistles* 124 *to* 133.

THE latter half of the year 1500 was spent by Erasmus for the most part at Orleans, where for some time he shared the lodging of Augustine Caminad (who had left Paris with him), and afterwards removed to the house of a young lawyer from the Low Countries named James Voecht (see p. 270), who, having pupils under his charge, was distinguished by the title of Tutor. In this house Erasmus remained as a guest, for three months or more, until his return to Paris in December. See pp. 285, 298. Epistle 124 has in *Farrago* the heading, Epistola familiariter iocosa, to which in *Opus Epistolarum* are added the words, et ironiis plena. The early part of it has a bitter tone, Erasmus being angry with Batt for resenting his last letter. William Herman appears to have made the acquaintance of the Lady, probably during her stay at Veer, and to have received some present from her, about which he had written to Batt. This circumstance added to the ill humour of Erasmus, who for the moment regretted that he had been the means of introducing a rival to his patroness's good graces. Towards the end of the letter we find a trace of the first commencement of one of his most popular works. The "every day phrases used in accosting each other and at table" (p. 266) appear to be the ground-work of the Colloquies.

EPISTLE 124. Farrago 277; Ep. ix. 28; C. 53 (60).

Erasmus to Batt.

I see my letter has made you angry, and you say it was written morosely I should have said jocosely; or if there was any bitterness, it was not directed against you, but poured out before you by the most righteous sorrow. How-

ever, I acknowledge my fault,—a double fault,—as I neither had regard to my own wretched condition, nor to your happy one. For it is not becoming for a man in the deepest affliction to try to be facetious, still less to be captious or ill-tempered, especially towards one who is in the full tide of prosperity, and to whom he is in many ways indebted. Besides I know it is the fashion at Court, that when you have to do with persons whom dame Fortune has abandoned, and whom you have made your slaves by some little favour, you not only refuse to listen to any upbraiding, but scarcely tolerate even a timid supplication, and expect a gush of gratitude, after felling the wretch with your blows. But as in grievous sickness men lose their consciousness, so in my distress of mind, when I was most afflicted, I failed to remember what a poor creature I was. And indeed I used to think Erasmus did not need to be under any restraint with Batt. I have hitherto only loved you (why should I not avow it ?) and not feared you ; for you know that perfect love does not consist with fear. But that really blind love has carried me too far ; I see my fault, and will accept the hardest punishment, if I do not amend it. Henceforth I will love my Batt as a friend, as a benefactor, as a man of learning. I will reverence him as my teacher, as my king, in whose power it is to make or to ruin me. I will submit to be beaten if you find henceforth in any of my letters,—I do not say an insolent or unruly word,—but one that is not bland, supplicating, and suitable to a slave, that has the gallows before his eyes. Furthermore I give you thanks as my patron for recalling me to myself and reminding me of my fortune.

I will now reply in order to your gracious letter, and beg you will be pleased to grant me a favourable hearing. In the first place I give up altogether that habit of writing morosely, and pray you to receive me again to some small degree of favour. That the Provost is my hearty well-

wisher, I recognize as no merit of my own; but do homage to your influence, which has recommended me to so great a person. Your sending me William's letter is like sending me word to choose a tree to hang myself upon. I understand it is all over with me if he has taken my place. But why should I bear so impatiently a misfortune which my own folly has brought upon me?

Pray do not suppose that my not writing to the Abbot is due to laziness. I have not been able to think of any subject to write about, and you know my slowness; it is wrong, but what can you do with an ass? Besides I thought that he would be still away in Brabant. I have written to Antony,* that you may not think me altogether failing in my duty, although no fit subject occurred to me; for I know how troublesome it is to write to one who has a great deal of curiosity but not so much learning.

Upon the escape of the man whom they wanted to make a heretic, I congratulate, first, his daughter, whose pious tears grieved my soul, next, you, because your prayers in the daughter's name have not been vain, and lastly the man himself, if he has altered his mind. How much more worthy of punishment was that wicked Dominican Suffragan, the most corrupt, rapacious and arrogant of men. To spite him, I took the man's part more earnestly with the Abbot.

You order me to buy some copies of Terence together with William's Odes; and I will serve you as a faithful slave. Only you will pardon me if I do not run back to Paris to buy them! Besides, the messenger asserted that you had given him a tin coin, which he had left at home, while I have nothing to give, nor any person from whom I can borrow, and I could obtain no money on my own credit in a strange town. Nevertheless I will try, if my life is prolonged, to send you what you want.

* Antony of Lutzenburg, chaplain of the Abbot of St. Bertin, to whom several later Epistles are addressed. Epistles 131, 141, 145.

Your inviting me to the Castle, if the plague drives me hence, has restored me to some hope of life. Most indulgent Batt, why can I not fly to your knees, and humbly kiss your feet? I see you would have me saved, and not die of famine. For what punishment is more bitter or more infamous? And yet,—you will pardon my timidity,—I am still a little afraid that your anger has not burnt itself out. When I am sure of that, I will leave my sanctuary

When you tell me you are so pleased with William's poem, I again feel myself knocked down, and know not what Power to implore, either above or below, but you alone, who are a sort of Providence to me. Caminad humbly thanks you for deigning to mention him in your honourable letter. As soon as he received your commands, he swept out the whole stock to see what he could send you. Believe me, he has nothing of which you have not a copy, but some every-day phrases, which we use in accosting each other and at table. These shall be sent, if you so command, when they have been corrected and enlarged. My work *De Epistolis Conscribendis* I intend to submit to the file, and that too I will send, if you desire it.

So far in answer to your letter; I will add a few words besides. We had sent a young man with a load of books; but I infer that your letter was written before he reached you. I then wrote by Adrian; but woe is me that I wrote. For I wrote (I am ashamed to say it) morosely! I had not yet received your letter. Pardon me, I beseech you; so may you ever live in that Court of yours, rich and happy! Here we shall have, as we deserve, starvation enough.

I have begged, not without shame, three douzains of Augustine, which I have given the courier and told him where he can buy the books. I have written to the Abbot; but the letter will be thrown away unless you read it to him; do therefore be present. Farewell, my dearest and sweetest Batt. I do not refuse the invitation you send me,

for if the plague follows us here, I would certainly rather take refuge with you than anywhere.

[Orleans, August, 1500.]

The above epistle has no date in *Farrago*. The date, "Audomari, M.CCCC.XCIX.," which is appended to it in *Opus Epistolarum*, appears to be repeated by mistake from the short letter that follows in the same book (Epistle 160). The circumstances of the writer at the time, and the position of Epistle 124 in the correspondence after Epistle 122 and 123, appear in the epistle itself, the "angry banter" of which is alluded to in the first sentence of the following epistle.

Epistle 125 is principally interesting as throwing light upon the character of the writer. Erasmus suspected without any valid reason, that he was being cheated by Augustine of the value of the parcel of books which had been sent to England (Epistles 122, 123); and being convinced for the moment of the truth of his suspicion, his imagination supplied him with ample confirmatory evidence, while in the last words of his letter he admits the possibility that he may be the victim of a false alarm. It appears from the commencement of this letter, that it was written eight weeks after the books were despatched. The Adages were published soon after the middle of June. P 242. We may therefore date the epistle in the latter part of August, 1500.

Epistle 125. Farrago, p. 280; Ep. ix. 30; C. 64 (76).

Erasmus to Batt.

My best wishes to you, sweetest Batt. Our affairs are in such a state, that tender endearments and angry banter are alike both undesirable and impossible. I will describe my position; pray attend with your old kindness. The young man whom we sent to you with a load of books, and who promised to return in four weeks, has now been missing for eight. I am not unaware how many unexpected incidents constantly arise on a journey, as illness, robbers, new affairs to be attended to, in fact a thousand causes of delay Nevertheless I cannot help fearing that there is some great

roguery at the bottom of it. In the first place, you know Augustine's character and his old tricks. Then, I understand the young man was much in debt where we were, and neither very wise nor safe, besides being closely concerned in Augustine's private plans.

Things have come out now, as they will do, after the feast, as they say. I have often wondered to myself, what was the meaning of that sudden overflow on Augustine's part, that rapid metamorphosis, by which a man who was used to lay his hands on other people's goods, became so lavish of his own. For of late he has spent on me a little more than he had received from me. A slight suspicion has sometimes arisen in my mind, that I was being entrapped, so that when once caught I might yield everything to the fowler. That suspicion, if I am not much mistaken, will turn out true, and that you may see it is so, just observe what has happened.

We retired to Orleans for fear of plague. After several days there, one of the lads kept by Augustine had an illness, whether contagious or not, we do not yet know ; for nothing is more difficult than to catch that cuttle-fish, surrounded by the darkness which it creates. But when the boy had been for four days and more constantly vomiting, and suffering from diarrhœa, fearing my own health might be affected, I explained to Augustine that it would be more convenient if I went away for five or six days,—making more room in the house, and saving myself from nausea,—and came back after a while. Augustine at once took offence, although he tried hard to conceal it. He said he would not persuade me one way or the other,—I might do as I pleased,—he had no opinion or advice to offer. The meaning of that was, that he thought I had not at that time a single farthing, and could do nothing without money, so that I must either remain against my will, or fall into great difficulties. I joined company with a certain Master James Tutor of Antwerp, a Professor of the Pontifical Law, a charming young man, very

desirous of our society, and a most zealous admirer and upholder of our literary fame; but upon such terms that I might return to Augustine when his lad recovered. Upon this Augustine was not only angry, but began to be jealous of James, and to signify, partly by silence and partly by those enigmatical phrases of his, that it would not be open for me to return to him. Although I had become aware of this, I waited to search the matter out more clearly. To cut the matter short, I detected the spirit of an enemy, a traitor and a thief, in one word, of that old Augustine whom I have partly described to you. He intends, I suspect, to receive the young man we sent to England behind my back and to take whatever money or letters he may bring. Meantime something will be done; either Augustine will himself take to flight, or will certainly ruin us somehow. Believe me, Batt, I expect nothing from him, but what might be expected from a treacherous assassin. And I am sadly afraid the man is already returned and the booty in the hands of the plunderer. * * *

At any rate you may be sure of this, that Augustine, if he can do it secretly, will contrive my ruin, and in the first place will be in wait for this money. If therefore you wish to save me, you will not go to sleep in this matter, nor spare any labour or cost. For if I steer past this rock, I trust that all will be safe. * * *

If the young man now returns to you from England, after honestly doing his errand, still keep everything of mine, upon the pretext I have already suggested, without leaving a feather in trust. If he has left you sometime ago, and did bring money with him, in which case it is pretty clear that Augustine has been busy at his tricks, send someone at once to England to find out the particulars.

Whatever you receive from the young man, send it on by the St. Omer courier, and give him instructions not to go to Augustine's lodging, but either to Dismas the Abbot's

brother, or to Master James Vœcht* of Antwerp, with whom I am living ; or, if there is occasion to do so, send Adrian.

Farewell, my best and dearest Batt. As there is so much occasion to write, I wonder you did not do so by the bearer, who accompanied the Governor's † son hither. Again farewell. My friend James sends his greetings. Help me as soon as possible out of this fright, if I am mistaken, or this disaster if my suspicion is true.

Orleans [August, 1500].‡

The suspicion which gave occasion to the preceding letter is shown by a later letter to Batt to have been without foundation; the delay in the return of the messenger from England not being caused by any act of Augustine. The books sent to England for sale were the subject of enquiry some years later. Epistle 180.

The following letter, which refers to a copy of Homer which Erasmus had borrowed of Augustine, supplies some indication of the limits of Erasmus's knowledge of Greek at this time. The book, which appears to have been in two parts (p. 271), may have been a printed copy, as Homer was printed at Florence in 1488, in two folio volumes. Augustine is still staying at Orleans, and Erasmus abstaining from visiting him on account of the sickness in his house.

Epistle 126. Farrago, p. 84 ; Ep. iv. 33 ; C. 78 (87).

Erasmus to Augustine.

To gratify your doctor, you want to rob me of the only consolation of my weariness ; for I do not venture to speak of it as a present. I am so enamoured of this author, that even when I cannot understand him, I am refreshed and fed by the very sight of his words. But as it would be wrong for me to refuse you anything, however hard, especially in your trouble, I send you one part of Homer, so that the

* M. Jacobum Vœcht. *Farrago.* Jacobum *Opus Epist.*

† Prætoris. ‡ Aureliæ. ANNO M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

doctor's importunity may be satisfied without depriving me of all my comfort.

Our living with James does not prevent us from being solitary; and I therefore look forward impatiently to returning to our former life. This I think may soon come to pass, since I hear the lad is much better. Meantime I entreat you that by exchange of letters we may keep up some semblance of companionship.

I cannot induce you to send me the work of Epistles,* though I am much interested in your doing so, and you are somewhat interested too. As for James I will bind myself to you at any risk, that I will not communicate a word to him. I have accustomed him not to pay any attention to what I do.

Farewell, dearest Augustine, and sustain our common fortune with your usual energy. James sends his salutations. His regard for you binds him the more to me. I expect the work of Epistles, if not the whole, at least one or two books,† so that we may be able at any rate to make a beginning. And this work may, I think, be cleared off during the interval, for I do not see how my other labours can be finished without a great quantity of books. Take care of yourself, my good friend, and farewell.

[Orleans, 1500.]‡

The volume of Homer so recovered from Erasmus was sent to the physician accompanied by a long rhetorical letter written in Augustine's name by Erasmus, and printed, without date, among his correspondence. EPISTLE 127. Farrago, p. 101; Ep. v. 8; C. 1854 (464).

Epistle 128, which is without date of month, was written near the close of the year. Erasmus declines to undertake a winter journey (p. 272), and anticipates that his Patroness will be liberal at Christmas (p. 274). It appears from this Epistle (pp. 272, 273), that the Bishop

* Epistolarum opus. † Codicem unum aut alterum.

‡ No date in *Farrago*. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Opus Epist.*

of Cambrai, whose service had been used by Erasmus as a reason for leaving the Convent, somewhat resented the independence assumed by his protégé, who expected to receive continued assistance without acknowledging any corresponding obligation. See Epistle 151.

Epistle 128. Farrago, p. 287 ; Ep. ix. 33 ; C. 62 (74).

Erasmus to James Batt.

We are remaining here after all, and you with your old kindness will join your assent to our change of plan, which has not been made without due consideration. For to begin, there was no money for the journey, except what I might borrow. In the next place we had only just recovered from illness ; and the winter journey was rather terrifying, especially this year, in which I have travelled a great deal, and with no good fortune. The plague too, as I hear, is now almost at rest. And besides, there was that ill-natured scandal, in case I went back to those quarters so often.* Lastly, James, who in this respect resembles you in mind as well as name, treats me with so much affection, that if there were nothing else, I might be bound to the spot by that tie. As to the Abbot, the way he invites me almost frightens me from coming. If he loves us dearly, I know not how he will interpret that fright ; but then, being of a light heart, if he does love us, he will love us all the better for being away. And if he is going to imitate his brother, it is well to be as far off as possible ! Of the levity, or shall I say jealousy, of the latter,† I am ashamed to complain to you. My small letters have been indeed unlucky, to have met with such an Anti-Mæcenas, as not only fails to cherish them, but bears them a bitter grudge. John Standonk has, you know, lately come back from Louvain with a poor little master of Mechlin. The latter has been entrusted by that right reverend prelate, to trace and smell out with all his

* See pp. 183, 258.

† The Bishop of Cambrai.

sagacity the secrets of my life at Paris, and to send him in writing all his discoveries; and he has promised a handsome reward to the informer. He was even shameless and silly enough to add, that he wondered I had the face to stay at Paris, when I had no longer his authority! He is mad indeed to have such thoughts in his head, and still more crazy to communicate them to this needy pedant. I fancy that his bile has been stirred, partly because he thinks himself neglected, but principally because he supposes that I complain of him to his brother or others, by whom he is blamed on my account. But this conduct is so far from discouraging me, that I should like all the more to perform at Paris some astounding feat which would altogether take his breath away.

I have told you the reasons why I have not come to you, as I should otherwise have longed to do. I send you Lewis, who has been my boy, with the intention that he should enter the service of Josse, who I suppose has now returned. If not, I beg you to recommend the lad to some one else, or, as he would prefer, take him, if you can manage it, yourself. He is so honest that there is nothing he may not be trusted with, no small praise for a boy. Moreover, he writes both rapidly and neatly, in French as well as Latin. A fair scholar, industrious, most respectful, and of no bad disposition, and you might yourself find him useful in transcribing books. If therefore you can provide for him, you will gratify me, and do a good turn to a lad who is now much in need of help. If you have no room for him, see if there is any vacancy at the Abbot's. If you keep this boy, forward my money to me as soon as possible by the courier of St. Omer, together with the parchment manuscript of Aurelius Augustinus, and anything else you think will be of use to me.

The course of circumstances has reconciled me with Augustine. He acknowledges his debt, but says he has

nothing to give, which I am disposed to think true. I already owe some crowns to James here, and want you therefore to send me, not only all the money you have of mine, but also any sum you can yourself spare for Erasmus. How am I to be repaid, you will say. By the lady, I answer; she will surely not be so hard as to let Christmas pass for nothing. There is no other way of saving me, dear Batt; I write this in all seriousness.

If you despair of providing for this boy, do not let him stick there, but send him back at once with your letter, the money and the book, and whatever else there may be; you cannot write or send by a safer hand. I approve of your being cautious in your letters, but trust me you may send by him what gossip you please; and you will give him for his journey ten or twelve douzains out of my money. Also, whether he is kept with you or sent back, you will give him that black coat of mine, which is in your hands, so that he may have some reward from me for his service, unless the coat has been disposed of already.

N. as you write, gives very sparingly,* which I attribute to that stupid Galba. It was by his folly that my money was lost in England. But as to that we will hold our tongue for the present; there will be an opportunity of paying him out some day. We shall nevertheless proceed in our studies by the road we have laid out. I am sorry the Adages were sent out there† for distribution, as they sell here more freely and at a higher

* N. ut scribis, perquam parce. One or more words are wanting. We cannot doubt that the person named was Mountjoy, who in acknowledgement of the dedication, had sent a smaller present than was expected. Galba was the English courier, who was expected in March with Erasmus's parcel (p. 233), and had probably now brought the 'money from England.' P 285.

† Istuc. To Tournehem, and so to England. P. 257. The consignment for the Low Countries was sent later. See pp. 303, 304.

price. My James here, who is verily another Batt, desires to be commended to you; he loves you so devotedly, that you must run no risk of appearing to be surpassed in affection. Farewell, my dear Batt. I have written with the less care, to avoid disturbing my health, which is still delicate.

Orleans [November, 1500].†

In writing to Faustus (Epistle 129) Erasmus protests that he is longing for more congenial conversation, his friend James Tutor being chiefly versed in legal authors. For some indication of his own literary work at this time, see p. 318.

EPISTLE 129. Farrago, p. 109; Ep. v. 23; C. 57 (71).

Erasmus to Faustus, the King's Poet.

My boy brought me a message from you that I was a coward, because I had shifted my quarters on account of some fear of plague. An insufferable reproach, if addressed to a Swiss warrior, but hurled at a poet, fond of ease and retirement, it misses its aim. Indeed in cases of this kind, I hold that absence of fear is not so much a sign of courage as of stupidity. When you have to do with an enemy that may be driven back, resisted and conquered by fighting, in that case he who lists may play the hero for me. What are you to do against an evil which can neither be seen nor conquered? There are things which may be escaped, but cannot be overcome. * * *

Nevertheless I am already pressed to return, not only by my Muses, who are wretchedly cold here in the company of Accursius, Bartolus and Baldus, but also by a sharp and severe frost, which comes very seasonably for extinguishing the remains of the disease.

† No date in *Farrago*. Aureliæ An. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Opus Epist.*

I know that it is needless for me to ask you to do what you are constantly doing of your own accord, still I will ask you to honour with your recommendation our Adages, that abortive production of mine, with a view to its speedy sale. This favour you will accord, not to the work itself, but to our friendship. For I am not so conceited as not to see what the book is. But when you want to get rid of indifferent goods, there is more need of a puffer, the less they are worth; and we shall be all the more obliged to you, if you give your vote in accordance not with your judgment, but with your good will. I might urge, that you have not left it open for yourself to do anything but praise my poor volume, to which you have attributed every merit in a letter which served as an introduction to it. Finally we undertake that this rough-hewn and misshapen production shall be not merely submitted to the file, but taken back to the workshop and entirely remodelled, so as to come out at last in such a form, that you may not repent of your testimony, nor the subject of it be ashamed of your undeserved commendation. In which remodelling we shall hope to have your help, not only as a critic, but as a designer. Farewell.

Orleans, the morrow of the Feast of St. Elizabeth, 20 Nov. [1500].*

We have seen (p. 165), that Erasmus gave to Robert Fisher a copy of his incomplete book *de Conscribendis Epistolis*, and that in November, 1498, Augustine possessed the only other copy of it. P 178. In the following May Erasmus had this work in hand with the intention of finishing it. P 195. But we find him again employed upon it in December, 1500, and January, 1501. Pp. 285, 287, 305. His occupation with it about this time is confirmed by a real or fictitious letter introduced in it as a model of a mixta epistola, to which the date, Aureliæ, Nonis Decembribus, is attached. C. i. 379 C. In this mixed epistle there are a great many clauses, which appear to be introduced merely to vary the subject; but one passage has very much the air of

* Postridie Natalis divæ Elizabeth, Aureliæ. ANNO M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

an extract from a letter of the author written not long before. In this the writer, after referring to the French successes in Lombardy, and the capture of the duke of Milan (April, 1500), gives the following account of a recent visit to England, with an allusion to the story told in Epistle 122.

De Conscribendis Epistolis (1522); C. i. 378A.

I turn now to your letter. You say you wonder how it ever came into my head to go to England, I suppose because my journey there ended so unluckily. * * * Until my return everything went well; but before we re-embarked, all our little money suffered shipwreck on the coast. We had a fair passage to Boulogne,† where the harbour-master searched every corner of my purse, and cursed the Dover official for stealing a march upon him. What a wicked coast, you will say. Nay, a friendly and serviceable coast; for if we had not come back naked from Britain, it would have been all over with us, seeing that in France we fell among the daggers of thieves, from whom I was only saved by my nakedness. For against this kind of enemies there is no defensive armour like poverty. You now know, how a project not badly conceived had the worst possible issue.

* * * *

Orleans, 5 Dec. [1500].

Erasmus was now preparing to leave Orleans, Augustine having gone before him to Paris. Even Epistle 130, which is friendly in intention, is not without some indication of the writer's ingrained dislike and suspicion of his correspondent. See pp. 111, 122. He is impatient of his friend's profession of devotion, though he shows no unwillingness to accept its fruits. In Epistle 133, written two days after, he explains his real sentiments to Batt. See pp. 282, 283.

† *Gessoriacum.* The second search, more probably ascribed to an English official, suggests the conjecture, that Erasmus's *Gessoriacum* was Calais, especially as in an Epistle to More, C. 287 B, he calls Boulogne, *Bolonia.* But on the other hand Calais is elsewhere called *Caletum*, and *Calecium.* C. 330 C, 589 E. See p. 227.

The following Epistle contains the last mention of Gaguin which occurs in this correspondence. He died in the following May, and was succeeded, in his post of historiographer to the king, by Paulus Æmilius, an Italian scholar lately settled in France, whose book *de Rebus Gestis Francorum* was printed in two parts, 1516-1519, and frequently reprinted (*Nouv. Biogr. Univ.*). Erasmus appears to have already made his acquaintance, probably at Orleans, where he had lately been. And in the *Ciceronianus* he commends his learning, diligence and sanctity of life, as well as his fidelity as an historian. C. i. 1010 E.

Epistle 130. Farrago, p. 110; Ep. v. 24; C. 58 (72).

Erasmus to Augustine.

What you tell me about Faustus, Gaguin and Æmilius is bright and auspicious, but not new; and yet it is no less agreeable; for how can I fail to value the goodwill of such men towards myself, as well as their emphatic testimony to your merit? I was not so much delighted at that hyperbole of Faustus, that where I was, there was the one sanctuary of letters! Unmeasured praise accords neither with my modesty nor my mediocrity; and moreover such figures of speech are both insincere and invidious, and in fine are not far removed from irony. So too, that sentence in your letter, however charmingly written, does not charm me, "Most honoured preceptor, as your devoted disciple I give myself wholly to you,—command me as you will,—I have nothing of my own, but all I have is yours." I hold that this kind of language should be kept quite apart from sincere good-will. For where there is pure love, as I think is our case, what is the use of such phrases? And where the affection is not sincere, they are apt to convey a suspicion of ill-will. I shall therefore be glad, if you will banish those graceful *hyperbolae* from your letters, and remember that you are writing to a comrade and not to a tyrant.

I am distressed to hear that even now the Fates do not favourably respond to your wishes and your merits, but rejoiced to think that they are somewhat relenting. Either I am mistaken, or that fatal storm will be followed by sunshine.

I surmise from your letter, that Paulus Æmilius is going to move back hither; but I would much rather he should remain where he is, as I do not see why I should stay here any longer. However you will take care to inform me of your whole condition, and whether your fortune will bear the burden of my living with you, since you would not have me doubt your willingness, nor can I do so, after it has been tested and made manifest by so many trials and proofs. If therefore for any reason it is unseasonable or inconvenient to take in a guest, you will let me know without any ceremony, and with the freedom which our intimacy demands; I shall not love you a whit the less. So help me Heaven, I do not so much regard my own interest (though I do not deny I have it also in view), as the opportunity of putting a finishing touch to your learning, which, as you write, was first shaped by my hand. A slight hope is held out to me of going to Italy, and I feel some hankering after it; but as soon as I have heard from you, I will settle my plans.

Thank Nicolas Benserad for his salutations, and give him mine in return. I am struggling with my *Copia*, but I think the Muses are not propitious. Without any good books what can I do that is excellent? And as it proceeds, the work assumes larger proportions than it promised at the outset. Still I toil on; for what else can I do? In fact I work at this, to save me from the disgrace of doing nothing. Take care of yourself, and keep up your love for me.

Orleans, the morrow of the Conception of the Virgin Mother, 9 Dec. [1500].*

* Datum Aureliæ postridie conceptionis uirginis matris. ANNO M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

Epistle 131 and Epistle 132 are dated the same day, and the former, being mentioned in the latter as if already written (p. 286), is placed first. But as the latter (a long epistle) is dated *antelucano*, before daybreak, there remains some difficulty about the precise dates. It may be, that in the date of Epistle 131 we should read *iv.* (or *iiii.*) *Idus*, instead of *iii. Idus*, the 10th instead of the 11th of December. The Postscript was evidently added after both letters were written.

The Abbot's young brother called Dismas (the name attributed to the penitent thief of the Gospel) is not in the family pedigree of Bergen; but he may have been a son of the old age of the Abbot's father, who did not die until 1494. This boy was now at Orleans with a tutor named James Daniel. See p. 350. Antony of Lutzenburg was the Abbot's chaplain.

Epistle 131. Farragò, p. 104; Ep. v 18; C. 91 (99).

Erasmus to Antony of Lutzenburg

I was going to write to the kind Abbot, but as I learned quite lately by a letter of Batt, that he had not yet come back from Brabant, I thought it better to put off writing till I heard of his return. I send this to you, not because I have anything new to say, but only to show by this attention my constant and lasting affection for you. * * *

We are moving back to Paris, being informed that the plague has quite died out. While I have been here, the Abbot's brother, Dismas, has been very attentive, and I for my part have been much pleased by his visits. I assure you I have never seen a sweeter, more modest or more intelligent lad. He interests himself in letters, and loves to be with those, from whom he may go wiser than he came. The boy seems formed by nature for goodness, and well deserves the most careful training, that a noble mind may not be debased. But he lives in a boarding-house, where the food is bad and the furniture dirty; left neglected among a set of idle good-for-nothings. You are not unaware how easily that age is attracted to vice. One infected companion soon commu-

nicates his own malady; and he that touches pitch cannot help being defiled. There is a person named James Tutor living here, a man of great integrity and erudition, and a professor of Pontifical Law, who receives in his house a few young gentlemen, and keeps them not in boarding-house fashion, but quite decently, for I have myself been living for three months in his house. He loves Dismas as his own son, and is loved by him as a parent. If therefore the Abbot wishes to consult the boy's safety, as I am sure he does, he will lose no time in withdrawing him from the boarding-house; and will place him with this gentleman. He will be glad to meet with one to whom he can communicate his learning, and whom he will excite to honourable effort; while Dismas will have a friend with whom he will live as with a parent, and in whose society he will hear nothing but what is learned and of good report. * * * You need not disturb yourself with any doubt about his progress in French if he lives with one of our countrymen. Dismas knows French well, and already speaks it fluently; and he will hear French spoken everywhere. Meantime he will learn letters, he will learn virtue; and if you persuade the Abbot, as you very well can, to take this course, you will bind the lad to you by a service that will endure for ever You will not rest therefore, until you have got it done. Commend me heartily to Father Antony, your good lord, and mine through you; and excuse me to him for writing nothing by the bearer. I will write from Paris when I hear of his return. Farewell, my Antony, and do not cease to love me. Salute the good steward of the household, and all my well-wishers, in my name.

Orleans, 11 Dec. [1500].*

Postscript. Do not be surprised at my saying in the beginning of this letter that I was not writing to the Abbot,

* Aureliæ, iii. Idus Decembres. Anno M.D.I. *Farrago.* See p. 280.

when I have written after all. For that courier having failed me, and this boy come unexpectedly from Batt, I have changed my mind, in a great measure by his advice, having learnt from his letter with what kindness the Abbot had received mine. This I scarcely ventured to hope, for I know how destitute my writings are of anything to recommend them to the great. Farewell.

It appears from the opening clause of Epistle 135, that the letter to the Abbot, promised in the above postscript, was delayed until Erasmus was settled again in Paris; to which he returned a few days after, instead of remaining at Orleans (as he seems to have intended when he wrote Epistle 132), until after Christmas. Pp. 285, 287.

EPISTLE 132. Farrago, p. 243; Ep. viii. 49; C. 59 (73).

Erasmus to Batt.

An age seems to have passed, dearest Batt, since anything has been received from you; and for this reason alone I hate that castle of yours, because there are so few people passing to and fro between us; Whereas if you were living at Louvain or in Zeeland, we could relieve our longing by a constant exchange of letters. I sent Lewis, formerly my boy, to you with a letter; and since he is not come back, I suppose he has either stopped with you, or gone off somewhere else. But as I did not wish to commit myself to a winter journey, both to spare my health, and to avoid interrupting the work of composition in which I am wholly occupied, and as the matter was especially urgent, I have hired the present messenger. What I want, I will explain in a few words.

Augustine has gone back to Paris, whether as a friend or an enemy, it is not yet clearly made out, and it is not safe to trust either looks or words. However I hope for the best, for in this matter I had rather appear over-credulous than

over-suspicious. It is not only most convenient, but it is necessary for me to move back to Paris, both in order to proceed in those Greek studies which I have begun, and to finish the works I have in hand. There are also other reasons, which I do not like trusting to paper. And without some money I can neither sit still here, nor go away, unless indeed after such serious quarrels and even bitter contests you would have me return to Augustine as a humble suppliant, thereby showing myself conquered and ready to submit to be gulled by him after his own fashion. I have no objection to take what he will give ; for from whom should I more readily accept a service than from one who is under such obligation to me, and who owes all that he is to what I have done for him. But I have quite made up my mind to remain here until you have sent me some little money, so that, when I go back to Paris, I may be at liberty either to accept Augustine's civility, if freely and sincerely offered, or to defy him and take my own part, if he betrays himself in an assumed and pretended goodwill.

However happily this may turn out, still a little money must be scraped together from somewhere, with which I may get clothes, buy the whole works of Jerome (upon whom I am preparing commentaries), as well as Plato, procure Greek books and hire the services of a Greek teacher. How much all these things are necessary to my glory and even to the security of my position, I think you are aware ; at any rate I beg you to believe it when I affirm it of my own knowledge. It is incredible, how my heart burns to bring all my poor lucubrations to completion, and at the same time to attain some moderate capacity in Greek. I should then devote myself entirely to the study of Sacred Literature, as for some time I have longed to do. I am now, thank Heaven, in fair health, and hope to remain so. Therefore every nerve must be strained this year, in order that what we are forging may come to light, and

also that by our treatment of Theological subjects, we may drive our Zoili, of whom there are so many, to hang themselves, as they well deserve. I have threatened long, but either my own want of energy or my health or some unpropitious fatality has stood in the way. Now at last I must rouse my courage and put forth all my strength, and I trust with the aid of Heaven, if I am permitted to live three years, to overwhelm the malignity of the most envious by the lustre of merit.

But all my destinies are in your control, and you must therefore help my exertions with equal zeal. How many reasons you have for doing this! The first auspices of our better fortune proceeded from you.† The friendship which has long united us has been so close, that no two mortals could be more nearly drawn together, and the immortality of your name is so bound up with the eternity of my writings, that if we can by our genius vindicate our books from destruction, the memory of your untarnished friendship will never die. * * * There is one thing, the easiest of all, which I am much interested in asking, and that is, that you will not believe that the facts which I write plainly to you about my concerns are *logodædala*, cunningly invented to serve my convenience. For if at times we have either amused our leisure with jesting, or thrown off some fancy to suit an occasion, those follies, my Batt, have their season.‡ Such is now the condition of my affairs, that there is not a moment to be facetious, and no excuse for any falsehood. So may Heaven ordain that we grow old together in happiness and in mutual love, and that some memory of our sincere affection may live among posterity, as I have not put a word in this letter that is at variance with my thoughts. Pray then, dear Batt, do not take any of the things I write to be insincere, when they are said by me

† See pp. 89, 90. See p. 299

in more bitter earnest than either of us would wish, lest I should plainly recall that Planus of Horace,† and with my leg really broken be laughed at by all, and helped up by none. If I can only convince you on this point, I am sure you will take care of the rest.

If my Lady has sent anything, please entrust it to a safe courier, or to Lewis, together with the money from England. If no safer occurs, I think the bearer may be trusted; he has a wife and children at Orleans, and is employed by many people to carry their letters. If nothing has been brought from my Lady, or if you do not find a courier to your liking, still deliver him the English money, to take me back to Paris, where I intend to be after Christmas; and no stone can be more bare than I am now.

You will perhaps ask, what my James is doing. Everything, my Batt, that you are used to do, as cheerfully and heartily as you do it yourself. His fortune, not too great, is so willingly shared with others, that no one has more pleasure in receiving a benefit, than he has in bestowing one. But there are many reasons that recall me to Paris, and I should be ashamed to burden the resources of so attached a friend, whose wealth is more in expectation than in possession, what he has being sufficient in moderation for himself, but scarcely enough for my entertainment; although I think it is an event to be marked with the whitest of pearls, that I have here lighted on a friend, not most civil, as are so many, but most certain, as are few or none. Believe me, he is now as fond of you as of myself.

Send what there is in the parcel‡ about the Rules of Letter-writing, for I am now completing that work; also the manuscript of St. Augustine on parchment, and a copy of the

† Nec semel irrisus triviis attollere curat
Fracto crure planum. Horat. *Epist.* i. 17, 59.

‡ The parcel of books and clothes, expected in March (p. 233) was now in Batt's custody. See pp. 273, 274, note.

Prayer to the Virgin Mother, for mine has been carried off by Augustine. I expect to hear what hope there is from my Lady,—in what favour I stand with the Provost,—what the Abbot thinks of us, now that he is come back from his unfriendly brother,—whether the Adages are liked,—what news there is from England; in fact, as Cicero says, *πάντα περὶ πάντων.*

I have written by the present messenger to Antony, having been urged to do so by Dismas, the Abbot's brother, for the following reasons.† * * * Please therefore, if the occasion arises, lend your influence, that the Abbot may take him out of that household, and entrust him to James Tutor. You will confer a blessing on the lad, and gratify James; and there is no doubt that the Abbot will be very thankful to us all for moving in the matter. You will therefore urge Antony, to whom I have written, to give the Abbot warning. I have changed my mind and not written to the Abbot himself, and do not intend to do so until I have further information by letter from you. You will go yourself to St. Omer to become better acquainted with the whole position.

I send you a letter that I have received from our William; it will make you laugh, it is so funny and technological. Pray observe in what a roundabout way he travels, how he turns his course, first this way and then that, until at last, as if he were aiming at something else, he comes to the proposal, that I should send him some copies of the Adages at my risk, of which he is to return me faithfully the cost-price; a clever tradesman, knowing how to make his profit with the money and at the risk of another person! James has sent him a present of a Greek Grammar. I am very desirous he should taste of that branch of learning; it will be for you to encourage him frequently in your letters.

† See Epistle 131.

He is naturally wanting in energy; then that kind of life, no companion in his studies, no rival, no one to admire, no one to encourage, no honour, no rewards, what man might not be made indifferent by such surroundings?

The work on the Rules of Letter-writing is in hand, and if it seems fit, shall be dedicated to your Prince Adolf. We shall also try to finish the book on Copiousness.

The courier who brings this seems to me to be a safe person: you may therefore trust him with what you please. If you have already sent Lewis back, write to say what you have forwarded by him. Greet your kind friend Peter and his excellent wife in my name, and commend me to your Adolf. Farewell, my best and dearest Batt.

Orleans, 11 Dec. [1500], before daybreak.*

Erasmus appears to have returned to Paris a few days after the date of this letter, and accepted the hospitality of Augustine. Probably his return was hastened by news from the latter, who was preparing to make one of his commercial journeys to the Low Countries or to Germany. Compare pp. 285, 290.

Before leaving Orleans, Erasmus addressed a letter to Peter Angleberm, physician (probably the same person to whom he had written Epistle 127 in the name of Augustine), thanking him for a present of aromatic wine, and promising that on his return to Paris, which was to take place the next day, he would give some assistance to the studies of the doctor's son. EPISTLE 133. Farrago, p. 138; Ep. vi. 7; C. 86 (93). This epistle is dated in *Farrago*, Aureliæ ANNO M.D.

* Aureliæ. III. Idus Decembres, antelucano. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.* As to this date see an observation in p. 280.

CHAPTER XI.

Erasmus in Paris, December, 1500, *to May*, 1501. *Epistle to the Lady of Veer. Correspondence about Livry, February and March*, 1501. *Edition of Cicero's Offices, April*, 1501. *Epistles* 134 *to* 147.

AT least a week before Christmas, 1500, Erasmus was again with Augustine in Paris. His host was preparing for his journey; and the following letter, entrusted to his care, was addressed to a wealthy advocate, whom Erasmus hoped to interest in his revision, already contemplated, of the Epistles of St. Jerome, which had been so long a favourite object of study. See Epistle 29. In Henry Noorthon, mentioned in Epistle 134, we may probably recognise Erasmus's old friend, Henry, the brother of Christian. See pp. 109, 115. Greverad's place of residence does not appear. Possibly he was a neighbour of Henry at Lubeck. In this letter the date of month and day is omitted in *Farrago*, but is added before the Postscript in *Opus Epistolarum*.

EPISTLE 134. Farrago, p. 106; Ep. v. 19; C. 66 (78).

Erasmus to Greverad, Advocate.

In venturing, honoured sir, to intrude upon a stranger with an unexpected letter, I trust you will think it right, not so much to find fault with my importunity as to recognise that confidence which proceeds from goodwill. And yet how can I call you a stranger, whose mind, character, and disposition have been so often described to me by Henry Noorthon (the most trustworthy of all men living), that it seems as if I saw your likeness in a picture before me?

I have long ardently wished to illustrate with a commentary the Epistles of St. Jerome, and in daring to conceive so great a design, which no one has hitherto attempted, my heart is inflamed and directed by some divine power.* I am moved by the piety of that holy man, of all Christians beyond controversy the most learned and most eloquent; whose writings, though they deserve to be read and learned everywhere and by all, are read by few, admired by fewer still, and understood by scarcely any. Good Heavens! shall the names of Scotus, Albertus, and writers still less polished be shouted in all the schools, and that singular champion, exponent and light of our religion, who deserves to be the one person celebrated,—shall he be the only one of whom nothing is said? Many readers are repelled by that abstruse erudition by which he should be especially recommended, and there are few to admire one whom very few understand. But if such an author be illustrated by adequate commentaries, it may be expected that the glory of Jerome will shine forth with a new light.

I am not unaware of the audacity of my project,—what a task it will be, in the first place, to clear away the errors, which during so many ages have become established in the text,—and in the next place what a mass there is in his works of antiquities, of Greek literature, of History,—and then what a style, what a mastery of language, in which he has not only left all Christian authors far behind him, but seems to vie with Cicero himself. For my own part, I may be led astray by my partiality for that holy man, but when I compare the speech of Jerome with that of Cicero, I seem to miss something in the prince of eloquence himself.

Whatever I can supply by nightly labour and constant study, by moderate learning and a mind not altogether dull, shall not be wanting in the service of Jerome. But as in a

* Nescio quis deus mihi pectus accendit agitque.

great war, auxiliary forces are required, so in this important work I see the need of some high guidance and inspiration ; and whom I should choose as fittest to furnish me with that, no one can tell better than you. You have always been, as Henry has often told me, a warm and zealous lover of our author, and this is the great pledge, by which a mutual alliance and friendship between us is to be initiated. Come then, excellent sir, reach me your hand, and exalt your mind to take part in so noble an enterprise. The Saint will himself be present and favour the champions of his writings, which cost him so many vigils ; and our pious labour will not be deprived of its reward. Farewell.*

You will learn more from my messenger, Augustine Caminad, an honoured Professor in Paris of what are called Humane Letters ; whom you will receive in your own fashion, as he is most worthy of your regard.

Paris, 18 Dec. [1500].†

Erasmus had been urged by Batt to write letters to the Lady of Veer and his other patrons to propitiate their favour, and shortly after his return to Paris he applied himself to this irksome task. He first wrote a long Epistle to the Abbot of St. Bertin, in which, after some fulsome compliments, of which I have translated a few lines, he tells a long story, which presents a curious picture of some of the superstitions of the time, and of the view in which Erasmus was contented to regard them. A wizard had had among his stock in trade a fragment of the sacred host, which had been bought from a starving mass-priest, and which after the detection of the crime was carried in solemn procession through the streets of Orleans, followed by all the clergy of the city, and deposited in the Church of the Holy Cross. This epistle, which, with the passages here omitted, is of considerable length, was apparently the same that Erasmus had begun before he left Orleans. See Epistle 131, Postscript. It is evident from the apology contained in the opening words, that no other letter had been

* Parisiis xv. Calendas Ianuarias. *Opus Epist.* Not in *Farrago.*

† Lutetiæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.*

lately sent. On the other hand the reference to Orleans in p. 292 shows that this letter is rightly dated from Paris. The part omitted near the beginning contains two Greek proverbs, quoted in the original language, with an apology for their intrusion, the writer having lately become a candidate (candidatus) of that tongue.

Epistle 135. Farrago, p. 297 ; Ep. x. 1 ; C. 79 (91).

Erasmus to the Abbot of St. Bertin.

Your incredible kindness, most reverend Father, holds me obliged by such accumulated benefits, that, if I should sell myself for the purpose, I could not pay the principal of what I owe. I shall be glad nevertheless to express in some measure the strivings of my gratitude by the compliment of a letter, that you may not have occasion to think me a good-for-nothing person, not caring to make any effort whatever to redeem my debt. I have been a little delayed by the fear of interrupting with my unseasonable trifles those grave and holy occupations, in which, I well know, your lordship is constantly engaged both at home and abroad, in public and in private.

But when I thought of that heroic frame, of that vigorous health, equal to any labours, and of that noble mind worthy of the body in which it dwells, and how by a strange indulgence of nature that manifold burden of affairs, by a fraction of which any other man would be overwhelmed, scarcely weighs at all upon you,—the same quality which, as something hereditary in your race, I formerly observed and often admired in your brother, my Mæcenas, when I was in his household ; * * * when, I say, I thought how with that fresh felicity of mind and body you transact the most important business more quietly than most other men enjoy their leisure, I did not suppose there was much reason to fear that you would

take offence at being unseasonably intruded on by this letter of mine, especially when I heard from Batt how cheerfully you had received my former letter.

It is true that I have nothing at present to write, if it be not that I am constantly wrestling with that deity of Rhamnus, and that I am nevertheless so minded that, if I connot attain to Letters, I will die, with Philemon, on my books. I will add that there is nothing I so much desire, as that you will give me some handle, whereby I may use what little wit and learning I have in doing some service to your Lordship. But for this I will myself seek an opportunity. Meantime, not to cut your reading short, I will tell you a tragic story, new indeed, but so terrible, that Medea or Thyestes or any of the ancient tragedies might seem a comedy compared with it.

Last year at Méhun, a little town near Orleans, a wizard on his death-bed ordered his wife to deliver his books of magic and other instruments of that mystery to a citizen of Orleans, who carried his legacy to that city, and is now likely to suffer for having been party and privy to his wickedness. * * *

I have written to your Chaplain, Antony, about Dismas. If my counsel prevails, I am confident, that I shall be glad of having so advised you, and you still more glad of having taken my advice. Farewell.

Paris, 14 Jan. 1500-1.*

A few days later Erasmus forced himself to compose a complimentary Epistle to the Princess of Veer, first writing a few lines to Nicolas of Burgundy, Provost of Utrecht, a kinsman of her late husband, who appears to have been at this time with the lady in Zeeland.

* Parisijs postridie Id. Ian. ANNO M.D. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.*

EPISTLE 136. Farrago, p. 108 ; Ep. v. 20 ; C. 23 (24).

Erasmus to Nicolas of Burgundy, Provost of Utrecht.

My love for you is so great, that measured by it even a long letter would be short indeed ; but my occupations are so pressing as to make a short letter long. The ancients used to call a poet or an eloquent person a swan, an allegory not without meaning. The one was spotless in plumage, the other candid in heart ; both were sacred to Phœbus ; both delighted in limpid streams and well-watered meadows ; both were given to song. But nowadays, and especially in our climate, both seem to have become mute, and even the approach of death does not make them vocal. The reason is, as I think physiologists would tell us, that the swan does not sing except under the breath of Favonius ; and can we wonder at all swans being mute, when we have so many gales from the North and East, and no Zephyrs at all. As for me, that British Aquilo so took my voice away when he took my money, that a wolf, catching sight of one first, could not have done it more effectually. But Zephyrs breathe only on the approach of spring. Wherefore if you, kind Provost, will be the spring to my patroness, the lady of Veer, and she breathe on me as Favonius, I will be to both of you so tuneful a swan, that even posterity shall hear my singing. I need not explain the riddle, as I write to an Œdipus, not a Davus. Do you only, as you promised, be as good to me as another Batt, and use your influence for a while with my lady. Farewell.

Paris, 26 Jan. [1501].*

* Datum Luteciæ VII. Calend. Februarias. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago* Sim. *Opus Epist.*

From Epistle 137, addressed 'to the most illustrious Anne of Borssele, Princess of Veer,' the exordium, and some extracts are here given.

EPISTLE 137. Farrago, p. 293; Ep. ix. 38; C. 83 (92)

Erasmus to the Lady of Veer.

Three Annas have been commended to posterity by ancient literature; one, called Perenna, who for her signal devotion to her sister Dido was believed by antiquity to have been received among the gods; another, the wife of Elkanah, for whom it is praise enough, that, by the divine blessing she gave birth in her old age, to Samuel, not to be of service to herself, but to be a devout priest of God, and an incorruptible judge of his people; the third, the parent of the Virgin mother, the grandmother of Jesus, God and man, who requires no further eulogy. The first has been consecrated by the Roman Muses to immortality. The second has been extolled in the Hebrew annals. The third is worshipped by Christian piety, and has been celebrated by the eloquent verse of Rodolphus Agricola, and Baptista Mantuanus. May Heaven grant such virtue to my writings, that posterity, not unacquainted with your pious, chaste, and stainless heart, may number a fourth Anna with the other three. So shall it be, if only our feeble genius be equal to your merit. * * *

I may venture to confess, that I am the more attracted to you, because I see that deity of Rhamnus, whom I have always found most unkind to me, is not altogether well disposed to you; for a fellowship even in misfortunes is often a means of knitting people together. But what comparison can be drawn between us? Your rank is almost placed beyond the risks of Fortune, who yet sometimes gives you a pinch; but against me she rages with a

constancy, which is the one quality not like herself, as if she had entered into a sworn conspiracy against my letters. As I trace these lines it comes into my mind (for to whom should I disclose my sorrows, if not to the only person both able and willing to heal them ?) it comes into my mind, I say, that the sun rose this morning on the anniversary of the day when my little capital, the sustenance of my studies, was shipwrecked on the British shore ; ever since which time I have been involved in a chain of misfortunes without a single break to the present day For as soon as that British Charybdis had restored me naked to the continent, first a cruel storm made our journey a most distressing one, and then the swords of robbers threatened to cut our throats. Then came fever, and afterwards the plague, which however did not touch me, but only drove me away Add to these, the domestic cares which one's life daily produces in abundance.

But I am ashamed, so help me Heaven, that I, a man, in some degree fortified by the protection of learning, and armed with the precepts of philosophy, should lose my courage, while you, whom Nature has made a woman, and who have been born in the highest station and brought up in the greatest luxury, have still something to suffer, and bear it in no womanly spirit. I should remember too, that however Fortune may thunder against me, there is no excuse for my abandoning Letters or allowing my heart to fail, so long as you shine before my eyes as a Cynosure of security. Of Letters we cannot be deprived by Fortune, and those little means which my leisure requires, your wealth, abundant as your liberality, can easily supply. The poverty of Maro and Flaccus was relieved by the unstinted generosity of Mæcenas ; the lucubrations of Pliny were encouraged by the favour of Vespasian. * * * In short, not to count the sands, as the Greeks say, every genius has found his Mæcenas ; and they seem to me to have made no con-

temptible return to their patrons, whose memory their books have consecrated to eternity. For my part I would not, in my senses, change my foster-mother for any Mæcenas or any Cæsar; and as for the return I may make, whatever my poor genius can do shall be exerted to the utmost, that future ages may know that there existed at this extremity of the world one lady, by whose beneficence Good Letters, corrupted by the ignorance of the unskilful, ruined by the default of princes, neglected by the indifference of mankind, were encouraged to raise their head; who found the learning of Erasmus,—such as it was,—deserted by those who had made noble promises, despoiled by a tyrant, beset by all the chances of fortune, and would not suffer it to die of want. Proceed as you have begun, regard my Learning as a suppliant depending upon you, and imploring your aid, not only in the name of our various fortunes, but also for the love of true Theology, that excellent Queen, whom the inspired Psalmist describes, according to the interpretation of Jerome, as standing on the King's right hand, not mean and ragged as she is now seen in the schools of Sophists, but in vesture of gold, wrought about with divers colours, to whose rescue from degradation my nightly studies are devoted.

With this object in view, I have long felt the necessity of two things; to visit Italy, so that my little learning may derive an authority from the celebrity of the place, and to take the title of Doctor. The one is as absurd as the other. For they do not change their minds, who cross the sea, as Horace says, nor will the shadow of a name make me a whit more learned. But it is no use acting a good play to be hissed by all the audience; and we must put on the lion's skin, to force the conviction of our competence upon the minds of those who judge a man by a title, and not by his books, which indeed they do not understand. With such monsters have I to contend, and the struggle requires

another Hercules. If therefore you will arm your Erasmus to fight against these portents with equal authority as well as equal courage, not we only, but literature itself will owe its very being to you. But he must be armed with the armour of Homer's Glaucus, not what he gave, but what he received. The meaning of this riddle may be learned from Batt's letter, to whom I have disclosed all my circumstances, with an effrontery contrary to my habits and character, and to that virgin modesty which is proper to Letters; but as it has been said, Necessity is a hard taskmaster

I send you herewith another *Anna*, a poem, or rather some verses I made when quite a boy, which may show you the ardent veneration, which from my youthful days I have cherished for that Saint. I also send some invocations, with which, as with magic charms, not the crescent Moon, but she who bore the Sun of Righteousness, may be called down from Heaven. * * *

I have for some time had in hand a work upon *Epistles*, and also on the *Varying of Discourse*, which is destined to aid the studies of your son Adolf; and another on *Letters*, intended to be consecrated to yourself. If these are completed later than I have wished, you will not find fault with my backwardness, but with my ill-fortune, or if you like, you will attribute it to the difficulty of the work. For to publish bad books is mere madness, and to produce good ones is the most difficult thing in the world. Farewell, and regard our Muses as under your special protection.

Paris, 27 January 1500-1 *

The poem sent with the above Epistle, *Rythmus Iambicus in laudem Annæ aviæ Iesu Christi*, is printed among the hymns, C. v. 1325; and two prose invocations to the Virgin, entitled *Pæan Virgini Matri dicendus, compositus in gratiam Dominæ Veriensis*, and

* Datum Luteciæ. VI. Calend. Feb. Anno M. D. *Farrago*. Sim. *Opus Epist.*

Obsecratio ad Virginem Mariam in rebus adversis, are printed C. v. 1227, 1234. The work *De varianda Oratione* was probably the commencement of the *Copia*, and that *De Literis* the unfinished *Antibarbarians*. See pp. 100, 262.

EPISTLE 138, Farrago, p. 266; Ep. ix. 16; C. 23 (25) bears the same date of the month as the last,† and is addressed by Erasmus to Antony of Lutzenburg. After a strong profession of affection, it repeats in other words what had been said in Epistle 131 about the character of Dismas and the expediency of removing him to the house of James Tutor, with whom the writer had himself been staying for three months, and who had a parental regard for Dismas, having known him before at Louvain. The inmates of his house were young gentlemen, including two brothers from Breda, named De Nassauven, of high character, whose affection for each other was extraordinary; the younger had already some ecclesiastical preferment at Breda. In these brothers we may recognize Henry and William, sons of John of Nassau, lord of Breda, the younger of whom was father of William the Silent, and ancestor in the fourth generation of King William III. The ages of these boys in January, 1500, was seventeen and fifteen years.

Epistle 139 is an answer to a letter of Batt, received by the hands of Lewis. In the *Farrago* and in the later collections it has the date, Aureliæ, Anno M.D., but it is evident from its contents, p. 299 (in which the writer refers to his 'letters from Orleans' and to his own letter to the Lady), that it was written at Paris, and after Epistle 137. The subject of epistolary fictions has been mentioned before. See pp. 236, 284.

EPISTLE 139. Farrago, p. 237; Ep. viii. 48 (1); C. 86 (94).

Erasmus to Batt.

I am at a loss to understand why you suspect me of playing the *logodædalus* in my letters to you, that is, of

† Luteciæ, Sexto Calendas Februarias. *Farrago.* Lutetiæ sexto Calend. Februarias. Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo. *Opus Epist.*

being uncandid and insincere. Pray, dearest Batt, fix this once for all in your mind, that I hate hypocrisy more than anything, and in any commerce with friends neither use fiction myself nor am pleased with it in others. I did write to you from England, to fetch me away by a make-believe letter; but that trick was aimed at the Englishman, not at you, for you were not taken in by it. Again, as to the letter which I afterwards sent about my intentions, may I die, if it was not written sincerely; and that of yours, which, as you confessed to me, when I came back, had been concocted as an answer to my supposed fiction, I took to be perfectly genuine. And now it is plain that you suppose the letters which I wrote from Orleans about my poverty are equally fictitious, as otherwise you would not have sent Lewis back, freighted with three nobles. If, when I so write, I am thought to be playing the fool, I see no reason why I should write to you at all.

But I will say no more of this. As I do not doubt that you do whatever you do with the kindest intentions, I entreat you to employ your whole kind self for my advancement. Depend upon it you will succeed, if you only make up your mind it must be so. Send Lewis at once to my lady, and if convenient go yourself to help our letter with your advocacy. Stir up Adolf to implore his mother by all the sacredness of his first prayers. But take care he does not sue for any trifle; for by the same means we might obtain something really considerable.

If you are heartily interested in my fortune, this is what you must do. You will make a fair excuse to my Lady, that I cannot for very shame expose my own destitution before her, but that I am now in the deepest poverty, this flight to Orleans having been a great expense, as I had to leave behind some sources of income; that a Doctor's degree cannot be so properly taken as in Italy; that Italy cannot be visited by so delicate a man without a considerable

sum of money, especially as my reputation, whatever it be worth, as a man of learning, forbids my living in an altogether mean fashion. You will point out how much more credit I shall do her by my learning than the other divines whom she maintains. They preach obscure sermons; I write what will live for ever; they, with their ignorant rubbish, are heard in one or two churches; my books will be read in every country in the world; such unlearned divines abound everywhere, men like me are scarcely found in many centuries, unless perhaps you are too scrupulous to tell a few fibs for a friend. You will then point out, that she will be none the poorer, if while so much of her wealth is shamefully thrown away, she devotes a few crowns to the restoration of the works of St. Jerome and the revival of true Theology. When you have expended your eloquence on these subjects, and have enlarged on my character, my aspirations, my attachment to her, and my natural reserve, you will then add, that I have written to you, that I could not do with less than two hundred francs, so that the next year's pension would have to be paid in advance. This, dear Batt, is no pretence, for I do not think it safe to go to Italy with a sum of one hundred francs, and that not entire, unless I am to put myself again into service; and before doing that, I would rather die. Then press her to provide me on my return with some preferment, upon which I may devote myself in quiet to literature. Of course I am aware that there are many applicants for livings, but you can say that I am the one person, whom if she compares me with the rest, etc. etc. You know your old way of lying profusely in praise of your Erasmus.

You will get your Adolf to write to the same effect, and will dictate to him the most touching supplications; and will not forget to obtain a confirmation of the promise of a hundred francs, in which perhaps the young lord may be associated, so that if any chance should remove the mother,

which God forbid, I may receive the same support from the son. You will add finally, that I have made the same complaint in my letter that St. Jerome makes more than once, that I am losing my eyesight by reading, and that it looks as if I should, like that saint, begin to be dependent for my studies upon my other senses ; upon which you may suggest in the most sprightly terms, that she should send me some sapphire, or other gem that has the power of strengthening the eyesight. What gems have that virtue I could tell you, if I had Pliny here, but that you can fish out from the Doctor.

All this, my dear James, does not seem to me too formidable, if you can only determine that it must be so ; and the present moment appears to be precisely that time that should be seized by the forelock, when so fair a handle presents itself. You think perhaps that I am sufficiently provided for, if I am not reduced to beggary. I on the other hand am disposed to throw up my studies altogether, if I cannot obtain that which literature requires ; and that is a life not altogether sordid and miserable. And yet how near we were to beggary, nay, how near we still are, without a sou in our purse, I am ashamed to say Only look round and see what asses, with really no letters at all, are rolling in wealth, and does it seem much, that Erasmus should not starve ? Besides, what is to happen if illness comes on (and indeed I have a fever that recurs almost every year), what, if other disasters, that man's life is subject to, as you have yourself experienced ?

I am surprised at your calling out about my sending nothing ; as if I should hide it away if I had anything to send, or as if I were going to sleep, so as to need some one to keep me moving ! Believe me there is no standing still here, scarcely any regard even for my health, while I am helping my friends, composing for some, reading with others, correcting for others ; while for myself I read,

collect, emend, compose, and am busy with the very hardest Greek. And then you, measuring our leisure by your own, cry out, 'write me this book,' 'write me six hundred letters,' as if we had a head of adamant! I suppose all this seems easy enough to you, who have never had any practice in this school. Just try yourself what it is to write a book, and then, if you are disposed to do so, find fault with my slowness.

You put into your letter some remarks, which you think facetious, but which I think insulting, or at any rate unseasonable. Pray, my dearest Batt, let us abstain from these jests, which savour of Momus and not of wit; or if we sometimes indulge in refined pleasantry, let us so use it as not on either side to neglect business, until time permits; and let no shade be thrown over our affection by any unseasonable trifling. For my part, my whole soul is bent on acquiring the most perfect learning, and hence I have a supreme disregard for learning of a trivial kind. For I have long been sensible of the madness that prevails in the world. But my books will not take wings all at once. I had rather wait long for a solid reputation, than acquire, at an early age, one not likely to last,—a thing which has happened to many an author. Wherefore I pray you, let me dispose of this matter after my own judgment. There shall be no want of industry or courage on my part. Let it be your care, that I be not altogether destitute of fortune. From great people you should not ask for any paltry favour; and for the sake of a friend no attempt is discreditable. Trust me, if you handle the matter cleverly, all will go well. If you really despair, do not feed me with empty hope, but let me look round for other prospects. All this, dear Batt, you will I hope take in good part, and not think me hard, but only plainspoken. In a serious matter I am obliged to speak seriously.

You have now to learn, what I want you to undertake besides; and that is to extort some present from the Abbot.

You know the man's way of feeling, and must contrive some modest and plausible reason for asking. Say I have a great work in view, to restore the whole of Jerome, and for this purpose I want a small supply of books, and also the assistance of Greek scholars, towards which he may contribute some help. In all this you will tell no lie, for I am indeed preparing to do all I have said.

If you obtain a large sum from my lady, as I trust you will, send Lewis at once to us. If she gives only ten or twelve Crowns,* or nothing at all, Lewis need not come, but whatever there is may be forwarded by John, unless the boy offers himself for the journey. Lewis knows on what day John is to be in Zeeland.

About the coat, as to which you write too reproachfully, do what you think right.† Still, it seems absurd to me to maintain the boy, and not to clothe him. I do not like to go begging to my lady for such trifling matters, but, as I said before, do as you please. If you do not receive from the Lady as much as you want, still contrive that at least some Crowns ‡ may be forwarded with your money. A great penury of books : leisure none : health infirm. Go and try yourself to write books in such circumstances !

I see that it is not quite certain about John courier, so that you had better settle for yourself whether you wish Lewis to come here ; only do not send him with one noble or two. Lose no time, my dear Batt.

Augustine's books you will send by Lewis to Veer to that good friend of ours, Thomas ; but the boy may sell any he can on the way The remainder Thomas is to forward by some trusty shipper to N. at Gouda, who is to distribute some of them there, and send some on to Haarlem for William to distribute ; and I will write by courier.

Farewell, best and and dearest Batt ; put your whole self

* scutatos. † See p. 307. ‡ scutati.

into this business,—I mean Batt the friend, and not Batt the dawdler.

[Paris, January, 1501.]*

There can be little doubt, that Augustine's books, which were to be sent to Zeeland and Holland, were copies of the Adages, which had been forwarded by Augustine to Artois. See Epistles 163, 168.

Epistle 139 was to have been conveyed to Batt by Lewis on his return to Tournehem, together with the several letters addressed to friends and patrons (Epistles 136, 137, 138) which Erasmus had been writing by Batt's suggestion. But before Lewis's departure, another messenger arrived at Paris, bringing a fresh letter from Batt, by which Erasmus was much annoyed. James Tutor, who had been Erasmus's host at Orleans, was fortunately now with him as a visitor at Paris, and able to assist in soothing his irritation.

EPISTLE 140. Farrago, p. 241 ; Ep. viii. 48 (2) ; C 46 (52).

Erasmus to Batt.

That droll has delivered me your second letter, which is no less absurd and insulting than the former one. Unless I am much mistaken, some evil genius, angry at finding friends so attached to one another, is plotting to break off our loving union. It shall certainly never happen by my fault ; pray see that it does not by yours. In the first place, what was the use of Lewis running back hither, as if there were a thousand nobles to send, and not merely eight francs ?† Could not that little sum have been sent by some one else ? And then, when you did send, why out of so small an amount think it right to detain anything ? Were you afraid

* Aureliæ. Anno M.D. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus. Epist.* See the observation upon this date, p. 298.

† See p. 307. Eight francs of French money were then nearly worth three nobles or one English pound, equal in purchasing power to about £12 of modern money.

that if I was in cash, I should forget my duty? Or were one or two pieces to be reserved as a reason for sending another embassy? For as to your difficulty about the letter,* trust me the whole business might have been completed just as easily without this letter, if your courage had not failed. Besides, you might have asked for this very letter by the other messenger; and you will never understand what inconvenience is caused by this running backwards and forwards.

There are three or four months out of the solid year that the fever leaves me for study; and therefore I must put my heart into my work. I have been extending, or rather recasting, the book on *Letter-writing*, which I formerly planned; and I find I have set myself a heavy and laborious task; and meantime this fellow comes in with your letters† full of reproaches, and with even the small sum of money docked! This so disturbed me, that I was on the point of throwing away what I had in hand, and intending to send the lad back without any letters, if James Tutor had not with a great deal of persuasion induced me to change my purpose. But may I die if I ever in my life wrote anything with so much repugnance, as the nonsense, or rather Gnathonisms, which I have written for the Lady, the Provost and the Abbot. I dare say you will fall foul of my 'moroseness.' You do not understand that there is no severer fatigue than that of a mind wearied with writing, nor consider that in this place I ought to satisfy those whose favours I am actually enjoying.

A year has gone by since the money was promised, and meantime your letters bring me nothing but empty hope. "Do not despair, I will diligently attend to your interests," and such phrases, of which I am sick, have been dinned over and over again into my ears. And now at last you deplore the condition of my lady's fortune! You seem to

* The letter which Batt had asked Erasmus to write to the Lady.

† Cum tuis epistolis. See the first paragraph.

me to be sick with another person's disease. She plays the fool with her N. and you make a face. She has nothing forsooth to give! One thing I plainly see,—if she gives nothing for these reasons, she will never give anything at all; for great people are never without such excuses as those. How little will it matter, in the countless number of expenses that are merely thrown away, if she gives me two hundred francs? She has means to keep those cowled libertines and good for nothing scoundrels,—you know whom I mean,—and not means to maintain the leisure of one who can write books which even posterity may value, if I may speak somewhat boastfully of myself. She has fallen, I fear, into some straits. It is her own fault, as she has chosen to associate with that insignificant coxcomb, rather than with a grave and serious companion suitable to her sex and age. But what, I beseech you, does it matter to her fortune, if I receive two hundred francs, which she would not remember seven hours after they are given?

The gist of the matter is this, to obtain the money, either in cash, or so that I may receive it through a banker here at Paris. You have now written her several letters about it, all containing messages, hints, and suggestions. What can be more useless? You ought to have waited, if not for the best, at any rate for some fair opportunity, and then having set about the thing discreetly, you should have carried it out in a resolute way. This is what even at this late hour must be done. I am sure you will get the matter through, if you attempt it courageously. You may be a little more bold in the cause of a friend without compromising my modesty. How much is to be told to N. you will determine yourself. But before you go or send, let me have the remaining gold pieces by some safe messenger,* and if I may

* The remaining words of this sentence down to the word 'money' are from *Farrago*, p. 242, having been omitted in the later text.

ask it, to save me from want, four or five of yours, which you will recover out of the lady's money. Only look how that little sum has melted away. I received eight francs, for that is what I got in exchange for the nobles; and out of those the boy has taken off two or not much less, not to mention his board. You say you have two angels * left, and out of these the messenger who brings them must be allowed something.

That John, whom you sent to England, has run away, and if I am not mistaken, has played the thief. Augustine is gone to Orleans on horseback after him. I see, we shall have everything upset here. Lewis will tell you the rest. Farewell, my dear Batt, and take in good part what I have written, not from excitement or panic, but most plainly, as to the best of friends.

You will treat the boy Lewis,† not as you might that patch Adrian, who could take no harm, but as one gifted with superior intelligence, and likely to be of much use to you in many ways. He will relieve your solitude, and you will have a person to read to, to chat with about Letters, and with whom, in fine, you may keep yourself in practice. Therefore, about the coat,—though I do not contest the matter, still, if you do give it him, it will be very acceptable and not unfair. Farewell.

Paris, 27 Jan. [1501].‡

* Angelotos. *Farrago.* Angelatos. *Opus. Epist.* Two lines above, and also in pp. 299, 304, the word *nobiles* is used in *Farrago*, for which the later text substitutes angels (*angelati*). Both were English gold coins, and the angels perhaps better known on the Continent. Three angels (or 'angel-nobles') were equal to two 'rose-nobles' (*Fœdera*, ix. 115). Erasmus had probably exchanged three nobles, which were worth eight francs or a little more. See p. 304.

† See pp. 273, 303.

‡ Luteciæ, sexto Calendas Februarias. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

The above letter was published in the lifetime of the author, and it may be presumed with his sanction. I translate the following observation from one of the most sympathetic of Erasmus's biographers. "One blushes to find in the correspondence of Erasmus a letter so bitter and insulting to the lady whom he calls his benefactress, giving the lie in so revolting a manner to the adulations which preceded it, and breathing the most greedy rapacity. It may be explained but cannot be excused, by the irritability of his character." Durand de Laur, *Érasme*, i. 65, 66. I will only remark upon the above, that Erasmus had established in his own mind, respecting Dedications, Panegyrics and similar writings a standard of truth as high and no higher than that usually recognized. See Epistle 177. What offends my sense of kindness and good breeding in the above letter, is not so much the want of politeness to the Lady, as to whom a little plain speaking to his friend in confidence was no doubt a great relief after the professional 'gnathonisms' of Epistle 137, but the want of consideration for his correspondent, to whose devotion he was so deeply indebted. Bayle, in his Dictionary, has drawn the character of Anna Borsala from Epistle 137, without attending to what is said in this more candid letter. It appears that she had a suitor, whose rank was not equal to hers, probably Lewis, Viscount of Montfort, to whom she was afterwards married. Père Anselme, *Hist. Généal.* vol. i. p. 255.

In Epistles 141 and 142 our attention is turned, from Erasmus's literary ambitions and pecuniary exigencies, to an effort which was being made to revive the old self-denying monastic spirit, in the age which preceded the Reformation. It is a surprise to find Erasmus associated in this movement with the strictest members of his own Order, instead of being spied upon, as he anticipated, by Standonk and his companion from Mechlin. He had been tempted to answer his patron's distrust by some astounding feat (p. 273), but in conciliating Standonk he had chosen a more prudent course. John Mauburn, a native of Brussels, who had been in his boyhood, a few years before Erasmus, a chorister at Utrecht, and was afterwards a member of the Augustinian Abbey of Windesheim, renowned for the excellence of its discipline, was author of the book entitled *Rosetum Spirituale*, printed at Basel in 1491 and 1494, which is said to contain some quotations from the *Imitatio Christi*, there for the first time attributed to Kempis (*Nouv. Biogr. Univ.*). Having become known as an advocate of monastic

obedience, he was encouraged by Standonk and others to undertake the reformation of some of the French monasteries of his Order. He was first invited to the Abbey of St. Severin, in the diocese of Sens, where he was Prior in or about 1497 (*Gallia Christiana*, vii. 103). His attention was afterwards directed to the Abbey of Livry in the Île de France, some ten miles from Paris (known at a later time as the place of education of Mad. de Sévigné), which had fallen into decay, and of which Nicolas de Hacqueville, first president of the Parliament of Paris, was willing to become a second founder. For the purpose of this reformation Hacqueville procured his own appointment, 10 Feb. 1500, as Abbot *in commendam*, an office which he not long after resigned to make room for Mauburn, who by way of preparation for the Abbacy had been nominated 23 Nov. 1500, Prior of Clichy, a dependency of Livry The new Abbot in the following year imported from the monastery of St. Severin several young monks, who had been educated at the College of Montaigu under the austere discipline of Standonk. Mauburn did not long live to govern his restored foundation, but died early in 1502. *Gallia Christiana*, vii. 835-838.

As an Augustinian friar, and a friend of Standonk, combining with religious zeal a taste for literature, the name of Mauburn was doubtless well known to Erasmus, though they do not seem as yet to have encountered in person. Epistle 141 is dated Pridie nonas Februarias, without year; but assuming the correctness of the facts above stated, and having regard to the circumstances of Erasmus's life, we cannot ascribe it to any other year than 1501. For his engagements in the early days of Feb. 1499 and 1500, see pp. 183, 231. It may be observed that in his first letter he hesitates between the titles of Prior and Abbot.

Epistle 141. Gallia Christiana, vol. vii. App. p. 281.

Erasmus to John Mauburn.

Dear friend and sweetest brother, for it is by these titles that I am pleased to address you, having regard not to your rank, but to my affection. I respect in you both your ability and your stainless life, but your accomplishments and our common studies lead me to embrace you with greater pleasure. Those excite my admiration, these my love. I

am not now writing to the Abbot, or the Prior, but chatting familiarly with a friend. It has been indeed a pleasure to me to be called upon to write to you, and I feel sorry, I might say angry, that my circumstances do not respond to my inclination. I am just recovering from sickness, my health not yet re-established, and as busy as I have ever been in my life. If it were otherwise, I should overwhelm you with so many long epistles, that you would soon have had enough, even if you are as much a glutton of letters as myself, to whom those of my familiars always seem short.

I have sent you both my own trifles, printed more than a year ago, and William's poems,† in which you will find some errors; it so happened that, on each occasion of printing, I was out of health and unable to correct the press; but you will easily see where this is required.

Boschius the Carmelite has mentioned you in his letters to me, and enquired where you were and what doing; I have written about every thing. I should be glad if you were nearer, and I more free; I should then come or write to you every day, and you would be to me another William, a second half of my soul. For though there has been no intercourse between us, I feel somehow drawn closely to you. My natural character disposes me to friendships of every kind, but the votaries of good letters have such a special attraction for me, that I love even those that are my rivals. In your case I may also take account of our common Order, and our common habit, and of characters, if I guess right, not altogether unlike, except that you are a braver and better man. I am not surprised at your regretting your banishment, but in so sacred a cause I exhort you to take courage, and augur that your labours will produce a harvest of infinite good. It was delightful to live in literary ease, but as you have entered on the path of Hercules, you must

† See pp. 118, 198.

assume the spirit of Hercules * * * But I am called off from my writing. Farewell and remember me in your prayers.

Paris, 4 February, [1501].

Another short letter shows Erasmus himself busy, with the President de Hacqueville and his old Principal, Standonk, in the concerns of Livry He was so interested in the work of his friends, that he proposed to commemorate their pious zeal by some literary monument.

Epistle 142 is without any date of time.

EPISTLE 142. Gallia Christiana, vol. vii. App. p. 281.

Erasmus to John Mauburn.

We received your letter, excellent Father, written some time ago; but before its arrival your Peter, the bearer of this, had already called upon us, and brought us news of all your doings. We have presented to the Lord President de Hacqueville, in the presence of my lord of Emery, the Consultation entrusted to us; which they received with much pleasure, together with the presents from your Chapter, rejoicing much when I told them what had been done, and was being done among you. * * * We have expected and are still expecting your reverend Father in Christ, and will take the greatest pains to see that no advice or exhortation shall be wanting on the part of your friends. You must not be impatient at the slow progress of the whole affair, as it is difficult to overcome long established abuses. But He that has given by His grace to begin, will also give to finish. Therefore, most worthy Prior, do not cease to exhort your soldiers not to be cast down; so shall God out of tribulation bring advantage, Goliath shall not prevail against Israel, and the Philistines shall be utterly routed. We humbly and devoutly implore your prayers. Farewell, Father, with all your flock. It cannot be expressed how those beginnings of yours please me; and I have a mind, when any leisure is

given me, to celebrate your noble work by some literary monument.

I am sending the emended impression of the Histories. Pray remember me in your prayers. Farewell, excellent father, and love your loving Erasmus.

Paris [1501].

The emended Histories forwarded to Livry were probably the new edition of Gaguin's work, published at Paris in January, 1501. Some passages in the part of the letter devoted to the business of Livry are not easy of explanation, but it may be noted that there was a certain right reverend Father, Charles de Hautbois, Archbishop of Tarsus, Abbot designate of Livry in 1498, to whom Mauburn addressed a letter from the convent (printed before those of Erasmus in *Gallia Christiana*, vol. vii. App. p. 280), pointing out that the net income of the Abbey was not worth a farthing, and begging the Archbishop to retire in favour of the President.

The Abbot of St. Bertin appears to have enquired, perhaps through his chaplain, Antony Lutzenburg, for the sequel of the story of the Orleans sorcerer. In Epistle 143 Erasmus endeavours to interest the Abbot in his Greek studies. The Greek teacher, whom he mentions, was Georgius Hermonymus of Sparta, of whom he says in the Catalogue of Lucubrations, that he could not have taught, if he had wished to do so, and did not care to teach, if he had been able; adding that he himself was compelled to be his own Greek master (*Catal. Lucub.* C. i. Præf; Jortin, ii. 419, 420). Budé employed the same preceptor, and had the same experience.

Epistle 143. Farrago, p. 264; Ep. ix. 15; 63 (75).

Erasmus to Antony, Abbot of St. Bertin.

My letters, kind Father, must recall to your mind the ass of Æsop; for after having so often experienced your good nature, they have attained so much confidence that they venture to come to your lordship in dishabille, whereas before they shrank from doing so however carefully attired.

I should be sorry, however, that you should attribute this neglect to carelessness, and not rather to the literary labours which always occupy me as far as my health admits, and which worry me now without any regard to health at all. For I have by a lucky chance got some Greek works, which I am stealthily transcribing night and day. It may be asked why I am so pleased with the example of Cato the Censor, as to be learning Greek at my age. I answer, Reverend Father, that if I had had this mind when a boy, or rather if the times had been more favourable to me, I should have been the happiest man in the world. As it is, I am determined that it is better to learn late than to be without the knowledge which it is of the utmost importance to possess. We had a taste of this learning a long time ago, but it was only with the tip of the tongue, as they say; and having lately dipped deeper into it, we see, what we have often read in the most weighty authors, that Latin erudition, however ample, is crippled and imperfect without Greek. We have in Latin at best some small streams and turbid pools, while they have the clearest springs and rivers flowing with gold. I see it is the merest madness to touch with the little finger that principal part of theology, which treats of the divine mysteries, without being furnished with the apparatus of Greek, when those who have translated the sacred books have in their scrupulous interpretation so rendered the Greek phrases that not even that primary meaning which our theologians call 'literal' can be perceived by those who are not Greek scholars. * * *

But what need is there of citing some few and trifling instances out of the multitude of important passages that might be mentioned, when I have on my side the sacred authority of the Pontifical council, whose decree is extant in the Decretal Epistles, to the effect that there should be provided in the chief Academies (as they were then) persons capable of teaching perfectly the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin

languages, inasmuch as they held that without this knowledge sacred literature could not be apprehended, still less discussed. This most wholesome and holy law is now so disregarded that we are satisfied with the merest rudiments of Latin, being persuaded, I suppose, that all theology may be got out of Scotus, as a sort of cornucopia. With this kind of men I do not contend. Every one may please himself for me. Ducat Cascus Cascam.* For my own part, I choose to follow the path to which St. Jerome, with the noble band of so many ancient Fathers, invites us. I had rather, so help me Heaven, lose my senses with them, than be as wise as you please with the herd of neoteric divines! Besides, I am going to attempt an arduous and so to say Phaethontean feat, and that is to restore the books of Jerome, and to illustrate them with a commentary. Having set my mind on this, and seeing the necessity of completing my Greek studies, I determined to employ for several months a Greek teacher; and a thorough Greek he is, always hungry, and charging an exorbitant price for his lessons.

I have nothing to write about the sorceries, except what I hear from James Tutor, that the man has been condemned to perpetual imprisonment upon bread and water, the wife to three months' imprisonment, and that the daughter is sent to a convent, a happy lot if she adopts it willingly, if not, a harder sentence than that of either of her parents; the books, sword, and other memorials of sorcery are to be burnt. But I conjecture that there has been no punishment by the civil tribunal, since the whole inquisition in cases of sorcery proceeds from the ecclesiastical judge. James tells me he could learn no other particulars from the official. Farewell.

[Paris, 16 March, 1501]†

* Cascus Cascam ducit, similis similem delectat. *Adagia*, Chil, I., Cent. 2., Prov. 62.

† No date in *Farrago*. Aureliæ. Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimonono. *Opus Epist.*

The contents of the above Epistle enable us to correct without difficulty the date of place and year. As to the date of the day, it is assumed to be the unceremonious letter, mentioned in Epistle 144, which was probably sent with it to St. Omer. See the apology at its commencement, and compare the exordium of Epistle 135.

Epistle 144. Farrago, p. 268 ; Ep. ix. 17 ; C. 25 (27).

Erasmus to Antony Lutzenburg.

Hitherto, my dearest Antony, I have loved you as the kindest of men, and as one to whom I was infinitely obliged. Now I take you to my heart as a man of learning as well, having only just discovered this by your letter. Pray do not think I am flattering you. I have been more than commonly pleased with that simple and natural style of yours, the words not far-fetched but sticking close to the meaning, the sense sound and solid, nothing in the words or ideas either extravagant, distorted or forced, nothing in fine either defective or redundant.

As to Dismas,—there is an ancient adage to be found in Varro and Gellius, Bad counsel is the worst thing for the counsellor. But I am confident that in this case the best of counsel will bring joy to us all. You will excuse me with the Abbot for writing to him so unceremoniously. Urge Batt to be his very self : there will never be more occasion for his friendship. Farewell, my dear Antony.

Paris, 16 March [1501].*

The praise of Antony's style may remind the reader of the compliments addressed to Colet (p. 208).

* Luteciæ. xvii. Calend. Apriles. *Farrago.* Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimooctavo. add. *Opus. Epist.*

The attentions paid to the Abbot and his chaplain were not entirely thrown away. The following letter probably belongs to this time.

EPISTLE 145. *Farrago*, p. 268; Ep. ix. 18; C. 79 (89).

Erasmus to Antony Lutzenburg.

I have received at the same time the Abbot's present, and a small sum of money sent by Batt. If I return thanks somewhat hurriedly at this time, do not suppose it is because I am not pleased with the present, but I have some business to attend to, and my health is much shaken. I hope however to express before long, how much I am obliged both to you and to the Abbot for this appreciation of my merits, which are none at all. Farewell. You will continue, dear Antony, to be like yourself.

[Paris, 1501].*

Erasmus did not think fit to publish any of Batt's letters. See p. 230. Probably their Latinity was imperfect. It would be interesting to see the letter, in answer to which Erasmus wrote the following affectionate lines. It evidently expressed the misgivings of a devoted friend, anxious not so much on his own account as on that of Erasmus. The lady of Veer had, we may presume, married her lover. See pp. 306, 308.

EPISTLE 146. Farrago, p. 268; Ep. ix. 19; C. 25 (28).

Erasmus to Batt.

I do hope there is a mistake about your illness; though I am in some fear, such is the fate of mortals. There is no reason, my dear soul, why you should torment yourself on my account. Our affection did not spring from motives of

* No date in *Farrago*. Anno millesimo quadringentesimonono. *Opus Epist.*

interest, and will not disappear with their absence. And that which chance brings us without any fault of our own, must be patiently, or rather bravely, borne. If Heaven will only grant me good health, I will fight my way through the rest myself, but my health is now very tottering.

I cannot understand how it is that she, who once told me she would not be a woman, is now more than a woman. But necessity is a hard master; we must therefore say nothing, and bide our time.

I had always an uneasy feeling about the Lord Provost,* but this will be seen by the event. I give up complaining of my fortune, my dear Batt, now that I have given up hope. I am only ashamed that the matter has become known so widely, and given rise, I fancy, to a great deal of jealousy. Do pray, my dear soul, get well, and look as soon as you can to your own interests, for you see what tides there are in these court affairs.

I have written some notes on Cicero's Offices, which will soon be published. I did intend to dedicate them to Adolf, but see no occasion to do so. Tell Lewis from me, that I shall be much obliged if he will copy for me carefully any Epistles you have. Farewell, my best and dearest Batt.

Paris, 5 April, [1501].†

We infer from the above Epistle, that when it was written, Erasmus's first edition of the *de Officiis* was in the press at Paris. Epistle 147, which might seem to have been its Dedicatory Preface, is found printed in the Basel edition of 1520, together with a later dedication to the same friend, dated 20 Sept., 1519. Ep. xxviii. 17; C. 496 (457). The earlier dedication, not being easily accessible, is reprinted in our Appendix. After an exordium in which the writer declares that he wishes to leave behind him an eternal monument of his friendship with Tutor, he continues as follows.

* De D. P. See p. 328.

† Luteciæ. Nonis Aprilibus. *Farrago.* Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimooctavo. add. *Opus Epist.*

EPISTLE 147. Cicero de Officiis, ed. 1520; Appendix ii.

Erasmus to James Tutor.

* * *

Among things human either nothing is lasting, or Letters are. Consequently in my late walks, which I used to take after meals on account of the delicacy of my health,—as you are aware, having been almost the only companion of my strolls,—we read over those three really golden books of Tully's Offices, I cannot say whether with more delight or with more profit. And whereas Pliny the Younger declares that they ought never to be out of the reader's hands, we have reduced the size of the volume, so that it may be constantly carried about as a Manual. Instead of the lengthy comments of Peter Marsus, we have added a great number of short annotations, and substituted fuller headings for the old titles by which the work was cut up rather than divided. The labour of correcting the text has also been considerable; and I can now assure the reader that no copy comes nearer to the original than ours. * *

Paris, 28 April, [1501].*

If we assume that the first edition of the *de Officiis* by Erasmus had Epistle 147 for a Preface, no copy of that edition appears to have survived. But two copies of a small 8vo edition without date or Preface, entitled *Officia Ciceronis solertissima cura Herasmi Roterdami*, are preserved, one in the Library of Beatus Rhenanus at Schlettstadt and the other at Wolfenbüttel. Peter Marsus was one of the learned Italians of the old school, to whom Erasmus was afterwards introduced at Rome. C. 788 D.

* Luteciæ quarto Calendas Maias. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. Cicero *De Officiis*, 1520. The year-date here, as often in the collections of letters, was evidently added afterwards, when the epistle was printed in 1520. Erasmus's intimacy with Tutor began about August, 1500. See p. 269.

CHAPTER XII.

Journey to Holland, and residence in Artois, May, 1501, *to July,* 1502. *The* Enchiridion Militis Christiani. *Death of Batt. Epistles* 148 *to* 167.

WE have seen by the last two letters, that Erasmus's health was beginning to fail, as it usually did in Paris during the spring, at which season some return of plague might generally be expected. When the summer was near, and the mortality increasing,—Augustine, at whose apartment he was living, being still absent, — Erasmus resolved to depart without awaiting his return. He left Paris about the beginning of May, and travelled first to Brussels, where he stayed with the Bishop of Cambrai's Vicar-General, who had been his host three years before. Before proceeding to Holland he had an interview with the Bishop himself (p. 324); but it does not appear from the letters whether his old patron was at Brussels when Erasmus was there. He may possibly have gone to wait upon him at Bergen, which was easily reached by boat from Antwerp, at which city he visited the family of his friend James Tutor; and it was probably in this part of his journey that he made the excursion to Veer mentioned more than once in his letters (see Epistles 152, 153), though he was afterwards in Zeeland for another reason. When at Veer, he found his patroness living under surveillance in her own castle, upon suspicion of complicity with the Provost of Utrecht, who had been arrested on some political charge.

Erasmus spent several weeks in Holland, probably staying some days at Stein, his last sojourn in that place, and extended his journey as far as Haarlem for the purpose of seeing his old friend William Herman, who was now stationed there. Returning to Dordrecht, which he left on the 9th of June, he went by barge to Zierikzee in Zeeland on account of the illness of his young servant, whose mother lived there. Midsummer was now approaching, and Erasmus, becoming alarmed about his own health, found it prudent at once to leave

Zeeland. His tour in the Low Countries being completed, and the plague continuing at Paris, he determined to avail himself of the hospitality of his friend Batt, who was still at Tournehem in charge of his pupil, Prince Adolf of Burgundy

Epistle 148, if rightly ascribed to this period, appears to have been sent to Batt before Erasmus had proposed to join him. The bearer was known to the lady of Veer, but not to Batt, and we may conjecture that Erasmus wrote from the Low Countries. The last paragraph may refer to some criticism of the Adages, or perhaps to a censure of his studies by some theological critics. Compare Epistle 157, p. 336. There is nothing to prove distinctly the time to which this epistle belongs, but it is difficult to find a probable place for it elsewhere. The contents show that Batt was separated from the lady, with whom or from whom Erasmus had had some independent communication. This could not be in 1499, the year-date added in *Opus Epistolarum*.

Epistle 148. Farrago, 247 ; Ep. viii. 52 ; C. 74 (82).

Erasmus to James Batt.

Sweetest Batt, we shall be glad to hear that you and yours are in good health. Although I think you are very sensible of our love, yet I beg you again and again to be assured that no one in all the world is so devoted to Batt as I.

If you love me, or admire Good Letters, pray receive the bearer in your own fashion, that is with the greatest kindness and courtesy. He is very dear to me, and well versed in Letters ; and, what is in these days by no means common, he unites the greatest sobriety with much erudition. He is a special favourite with the lady of Veer, who is charmed with his genius and modesty. You will therefore be doing something worthy of your own kind character, as well very agreeable to us all, if you shew how much you value our recommendation.

As to our own condition I have nothing to write. There is some hissing as usual from the Zoili you wot of; but I hope that we shall some time rise clear above these rocks. I wish the best of health to you and the whole household.

[Summer, 1501].*

Erasmus's travels were probably ended about the close of June. The following letter, sent to Paris soon after his arrival at Tournehem, is dated from the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer, being apparently despatched in the course of a visit to that place, from which Tournehem is about twelve miles distant.

Epistle 149. Farrago, 84; Ep. iv. 34; C. 38 (39).

Erasmus to Augustine Caminad.

You may judge of my disposition towards you by the letter I left at Paris. After a journey of nearly two months, we have just come to stay with our friend Batt. Frequent rumours reach us of the devastations of the plague; and if you think it better to remove hither, you will find what I wrote to be true. Pray do not suspect that my removal from Paris was associated with any ill-feeling or trickery May I die if I ever quitted that place so unwillingly before; but I was terrified by the crowd of funerals. If you have any suspicion on your mind on account of old quarrels, try me, and you shall be so convinced of my love, that our old intimacy will seem cold in comparison.

I have not been able in all my journey to learn anything about your return, at which I was surprised as well as sorry; but at last a person named Antony told me, he had had speech with somebody, who said he had seen you at Lubeck and delivered to you that compendium of Laurentius Valla's

* No date in *Farrago*. Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo nono. *Opus Epist.*

Elegantiæ which I formerly made. But up to this day no report either certain or uncertain has reached me of your having got back to Paris. For this reason I write briefly and hurriedly, not to risk any further pains. But if you have returned, you must at any rate spin us a really long letter about all your journey and whatever else has happened to you. I desire to be commended heartily to your Rudolf for many reasons. My greetings to Nicolas and your other apprentices, to whom I am under many obligations. Farewell. If you do fly hither, though I scarcely venture to hope it,—I make no further promise in words, but I will do all that a grateful and loving friend should do.

St. Bertin's Abbey, [July, 1501].*

Epistles 150, 151, and 152 were all written from Tournehem in the evening of the same day (see pp. 324, 327); their bearing being a servant of Antony, "the Great Bastard of Burgundy," the proprietor of Tournehem Castle. See p. 175. The first is addressed to James Antony of Middelburg, Vicar General of the Bishop of Cambrai, and author of a Treatise on the Imperial authority, for which Erasmus, some months later, wrote a commendatory epistle to accompany its publication. Epistle 170. The Vicar, being learned in the Civil Law, may have been able to answer some question of Erasmus connected with his studies; hence he is dignified in Epistle 150 with the title of Preceptor. Having been the Vicar's guest during his stay at Brussels, Erasmus had intended to take away with him a book, perhaps the manuscript of his friend's treatise, which he may have offered to revise. Being bent on regaining the favour of the Bishop, Erasmus was anxious to secure the alliance of his Vicar.

Epistle 150. Farrago, p. 275; Ep. ix. 26; C. 48 (54).

Erasmus to James, Vicar of the Bishop of Cambrai.

Kind, learned, and distinguished Sir, having never had occasion to do you any service, while you have almost

* Apud sanctum Bertinū. Anno m.cccc.xcviii. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.*

overwhelmed your humble friend with your incredible kindness and with the greatest benefits, I was delighted to find any kind of opportunity at last presented me, if not of returning your favours, at any rate of declaring, by some little attention, the bent and willingness of my mind. Consequently I could not but be grievously distressed, when my boy, after having received over and over again the most distinct orders, left your honoured little book behind. We were not aware of it, until we came to Antwerp. But I implore you by your services to me, and by my anxiety to show my gratitude, to send the volume to me by the person who brings this letter, as it is my intention to stay here some months. The messenger is one of the household of the illustrious prince, Antony the Bastard, and is a young man of tried honesty and diligence, and much attached to me. You could not more safely give it into my own hands. Only make him understand that it is an important matter, and that there will be some risk if he does not take care of it. I will contrive that it shall come back either with me, or by some safe person.

I beseech you to follow your old practice with our most reverend father and good patron, the bishop of Cambrai, and either procure us a higher place in his regard, if his old favour still survives, or bring us back into his good graces, if we have lost them. I call God to witness, who sees most intimately into the cavern of every human heart, that I love him still as warmly as in those first months when he embraced me with the kindness of a parent, and I both admired and loved him beyond measure. So much the more do I desire to spend all the pains I can upon your book, as I clearly understand that the glory, or rather the profit and usefulness of it, will belong in common to you, my kind host, and to my patron, the author of my studies, and so of my life itself.

Farewell, most distinguished preceptor, and regard your

poor client, who is devoted to you with all his heart, with your usual affection. I was not informed of the departure of this messenger until nine o'clock in the evening, and he is to start at cock-crow. I have to write three letters late at night and after a heavy supper, and that to persons to whom one cannot usually write even in the most careful way without some trepidation. But you will attribute my boldness to your own good-nature.

From Tournehem the 12th of July [1501].*

EPISTLE 151. Farrago, p. 277 ; Ep. ix. 27 ; C. 49 (56).

Erasmus to his patron Henry of Bergen, Bishop of Cambrai.

Much as Fortune has been my enemy, she has never inflicted on my mind a more cruel wound, than when at our late meeting your Fatherhood† appeared disposed to tax me with ingratitude. For on the one hand, I value your approbation more than that of many thousand others ; and on the other hand, the fault of which I am suspected is the one fault, which is especially repugnant, not only to my confirmed resolutions, but to my natural character. I have borne your reproach, not as a blow from an enemy, but as the chastening of a loving parent and physician, and it only remains for me to adjure you, by your own forbearing and tender heart, and by my sad fortunes, if I have been hitherto in fault,—nay, because I have been in fault,—to forgive it on the score of ignorance or awkwardness ; for of any ill-feeling I am quite unconscious, though I acknowledge I may have been in this matter and in many others wanting in modesty and discretion.

* Ex Tournehen. Quarto Idus Iulias. AN. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.*

† Paternitas, *Farrago.* Sublimitas, *Opus. Epist.* See, as to the relations of Erasmus with the Bishop of Cambrai, p. 126, 272 ; his late interview, p. 319.

I have always received your beneficence as became an honest and grateful client. I have loved you with all my heart, have respected and venerated you, have borne you in my mind, and not been silent in your praise. In all my prayers to this day I pray God, in whose power alone it lies, to repay with interest all the benefits you have conferred upon me. Beyond this I can do no more. If you cannot be induced to believe what I have said as to the past, I implore you to let me persuade you that I am of that mind now, and shall be so until my poor life shall fail.

If you consider that in my present circumstances that assistance is sufficient, which your liberality has formerly bestowed upon me, I on my part shall think it most abundant, inasmuch as I have done nothing to earn what you have spontaneously and kindly given; and I am not so clownishly ungrateful as to look more to what my necessity may demand, than to what your generosity, beyond all my deserts, has showered upon me.

Lastly I would have you consider, that Erasmus was first recommended to your protection, not as a person of rank or birth or wealth,—these are things that men do not bestow upon themselves,—but as one devoted to study. The same mind still endures more ardently than ever, and shall be dedicated and consecrated wholly to you. How supremely happy shall I be, if I shall ever obtain an opportunity of proving the sincerity of my gratitude. If in such a case I shrink from any effort, any labour or any watchings, I shall willingly submit to bear that black mark which you have been disposed to put against my name. Meantime I pray you to be propitious to your Erasmus. If I fail in obtaining this, still I shall not cease to love and venerate my patron, though his favour be withdrawn; and to those sycophants who keep us apart, I shall wish such fortune as they deserve.

I spent more than a month with my people in Holland.

They thought it best that I should give another year to study; and reckon it a slur upon themselves, if I return without having obtained in so many years any authority at all. Farewell, most kind and distinguished Prelate.

From Tournehem, 12 July [1501].*

EPISTLE 152. Farrago, p. 274; Ep. ix. 25; C. 49 (55).

Erasmus to John, Canon of Brussels.

I beseech you, most candid John, to make my excuses to my kind host and patron, the Vicar, for having, owing to the forgetfulness of my boy, left his book behind. So help me Heaven, nothing has happened to me for years which has caused me so much distress.

If you have any news either of Augustine, or of Benserad, or of the Bishop my patron, or lastly of Lewis, who has been sent into your parts to fetch me back, I implore you by our friendship to let me know by letter; it will be not the least welcome of the many good turns you have done me. You have a safe messenger in one of the household of Antony Bastard, and may trust him with whatever you like. I found everything at Veer just as you foretold. I met the lady accidentally in the street, and she held out her hand with quite a friendly look. But being deterred by some persons,—who, I think, were not ill-disposed,—I abstained from conversation with her.

My boy was seized with fever at Dordrecht; it was a tertian fever, and made me so anxious that on his account I took ship for Zierikzee, where his mother lives. We continue well, but have no other cause for thanking fortune. Batt is also well, and greets you heartily; he loves every

* Ex Tournehē. Quarto Idus Iulias, AN. M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.* Ex arce Tornehensi (etc.). *Opus. Epist.*

one whom Erasmus loves. Farewell, my kind John, and do not cease to love your humble friend, or rather devoted client, Erasmus.

From Tournehem in haste and late at night, 12 July [1501].*

A few days later an opportunity occurred of sending a parcel to Paris (Epistle 154), and so getting a letter forwarded to James Tutor at Orleans.

EPISTLE 153 Farrago, p. 272 ; Ep. ix. 23 ; C. 35 (35)

Erasmus to James Tutor.

I was preparing, most excellent Tutor, to remove to you straight from Paris,—for where could I go with more pleasure ? and I had collected a few coins together, so as not to be a burden on your fortunes. But when I heard there were some symptoms of the disease in your parts, I was forced to set sail in this direction. I visited your parents at Antwerp, excellent people, as is natural, like yourself. I was in Holland nearly two months, not settled, but, like the dogs in Egypt, continually running about and drinking. For my part, I would rather live among the Phæacians.

I went to see that sweet fellow, William, but when I could not rouse him to study by any inducement, I left him upon such terms that even now I have no wish to see him again. It is certain I scolded him so roundly on your account, that our parting was anything but friendly. If Epicurus himself could visit the earth again and see that sample of life, he would think himself a rigid Stoic. We took ship at a great risk from Dordrecht on the day before

* Ex Tornehei tumultuantissime ad multam noctem. IIII. Idus Iulias. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.* Ex arce Tornehensi (etc.). *Opus Epist.* By a strange error, Epistles 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, and 157 are in the Leyden edition, all dated, Tornaco. Likewise Epistle 111.

Sacrament.* Staying at Zierikzee some days on my boy's account, who had contracted a fever on the voyage, I was on the point of falling ill myself, if I had not taken flight from Zeeland (from Hell I might well call it) in the greatest haste.

We paid our respects to the Bishop. He invents, as usual, fresh excuses for not giving anything. The affairs of the lady of Veer were in such a state that I could not speak to her without great risk, nor come away without serious suspicion. You know the charge against the Provost; while he is in prison, the lady is in ward in her own house. Being therefore clear of any hopes from that quarter,—for it is a wretched thing to remain in suspense for nothing,—I betook myself straight to Batt, in whose company I find great delight. I am reading Greek, but by myself, for Batt has not time to spare, and is fonder of Latin. It is my intention to rest at anchor here for a month or two. After that we shall steer whichever way the winds are favourable. You are waiting all this time to know with what kind courtesy the Reverend Father treats us, now we are near him. I have nothing to write, my dear Tutor, on this head. Euripus has not so many tides as that man's mind. A little before we came, he was so warm that he sent off that bustling fellow, Lewis, to Holland to fetch us, and moreover bestowed two gold pieces for the expense of the journey. But when I came myself, he was so cold, that it seemed almost unnatural. I am resolved that I ought not to depend upon these fluctuating admirers.

The Lady, when I happened to meet her in the street, held out her hand and gave me such a kind look as betokened plainly her old regard for me ; but I scarcely dare to hope,

* Pridie Sacramenti. On the eve of the Feast of Corpus Christi, which is celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. This gives, for the year 1501, the 9th of June for the date of embarcation.

such is the vigilance of the watchdogs, who are themselves wolves too. So Erasmus now maintains himself, and is clad in his own feathers.

To visit William, or rather to make a Greek of him, I travelled to Haarlem with a great load of books, I cannot say whether at a greater cost of money, or of labour and risk. Nevertheless, all these pains and all this expense were thrown away. By that journey I lost twelve crowns and one friend? The estimate I formed of his character makes me think I deceived myself about him before. We shall profit by our whipping, like boys, and be wise for the future,—wise for ourselves and not for others. You have now had, my dearest Tutor, all my news; for I should think it wrong if Tutor were kept in ignorance of anything relating to Erasmus. * * *

I am thinking of visiting Italy this autumn, or rather dreaming of it, for there is not a gleam of hope. I hear that Jerome, the bishop of Besançon's brother, is determined to go there, that he appreciates scholars, and has no bad opinion of my ability. If, when I was with you,† I had had my wits about me, I should certainly have crept somehow into his acquaintance. Farewell.

[Tournehem, 17 July, 1501.]‡

Nicolas Benserad was one of Augustine's assistants in his business. The second paragraph of Epistle 154 gives the impression that transcripts of Greek and Latin authors were being made under Erasmus's direction. There is something of dignity, as well as ingenuity, in the way in which Erasmus meets his correspondent's proposal for a

† istic. This would seem to mean Orleans; I do not know of any other evidence that Jerome Busleiden was there in 1500.

‡ Luteciæ. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.* The true date of place, day, and month is supplied by Epistles 154, 155, 156, and 157, written, one on the same, and the other three on the following day; the year-date by Epistle 158, where the date is original, not a later addition. See p. 337.

closer association, but the dignity is somewhat impaired by the willingness shown in the next clause to make use, not only of his services, but of his purse.

Epistle 154. Farrago, p. 274; Ep. ix. 24; C. 39 (40).

Erasmus to Nicolas Benserad.

We are daily receiving most positive reports from various sources that the plague is raging worse than ever at Paris, and sparing nothing. Fearing therefore you might have taken refuge somewhere else, I have thought it best not to write at great length, or to send much work to you, lest in case of your absence a good deal should be lost. But I will now touch on the main points.

This messenger is the first by whom we have been able to write. We send you Euripides and Isocrates; others are being prepared, which shall be presently sent. We will attend to your wishes as to the Defence of Milo, as soon as we get the Oration and the necessary books.

If anything has arisen which you think I ought to know, send me word; and if Augustine is returned, you will give him the letter which is enclosed with yours. And please take good care of the trifles which I left in your charge.

With regard to our association, if you have thought out any plan, you will find me most ready to listen to it. You will understand, I suppose, what I mean. You will hardly believe, my dear Nicolas, how much I should like it; but as I do not venture to hope, so I dare not advise. What torments me is this, that your heart, so pure, so philosophical, is after all still almost unknown to me. I have always both felt and spoken most favourably of your character, and yet I know not how it has come to pass, whether by the almost excessive reserve of both of us, or by the interference of others, that an intimate familiarity with Benserad

is a thing I have never ventured to promise myself. And as I am persistent in improving friendships, so I am diffident in forming them.

If any fresh Greek has been brought to Paris, do charge the messenger with a parcel, and me with an obligation. And do not fear, Nicolas, that I shall fail to respond to your services to me. Trust me, I shall not allow myself to be tired, or to take any rest until I have done all I can to discharge my whole debt. And when I speak of debt, I do not mean only the coins I have borrowed of you,—that is the least part of my obligation,—but much more your goodness to me, and those kind offices, the memory of which will never fade from my mind. For the present, dear Benserad, you will be content with this : as soon as I know for certain that you are at Paris, I will take care that some evidence of my studies shall come to your hands without delay.

Please take the trouble to send the letter addressed to James Tutor by a safe messenger to Orleans. Farewell.

From the Castle of Tournehem [17 July, 1501].*

The last two letters had scarcely been despatched when a messenger arrived from St. Omer. An opportunity was thus offered of sending letters from Tournehem to that place, to be forwarded to Paris and Orleans. Epistle 157.

Epistle 155. Farrago, p. 269; Ep. ix. 20; C. 51 (59).

Erasmus to James Tutor

I yesterday charged another messenger with a letter for you, but think it safer, in case of accidents, to send you a second by the bearer, not in the same words but to the like

* No date in *Farrago*. Ex arce Tornensi. Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo octavo. *Opus. Epist.*

effect. We wasted more than a month and a half in Holland not without great expense ; I say wasted, because nothing was ever more thrown away. Again the illness of my boy detained me several days in Zeeland, not only much to my annoyance, as I was in a hurry to come away, but also with no little danger to my health. I never before found any climate more disagreeable or more unsuitable to my constitution.

Other matters, my sweet Tutor, have turned out much as things generally have done with Erasmus. The prelate of Cambrai is just like himself. The lady of Veer is oppressed by misfortunes, and appears to need rather to be relieved than to be burdened. I am now resting in Batt's embraces, and among my books, but am not altogether without you, for Tutor is often present in our conversation. Believe me, if you believe anything at all, I find so much hypocrisy, so much perfidy in friendships, not only those of an ordinary kind, but those that are called Pyladean, that I am not inclined now to try any new ones. In Batt alone I have experienced an attachment no less constant than sincere. His friendship I do not owe to Fortune, as it is only virtue that brought us together, and I am not afraid that Fortune will deprive me of it. For why should he cease to love me in my affliction, when his love began in my deepest affliction?* You, most learned James, as you are like him in name, also reproduce his candour and singleness of heart. My feeling about you both is such, that if your faith failed me, which God forbid, I should have no faith in faith itself.

Our health, thank Heaven, is pretty good, and somewhat stronger than when we were with you. We have almost wholly deserted the Roman Muses for the Greek, and shall not rest till we have attained a moderate proficiency. I cannot tell you how much I wished to go back to your

* See pp. 89, 90.

household, as I thought I should be able, without putting you to expense, to enjoy your society, which has a special charm for me, and to put mine at your disposal. But I was frightened away by the plague, which drove me from Paris and has thrust me into exile here. For what is there ever here to attract me, except Batt, whose society I have not to myself, as he is forced to spend much of his time upon his court service ? †

I commend Dismas to you ; for the whole family of Bergen have set their hopes upon him. * * *

If there is any occasion, you will, as usual, do your utmost to defend Erasmus's good name, and frighten that wolf away with your loudest and bravest bark. I have hunted eagerly for a Greek Grammar to buy and send you, but they are sold out, both Constantine's and Urban's. Nicolas Benserad will bear witness to this, whom you may believe without putting him on his oath.

As to my future plans,—I sometimes think of going to England again, to spend a month or two in theological study with my friend Colet. For I fully recognize how much advantage I might gain by so doing ; but I am still afraid of those cliffs of evil fame,‡ where I made shipwreck before. I have the same longing to visit Italy as I have always had, but, as Plautus says, It is not easy without wings to fly.§ The plague keeps us away from France. In Holland the climate agrees with me, but I have a distaste for those Epicurean meals. The men are a poor, uncultivated race ; study is held in the most hearty contempt ; learning meets with no encouragement and abundance of envy. And all my

† Aulicæ servituti. Prince Antony of Burgundy appears to have been living at Tournehem, where a princely household was maintained, in which Batt may possibly have held some other office beside that of governor to the Prince's grandson. See p. 175.

‡ Infames scopuli. Horat. *Carm.* i. 3. 20.

§ Sine pennis volare haud facile est. Plaut. *Poenuli*, iv. 2. 29.

people appear to be silently insisting on my being backed up by authority, and so armed as it were against the arrogance of unlearned men before I return. We are therefore for the present undecided, and shall turn our course to the point where favourable winds may invite. Farewell with all your household. My greetings to the most excellent and charming youths from Breda.

From the Castle of Tournehem [18 July, 1501].†

EPISTLE 156. Ferrago, p. 270; Ep. ix. 21; C. 51 (58).

Erasmus to Nicolas Benserad.

I wrote yesterday, kind and learned Benserad, about every thing, but as another messenger has presented himself, I will sum up the matter again.

Having returned from Holland I am now living with Batt, and occupied with letters, principally Greek. I sent you Euripides and Isocrates, and should have sent more, but I was afraid you might have been driven somewhere else by the plague. If there is any fresh Greek to be bought, I had rather pawn my coat than not get it; especially if it is something Christian, as the Psalms in Greek or the Gospels. Please take care of the goods I left in your charge. I have also written to Augustine; I am anxious to know what news there is of him, for as yet I have heard nothing.

I wish, my dear Benserad, our Muses could be associated together; but about this and other things you will write fully. * * *

Farewell. Batt sends his hearty greetings to you.

From Tournehem, 18 July [1501].‡

† No date in *Farrago*. Ex arce Tornehensi Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimonono. *Opus Epist.* See Epistle 156.

‡ Ex Tornehē. xv. Calendas Augusti. *Farrago*. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. Add. *Opus Epist.*

Epistle 155 (probably accompanied by Epistle 156) was sent to Antony Lutzenburg, the Chaplain of the Abbot of St. Bertin, with the following letter.

Epistle 157 Farrago, p. 271; Ep. ix. 22, C. 50 (57).

Erasmus to Antony Lutzenburg.

As if it had not been enough to give you so much trouble when we were with you, we are going to give you more now we are away. This however, most amiable Antony, you must set down not to our presumption but to your own good nature. We have written to James Tutor, partly to greet our old host with a sort of complimentary offering, and partly to set spurs, as it were, to his intent, so that he may strive with all his might and zeal and loyalty, to restore us our boy so accomplished as to be capable of adding some splendour to the family of Bergen, distinguished above all others both by learning and by virtue. You will take the trouble to deliver the letter to the messenger Antony, and direct him to take it with his usual care and honesty to Orleans, as I hear he is to make that journey.

For the rest, my dear Antony, if we enjoy some degree of health, it is a pleasure to acknowledge it. We are living a happy and agreeable life, both because we enjoy the society of Batt, and because we are heart and soul in Letters; a life of the gods, if we had only a few more books! Owing this condition of mind to literature, should you not, my dear Antony, think me most ungrateful, if I were out of humour with my studies for not having brought me any profit? Let others be loaded with gold and carried to the height of glory, while my Muses bring me nothing but vigils and envy, still I shall never turn my back upon them, as long as this mind endures and retains its contempt for fickle fortune. I am not unaware, that I have pursued a kind of

study which some think strange, others endless, others unprofitable, others even impious; so they seem to the crowd of those who are professors of learning. But I am all the more encouraged, as I am sure of two facts, that the best things have never found favour with the crowd, and that this kind of study is most approved by the smallest number, but the most learned. If Jerome was mad or unlearned, it is good to share the folly of such a man; it is good to be numbered in his unlearned flock, rather than in those other divine choirs. And even if we shall fail to reach the goal in this our course, it will not be discreditable to have at any rate striven to attain the very fairest objects. If men do not approve this purpose of mine, God, I think, will both approve and aid it; and some time hence men will approve, or at any rate posterity.

My not writing to the noble Prelate, your patron, is not owing either to laziness or want of leisure. I had nothing to write that was worthy of so great a man. * * * Therefore on the present occasion you will do me the favour to act in place of a letter to his lordship; and also heartily commend both me and Batt to that kindest of men, prior George. You will in both our names salute the Doctor, and Canon James Plumeo, honourable persons, to whose goodness we both of us stand indebted. Farewell, excellent Antony.

From Tournehem, 18 July [1501].†

Not many days after the date of this letter an opportunity was afforded to Erasmus of doing a slight service to the Abbot in the way of his literary profession. The latter had been honoured with a letter from the Cardinal John de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., who appears to have visited the Abbey some years before, perhaps when engaged on a diplomatic mission. In order to compose a suitable

† Ex Tornehen. xv. Calend. August. Anno M.CCCC.XCIX. *Farrago.* Sim *Opus Epist.*

reply to so important and fastidious a correspondent, the Abbot called in the assistance of Erasmus. The letter is dated from St. Omer, 30 July, 1501,* the year-date, in this instance of a more formal document, being apparently original. EPISTLE 158. Farrago, p. 292; Ep. ix. 37; C. 90 (98). The Abbot sends to the Cardinal, as a present, two pieces of Music, the work of a composer bred in the household of the Medici, and then the principal musician at St. Omer.

It was during Erasmus's visit to Tournehem in the summer or autumn of 1501, that an incident occurred which gave occasion to the composition of one of the most useful and widely read of his minor works, the treatise called *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, the Christian soldier's Dagger. The circumstances are narrated by Erasmus in his letter to Botzhem, or Catalogue of Lucubrations, written in 1523; but in estimating the time that had elapsed since the origin of the work, Erasmus does now show his usual accuracy, an interval of twenty-two years being loosely described as nearly thirty.

Catalogue of Lucubrations. C. i. Præf. Jortin, ii. 428.

The *Enchiridion militis Christiani* was begun by me nearly thirty years ago when staying in the castle of Tournehem, to which we were driven by the plague that depopulated Paris. The work arose out of the following incident. A common friend of mine and of Batt was in the castle, whose wife was a lady of singular piety. The husband was no one's enemy so much as his own, a man of dissolute life, but in other respects an agreeable companion. He had no regard for any divines except me; and his wife, who was much concerned about her husband's salvation, applied to me through Batt to set down some notes in writing, for the purpose of calling him to some sense of religion, without his perceiving that it was done at the instance of his wife. For even with her it was a word

* Apud diuum Audomarum. iii. Calend. Augustas. Anno a CHRISTO Nato supra millesimum quingentesimoprimo. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.*

and a blow, in soldier fashion. I consented to the request, and put down some observations suitable to the occasion. These having met with the approval even of learned persons, and especially of Joannes Vitrarius, a Franciscan friar of great authority in those parts, I finished the work at leisure, after the plague (then raging everywhere) had routed me out of Paris and driven me to Louvain.

A further notice of the *Enchiridion* will be found in the next page. Upon the termination of his visit to Tournehem, in the autumn of 1501, Erasmus repaired to St. Omer, where he had an invitation from Adrian, an old ally, who appears to have been, like Augustine Caminad, a transcriber and seller of books. The Doctor (Medicus) of Epistles 157 and 159 was probably Ghisbert, a physician of St. Omer, elsewhere mentioned by Erasmus. Epistle 285, C. 125 A, 453 D. The Warden (Gardianus), may be assumed to have been the Head of a Franciscan convent, as this title was specially used by that Order. Ioannes Vitrarius, of whom an interesting description is given by Erasmus in his Epistle to Jodocus Jonas, Ep. xv. 14, C. 451 (435), was a member of this Order and Warden of his convent (C. 455 B); and there can be little doubt that the Warden mentioned, in Epistles 159 and 161, was Vitrarius himself. In the following letter Erasmus speaks of him with some suspicion, but this was before he knew him well.

EPISTLE 159. Farrago, p. 279. Ep. ix. 29; C. 54 (61).

Erasmus to Batt.

I need not bid you be glad, as I am sure you are already glad enough to have shaken from your shoulders such a troublesome burden as I have been to you. Adrian still invites me to come to him. The Warden advises me, as far as words go, to take up my quarters with the Abbot, if I can be accommodated there. The Doctor on the other hand advises me to go to Adrian. Both, I fancy, are doing what dogs do, that do not like a partner in the kitchen. I am a little doubtful about the Warden, whether he is going to

be sincere throughout ; for I feel he is a little overbearing. And while he was with you, he never said a word about Adrian, whereas the matter ought rather to have been settled through him. Whatever the issue may be, we shall bravely accept it. Take care of your health, my dear Batt. Send all my things as soon as you have the means of doing so, and also all my *Dialogues*, in case I should like to complete them. Urge Lewis to copy all my *Epistles*. Farewell.

By the Doctor's advice I will not detain Lewis, lest I should make your cowled friends grumble at me still more.

St. Omer [1501].*

Epistle 159 is the last extant letter of Erasmus to Batt, who was in failing health, and whose circumstances were evidently not favorable to his recovery. See p. 348. In the little Court, of which he was an official, he appears to have had enemies, against whom, in the absence of his patroness the Lady of Veer, he was unable to make head. His brother, whom he had probably introduced into the service, was dismissed soon after this time. See Epistle 162. The lord of the Castle, Antony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, was a man of more than eighty years, who after a life of military activity, had apparently fallen under the influence of his father confessor, and of a knot of monkish advisers, with whom Batt and Erasmus were no favorites.

The work which had so great a success under the title of *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (*The Handy Weapon* or *The Manual, of a Christian Soldier*), appears to have been in its original form a letter of some length addressed by Erasmus in the latter part of 1501, to one of the gentlemen with whom he had lately associated at Tournehem. The author in a later Epistle describes it as written for himself only and for an unlettered friend (uni mihi et amiculo prorsus ἀναλφαβήτῳ), and repeats the remark of a satirical reader, who had said that there was more holiness in the book than in its author. Epistle to Volzius. Ep. xxiii. 7 ; C. 337 ; see 341. It was after talking over the original essay with Vitrarius and other friends,

* No date in *Farrago*. Audomari, 1499. *Opus. Epist.*

that the author was induced to extend it into the longer treatise, to which he gave the above striking title in allusion to the profession of his correspondent, who belonged to the martial household of the Bastard of Burgundy. The Manual, as printed two years later at Antwerp (see p. 363), is preceded by a short Preface, inscribed *amico cuidam aulico*, Epistle 160, which may pass for the exordium of the original letter; and has a conclusion which may also be attributed to that letter, with its date of place and year written in words at length.

EPISTLE 160. Lucubratiunculæ, etc. (1503), fol. D. 1; C. v. 1.

Erasmus to a Courtier Friend.

Dearest brother in the Lord, you have required of me with no little earnestness, to prescribe for you in a small compass a system of living, which may help you to attain to a spirit worthy of Christ. You say, that you have long been weary of the life of a Court, and are turning over in your mind, how you may fly from Egypt, its vices and its pleasures, and with some Moses for a guide pursue with success the path of Virtue. The regard which I have for you leads me to rejoice all the more in your salutary proposal, as I hope that He who has been pleased to put it in your mind, will without our aid Himself bless and further it. Nevertheless I am more than willing to gratify a friend who makes so pious a request. Strive on your part to show, that you have not asked our aid without a purpose, and that my compliance with your wish has not been fruitless. Or rather let us address our common prayers to that loving spirit of Jesus, that He will suggest to the writer wholesome advice, and also make it efficacious to the reader.

The following words, taken from the last page of the *Enchiridion*, as it was printed by the author in 1503, represent the conclusion of the original epistle addressed from St. Omer to Tournehem, of

which the above sentences are the commencement. In the preceding clause, Erasmus had spoken of his intended labours in the interpretation of the works of St. Paul, and of the pains that he had taken to attain some knowledge not only of Latin, but also of Greek, with a view to the illustration of the Sacred Scriptures.

Lucubratiunculæ etc. (1503); C. v. 66 c.

* * *

Intermitting for a few days these important occupations, we have endeavoured for your sake to point out, as it were with a finger, the shortest way to Christ. Meanwhile I pray Jesus, the parent, as I hope, of this our purpose, that he will deign to give his gracious blessing to your salutary efforts, or rather that he will complete his own gift in your conversion; so that in Him you may quickly grow and advance into the perfect man. Farewell, brother and friend, always beloved, but now dearer than ever before.

At St. Omer, in the year from the birth of Christ, one thousand five hundred and one.

The little book was neglected at first, but soon obtained a great sale, and was frequently reprinted in various tongues. In 1518 it was republished by the Author at Louvain, with a dedicatory Epistle to Paulus Volzius, Abbot of the Monastery of Haugshofen in Alsace, dated 14 Aug. 1518, which was afterwards transferred to the *Opus Epistolarum*, Ep. xxiii. 7; C. 337 (329). By this Epistle, which has a Protestant tendency, some of the admirers of the book were repelled. The friend to whom it was originally dedicated appears to have been then living, and to have continued in his old profession, but not to have improved his fortune by it. C. 337 c. The name of this gentleman does not appear in the original edition, nor as far as I know in any later edition published distinctly under the author's sanction. But in the edition of Schürer of 1515, he is called Ioannes Germanus; and in two German translations printed by Adam Peter of Langendorf in 1520, and by Val. Curio in 1521, both at Basel, the same name appears.

As the name can scarcelv have been a secret at the time to any one who cared to know it, it is probable that this was the real name of the 'courtier friend.' It is singular that in Schuman's Leipsig edition of 1519, where the name of the friend is not given, the work is called in the title page: *Enchiridion Erasmi Roterodami germani de milite christiano.*

Among the noble families in the neighbourhood of St. Omer was that of Calonne, the chiefs of which, for three generations at the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, had the Christian name of Florence. Their seigniorial residence was at the castle of Courtenburne in the county of Guînes; and it is probable that they had also a house in the town of St. Omer, of which Florence de Calonne, lord of Courtenburne, is said to have been mayor in 1529 (P Anselme, ii. 261, viii. 278; lx. 319; De la Chenoye-Desbois, *Dict. de la Noblesse,* vol. iv. p. 593).* In that town or at Tournehem Erasmus appears to have made the acquaintance of the Baron of Courtenburne, who in the winter of 1501 placed at his disposal some rooms in his country house. Epistles 161 and 162 belong to the early days of his visit there. Epistles 164 and 165 were written at a somewhat later time; Erasmus's protégé, Lewis (see pp. 284, 304, 307), was then in Adrian's service, but employed in transcription for Erasmus (pp. 343, 345). Edmund appears to have been attached to the Franciscan convent of which Vitrarius was head (see p. 338). The books on St. Paul were required for a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans, which Erasmus began at this time, but left unfinished owing to his imperfect knowledge of Greek. See pp. 375, 376.

Epistle 161. Farrago, p. 249; Ep. ix. 2; C. 90 (96).

Erasmus to Edmund, priest.

I have retired to this country house of the kind Prince of Courtenburne, intending to be quietly occupied these

* It appears that the family still exists, being represented (in 1884) by Arthur R. F. de Calonne, Marquis de Courtebonne, the barony of Courtenburne, or Courtebonne, having been erected to a marquisate in 1671. Bachelin, *État présent de la Noblesse Française* (1884), p. 603.

winter months in sacred literature. I wish that under the Warden's leadership, I had been allowed to have you for a companion. For the rest, it will be like your goodness to encourage Adrian to supply me with a few books. I want him to send Augustine and Ambrose on St. Paul ; and to beg Origen for a time * from the people at St. Bertin, and be bound for me to return it ; he shall not be disappointed. Moreover, I very much wish, if it can be done, to have the Homilies of Origen, which the Warden has, sent with the rest. I should also be glad to welcome Lyranus and any other writer upon St. Paul. A cart shall be sent on Saturday to carry every thing hither. Meantime you will take care to get the books ready for that day If Adrian or the Warden will do us the honour of visiting us at any time, we shall be glad to see either of them. Farewell, and pray exert your diligence in the business I have mentioned.

From the Castle of Courtenburne [1501].†

EPISTLE 162. Farrago, p. 250 ; Ep. ix. 3 ; C. 89 (95).

Erasmus to Master Adrian, his dear friend in Christ.

The bearer of this, Lewis, has been hitherto maintained by James Batt at Tournehem Castle out of regard for me. It has now been determined by those who at present bear rule there, and who have turned out Batt's brother, and tried to do the same to Batt himself, that Lewis should go. I have therefore advised the lad to call first upon you. If you take him into your household, you will do a thing that will much gratify me, be of service to the youth, and an act of charity ; while finally it will not be without use to your own interests. For he is a tolerable scholar, an uncom-

* In tempore, *qu.* in tempus.

† Ex arce Courtenburnensi. Anno M.D. *Farrago.* Sim. *Opus Epist.*

monly skilful writer, of steady character and thoroughly honest. All this you will readily find out, and I have no nesitation in taking upon myself to assert it. Farewell.

Thank you for the books you have lent me ; your kindness will be recompensed by Him who is wont to repay in full measure and with interest such offices of piety.

From the Castle of Courtenburne [1501].*

The following letter from Herman to Servatius recalls the anxieties of monastic life in Holland. Servatius was, we may presume, still at Stein, and Herman at Haarlem. A parcel of copies of Erasmus's book had been sent to Gouda and Haarlem for sale or distribution in the preceding February (Epistle 139, p. 303). It may be observed that Erasmus's conventual brethren were under the impression that he had returned to Paris, his absence from the Convent being excused on the ground of his studies at the University. See the observations at the beginning of Chapter XIV

Epistle 163. C. 1873 (492).

William of Gouda to Servatius.

Arnold has been with us, and brought a kind message from you. Whether you really sent it, or whether he invented it to make himself more welcome to me, is a matter within your knowledge, but I readily believe it came from you, because it gives me pleasure to be remembered by a dear friend. I have asked after you, and he gives the desired answer. I am glad you are well, though I should certainly be more glad to know it from your own telling. I cannot but wonder that I do not receive a line from you. Indeed, if I were not very good-natured, I should have fair reason for upbraiding you. I have myself written over and

* No date in *Farrago.* Ex arce Cortenburgen. M.D. *Opus Epist.*

over again, if only the letters reach you; that one letter did so, I know for certain.

About those books of Erasmus's Adages, what answer am I to give to my devoted friend, when he reminds me of them? As you love me, my dear Servatius, I am already afraid of the coming of the Paris courier, as I have no idea how I shall satisfy our Erasmus, to whom I am certainly much indebted, while, either owing to my own negligence or to fortune, I can make no return. If therefore you bear your William in mind, do give me some instruction whether I am to speak or hold my tongue about the matter.

As to the affair you mention in your letter, what hope remains? Sustain your courage, and reserve yourself for more prosperous times. Fortune is fickle, and, as she recklessly does harm, she sometimes heedlessly does good. Perhaps the powers above will look with favour upon you sooner than you hope.

Farewell, sweetest of comrades, and may your loves fare well!* Last of all, do not let anything go by, which it is my interest to know, or which you think will give me pleasure.

From my study late, Twelfth-night, 6 Jan. [1502].†

EPISTLE 164. Farrago, p. 246; Ep. viii. 51; C. 78 (88).

Erasmus to Lewis.

I send you three prayers, one to Jesus the Virgin's Son, and two to the Virgin Mother, which I wish you to copy as carefully as you can. The first is a little confused, but you cannot go wrong, if you follow the lines of indication. I want one copy of them all made as soon as possible, as the person to whom I am going to give them is going to Paris

* Tui amores bene valeant.

† E bibliotheca mea ipso die Epiphaniæ multa nocte. *C.*

within four days or perhaps sooner. About the other copies we will consult when you come to see us; or if you have leisure to make several, you can do so. Use the best paper you can, divided by the neatest lines, with broader margins than mine, and the lines somewhat wider apart. Write it as nicely as you can, your care will be repaid.

About Francis's book, if you have not time enough, let him know, so that he may get another transcriber; for in future you will have no lack of writing to do for me, if only you have leisure enough.

If your people will let you, come over and have a talk with me within two or three days, as soon as you have made one copy. Please bring my cap; that of Adrian which I have is safe and untouched; for since I have returned here, I have not used it. Then go to N. and find out what such a linen kerchief as was lost at St. Bertin * would cost, so that he may either have one bought for him, or, if he likes, have the money to buy it. Go and ask the man which he prefers; or rather buy it yourself for him with his approval, so that he may be quite satisfied. I will repay you when you come. Commend me in every way to Adrian your kind master, and to Edmund, whom I love as a brother. Farewell.

If there is any news by Antony from Paris, let me know. When you have an opportunity, greet the Doctor in my name; also the Warden if he is returned.

[Courtenburne, 1502].†

EPISTLE 165. Farrago, p. 250. (Ep. ix. 4; C. 90 (97).

Erasmus to Edmund, as a brother beloved.

I desire to be informed by you, whether our Warden is

* capital linteū, quale periit, a D. Bertino [*qu.* ad D. Bertinum]. *Farrago.*

† No date in *Farrago.* Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo-nono. *Opus Epist.*

returned, or how soon he is expected to be there. Beg Adrian in my name to be patient about his books. For I intend to leave this place in a few days, but not before I have returned his volumes with many thanks. I am strangely pleased with myself for having undertaken this work; for I am confident that for the future I shall be glad to busy myself with all my heart in sacred literature. My Francis is returning home in about a week; therefore Lewis will do well if he will send any pages he has of *Laurentius*. There will be no delay in payment. He may also let me know if he has learned anything about the messenger. Also what he has done about the kerchief that was lost. Bid him send me back the original of my Prayers, if he has done with it. I have been long expecting a visit from all of you, but in vain. You must give my greetings to Adrian, a good man, who has so many claims to my regard. Farewell yourself, and as I hope our affection is mutual, let us aid each other by mutual prayers.

From the Castle where I am staying, in haste. [1502] *

Early in 1502 Erasmus was at St. Omer, a guest of the Abbot of St. Bertin, and on intimate terms with Joannes Vitrarius, the Franciscan friar, whom, as we have already seen, he consulted about the composition of the *Enchiridion* (p. 338). For this person Erasmus conceived the highest esteem on account of his strict morality and liberal views of religion, and has described his character and fortunes in a long letter, written in 1519 to Jodocus Jonas, in which he draws a parallel between Vitrarius and another eminent preacher, Dean Colet. He there says that he made his acquaintance at St. Omer, when he himself was driven thither from Paris by the plague, which in this respect was fortunate for him. Vitrarius, who was then about forty years of age, at once took a great liking for Erasmus, a man, as he says, very different from himself. The following extract has an autobiographical

* Ex arce in qua diuersor, raptim. *Farrago.* M.D. added in *Opus Epist.*

interest. The conversation must be placed in February or March, 1502. Easter day in that year was the 27th of March.

Erasmus to Jodocus Jonas. Ep. xv. 14, p. 700 F; C. 451 B.

I was then staying with Antony of Bergen, Abbot of St. Bertin, at whose table dinner was not served until after midday; and as my stomach could not brook so long a fast (it was then Lent) especially as I was very busy with my studies, I used to stay my stomach before dinner with a warm cup of broth, so that I might keep up till dinner-time. When I consulted him whether this was permissible, having first glanced at the lay companion, who was with him, from some apprehension that he might be offended, "Yes indeed," said he, "you would sin if you omitted to do so, and for want of a little food hindered your sacred studies, and injured your delicate constitution."

Some time in the early part of the year 1502 Erasmus suffered a severe blow by the death of James Batt. We have no contemporary letter, or other evidence, to show distinctly the date of this event. The first mention of it in any extant letter of Erasmus is in Epistle 167, dated 2 July [1502], in which he refers to his loss, not as a fresh occurrence but as a matter already known to all his friends. In Epistle 168 he expresses a suspicion (not a strange thought at that time) of foul play on the part of Batt's enemies at the Castle. See p. 339. The event is mentioned in this page, because the following epistle affords some reason to think that it took place in March, 1502.

Epistle 166 is a letter, of which the approximate date is clear, but not so the identity of the person to whom it is addressed. It was evidently written from St. Omer a few days before Easter (March 27), in the year 1502, as in that year, and in that year only, Erasmus was staying at St. Omer in Lent. It is inscribed in *Farrago*, Erasmus Roterodamus Petro Notho suo de Courtenburne, and in *Opus Epistolarum*, and later collections, Erasmus Petro Notho. We know

nothing elsewhere of Peter Bastard of Courtenburne, or of Peter Bastard, but supposing the full inscription in *Farrago* to be the original and right address, we should observe, that the words, Nothus de Courtenburne, can only be understood as a substitute for a surname,* and not as descriptive of residence or property. Pierre le Bâtard may have been one of the Peters resident at Tournehem (p. 233), or a person sent thither after the death of Batt, to look after the interests of Erasmus and of the family of Batt, who was apparently a widower, and who left at least one child, his son Cornelius. Epistle vii. 25; C. 238 (244). In any case it is a probable conjecture, that Epistle 166 was sent to Tournehem to the person who was acting for Erasmus after the death of Batt. It may be assumed that Batt died in possession of some of the papers of Erasmus, who might think it worth while to go himself to Tournehem to identify and secure his property.

EPISTLE 166. Farrago, p. 246. Ep. viii., 50; C. 79 (90).

Erasmus to his friend Peter Bastard of Courtenburne.

I am much bounden to you, most courteous Peter, and thank you most heartily for the care you are taking of our concerns. I should have been with you already, if the Abbot of St. Bertin had not detained me when I was ready and actually starting. Pray buy the Psalter if it is correct and complete, and the character tolerable. I shall be with you beyond doubt at Easter. I was about to send the money, but as I write this, the boy is not quite certain whether he is going to where you are. I must beg you therefore make yourself easy about it. Farewell and love us.

[St. Omer, March, 1502].†

* This form of surname for a nobleman's illegitimate son was not uncommon. Antony Bastard of Burgundy is not a singular example.

† No date in *Farrago*. Anno millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimonono. *Opus. Epist.*

Erasmus was still at St. Omer in the beginning of July, when he must have been mortified to have to write to his friend Tutor to transfer Dismas to his former preceptor, the Abbot being anxious that he should speak French. The other lad, Antony, was, we may presume, Antony of Grimberg, the Abbot's nephew. See Ep. xiii. 10; C. 512 (475).

EPISTLE 167. Farrago, p. 109; Ep. v. 22; C. 27 (30).

Erasmus to James Tutor.

The Abbot is minded, to keep Dismas and Antony entirely out of reach of our language; and in your circumstances you would not care to live without any of our countrymen. He therefore, after consulting me and Antony Lutzenburg, who is a hearty well-wisher of yours, orders them to return to James Daniel's household. You, my dear James, will act like yourself, and will take the trouble to see that the lads are settled as well as possible in accordance with the Abbot's decision, which you cannot mistake. Augustine will, I trust, do the same. You will both of you gratify our kind and distinguished Prelate.

As to my fate, I wrote to Augustine by the courier Cornelius. Since Batt died, who doubts but Erasmus is dead too? Moreover other things are in such a state, that they could not be worse. In courage alone is all my remaining hope. Farewell, with our friend Augustine, who I hear is to live with you.

St. Omer, 2 July [1502].*

It appears from Epistle 168, that Augustine Caminad, Erasmus's old pupil, with whom he had been so long in intimate correspondence as a dealer in books, was abandoning this trade, and applying himself to Jurisprudence. This accounts for his going to live with Tutor, who was a professor of the Canon Law. Epistle 167 is the last letter belonging to the time of Erasmus's sojourn in Artois.

* Ex diui Audomari. postridie Calendas Iulij. *Farrago.* Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII. add. *Opus Epist.*

CHAPTER XIII.

Residence at Louvain, 1502-1504; *Translations from Libanius and Lucian; Panegyric of Duke Philip; Business at Antwerp; Visit to Hammes. Epistles* 168 *to* 179.

THE cessation of Erasmus's old relations with Augustine probably concurred with his fear of the plague in inducing him to give up the idea of returning to Paris. See p. 10. Speaking of this period of his life in a letter to Polydore Vergil, written apparently in December, 1520, he says that the prevalence of plague, not only at Paris but also at Cologne, drove him to take refuge at Louvain. C. 671 D. We may perhaps infer that he had intended at this time to go to Cologne. Some thought of a visit to Germany is implied in Epistle 168.

The death of Batt, and the close of the correspondence with Augustine and James Tutor, bring us to the end of a series of letters containing much personal and biographical matter; and for several years after this time the Epistles are less frequent. But the removal of Erasmus to Louvain had the effect of bringing him into contact with the scholars and theologians who formed the governing and teaching body of the University which had been established in that city in the preceding century. The first to take notice of him was Adrian of Utrecht, then Dean of Louvain, and afterwards Pope Adrian VI., to whom he appears to have been already known, at least by reputation, as it was by his influence that the new-comer was invited on his arrival to take part in the teaching of the University. Adrian had been a pupil at the school of Deventer, but as he was seven or eight years older than Erasmus, it is not probable that they were schoolfellows, as some have supposed (Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 7; Jortin, *Erasmus*, i. 2). In a letter written in 1522 to Erasmus by Adrian, after his election as Pope, he refers to the time they had spent together in literary leisure at Louvain (Ep. xxiii. 3; C. 636 F). The office proposed to Erasmus was probably a lecture on Rhetoric (Latin Composition) or on Poetry His refusal may be ascribed to his

wish to maintain his independence and to reserve his leisure for Greek studies and literary work.

The return of Erasmus to the Low Countries appears to have led to a renewal of intercourse with his old comrade William Herman, from whom he had parted with some displeasure in the preceding year (see p. 329). The earliest extant epistles of Erasmus from Louvain are not dated, and we cannot fix the precise time of his arrival there. But the following letter was apparently written in September or early in October, 1502, after he had heard of the death of the Archbishop of Besançon, which occurred at Toledo, 13 August, 1502; and probably before the death of the Bishop of Cambrai, which occurred at Cambrai, 7 October in the same year. We may guess from the opening words, that he had already written from Louvain to Herman, or to the Convent. Herman had taken his advice, and had been working at Greek, making use of a volume of Fables in that language lent him by Erasmus. This book appears to have been of service in preparing his *Apologues*, which had been already published. I do not think that this first edition is known. Herman's version of the Fables attributed to Avianus was printed by Thierry Martens at Louvain in October, 1513, and frequently reprinted with the versions by Hadrian Barland and others, of the fables attributed to Æsop. Vander Haeghen, *Bibliographie de Barlandus*, pp. 200, 204, 207. Of Augustine's parcel of copies of the Adages we have read in Epistles 139, 163. See pp. 304, 345. The lady of Veer's second marriage to Lewis, Viscount of Montfort, has been mentioned, p. 308.

EPISTLE 168. Merula, p. 203. Ep. xxxi. 32; C. 1837 (446).

Erasmus to William of Gouda.

We are still at Louvain, kept here, as we were cast here, by the plague. This year Fortune has played fine havock with us. Batt has been removed by death, or rather by poison. The Bishop of Besançon has also died, of whom I had great hopes. The lady of Veer has been snatched away by a worse than servile marriage. My English lord is cut off from me by the sea. Augustine is called away by his legal studies. France, Britain and Germany are all at the same time closed against me by the plague.

I am pleased with everything at Louvain, only the living is a little coarse, and the prices high; and besides I have no means at all of making money. A readership which was offered by the authorities I refused. I am fully occupied with Greek, and it is not altogether lost labour, for I have advanced so far as to be able to write what I want in Greek tolerably well without preparation. I hear your Apologues have been published, and want you to send me some copies. Also send me back the Greek Fables, as you do not need them now; for we are suffering here from a great scarcity of Greek books. Augustine writes insultingly to me about his Adages, while you do nothing but laugh.

If there is anything in your parts that I am concerned to know, do write. I am surprised to have no letter from you, for even if you hated me, you might still write to one who is in a position to advance your fame, as I am much in society here, and sometimes among the most learned. Nevertheless, you are often on my lips, and not yet slipped out of my heart, though I see your feelings are scarcely those of a friend. But though I have no objection to vie with you in love, I decline a contest in contempt or hatred, especially with you, whom I have so much loved. Farewell, dearest William, and love us, if you can.

[Louvain, September, 1502].*

EPISTLE 169. Merula, p. 197. Ep. xxxi. 28; C. 1884 (505).

Erasmus to Father Nicolas Werner.

If I hear right, you seem to have taken offence at our letter, perhaps because, although quite true, it was written more freely than it ought to have been. This however

* No date in Merula.

your kindness should have ascribed either to my natural distress, or to the freedom allowable in a letter, which may always lay claim to the confidence of secrecy. For how could I worthily resent the conduct of a man who gave vent to such a story against me? I am despised by some among you, who being themselves quite stupid and unlearned, think that all religion is included in a cowl and a dull life. Nothing is easier than to despise what is strange to you, and nothing is more silly. I had scarcely arrived at Louvain, when without my either seeking or expecting it, a public lectureship was offered me by the magistrates of the town, and that by the spontaneous recommendation of Master Adrian of Utrecht, the Dean of this place. I declined the post for certain reasons, one of which is, that I am at so short a distance from Dutch tongues, which know how to injure, but have not learned to be of use to any one.

[Louvain 1502.]*

The Treatise of James Antony of Middelburg (Jacobus Anthonii, so called in his own book), entitled *De præcellentia imperatoriæ potestatis* (see p. 322), was printed by Martens at Antwerp, with the date, 1 April, 1502. To this volume Erasmus contributed a commendatory epistle addressed to the author, dated 13 Feb., 1502 (Anno M.D.II. Idus Februarias). EPISTLE 170. *De Præcellentia*, etc. fol. a; Ep. xi. 26; C. 92 (100). These year-dates we must interpret 1503, as the year at Antwerp began at Easter (April 16, 1503); and the Bishop's death, mentioned in Epistle 170, did not take place until October, 1502.

During his residence at Louvain Erasmus began a series of translations from Greek authors, which he continued at intervals for several years, until his leisure was absorbed by more important labours. This practice answered a double purpose. Beyond the immediate object of pursuing his own studies, he provided himself with a number of works of a convenient size for transcription, which served as suitable offerings from a Greek scholar to his patrons and

* No date in Merula.

friends at a time when the study of the originals was not within the ordinary reach of the learned. His first important translation appears to have been from Libanius. See p. 356.

James Faber, an old pupil of the school of Deventer, published at that town in 1503 a collection of poems of his old master, Alexander Hegius, which he dedicated to Erasmus by a prefatory letter, dated 9 July, 1503; EPISTLE 171. In this long epistle, which Dr. Richter has given in full in his *Erasmus-Studien*, p. 51-3, the writer cites a passage from the Adages (*Quid cani et balneo*) relating to Rodolphus Agricola and Hegius, as it stood in the first edition, and alludes to the translation, which Erasmus was making from Libanius, and which Faber expected to be presented to himself.

Philip, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, son of the Emperor Maximilian, being at this time absent in Spain on a visit to Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of his wife Joanna, and expected to return to Brabant in the winter, Erasmus was invited to prepare a Latin address to be presented to him upon his reception at Brussels. In the following short letter Erasmus attributes his own employment in this matter to Dr. James Maurits, whose name now appears for the first time in this correspondence. His residence is not mentioned, but we may conjecture that he was a person of influence residing at Brussels. I have not ventured to alter the date of the letter, though it may seem probable that it was written two months later, when Erasmus was more nearly finishing the Panegyric, which appears however from Epistle 174 to have been a long time in hand. See p. 358.

EPISTLE 172. Merula, p. 208; Ep. xxxi. 38; C. 1853 (461).

Erasmus to Master James Maurits, Licenciate of both Laws.

I am almost worn out with the prolonged labour of writing, for what is more laborious than writing, especially for publication?* And at present I am as busy as I can be, putting the crowning flourish to my Panegyric. This task

* præsertim edenda.

which you have assigned me, tiresome as it is, is utterly useless. For what can be more tiresome than to write against the grain, and what more useless than to write things that impair one's power of writing well? Nevertheless my love for you has made me think the task neither tiresome nor useless, having made up my mind to do everything you desire, not only as a duty, but with all my heart. Farewell.

Louvain, 28 Sept. [1503].†

In the course of his studies at Louvain Erasmus had met with a copy of some Greek Declamations, including one by Libanius, a sophist of Antioch and friend of the Emperor Julian, the subject of which was Menelaus demanding of the Trojans the restoration of Helen. These had afforded materials for translation; and in November, 1503, Erasmus presented the result with a dedicatory Epistle to Nicolas Ruistre, Bishop of Arras, Chancellor of the University of Louvain and founder of the College of Arras in that University. It does not appear that these translations were printed at the time; but in July, 1519, they were published by Thierry Martens at Louvain in a little book, entitled *Libanii aliquot declamatiunculae graecae, Eaedemque latinae.* They were probably made before Erasmus obtained a copy of Lucian's works, which afterwards supplied more congenial matter for translation. See p. 369 The concluding sentences of the Dedicatory Epistle, which are given below, have some literary and biographical interest.

Epistle 173. Declamatiunculæ, 1519; Ep. xxix. 16; C. i. 547.

Erasmus to the Bishop of Arras.

* * * * *

The whole thing is of little importance, but I chose it for a first experiment in this kind of labour, that I might not, according to the Greek proverb, ἐν τῷ πίθῳ τὴν κεραμίαν,

† Lovanij quarto Calendas Octobris. Merula.

learn the potter's craft by making a tun vase, but rather,—ἐν Καρὶ τὸν κίνδυνον,—risk only a chattel of trifling value. I have followed the old rule of Tully, that a translator's business is to weigh sentences and not to count words, although as a novice in the art I have chosen rather to be too scrupulous than too bold. How far I have succeeded in my attempt, it is for others to judge. One thing I can testify by the teaching of experience, that nothing is harder than to turn good Greek into good Latin. If we find that these preludes and first offerings of ours find favour with you, then, backed by your judgment and authority, we shall advance with courage to higher enterprises, and be emboldened to send, not a few flowers, but some fruits gathered in from the fields of literature. Farewell, most Reverend Prelate and Father, and deign to enroll me and my studies under your protection.

Louvain, 17 Nov. 1503.*

Towards the end of November Erasmus was staying as a guest in the house of Joannes Paludanus (Des Marais) the Orator of the University. Jerome Busleiden, whose acquaintance (mentioned in Epistle 174) was of some importance to Erasmus, was brother of Francis, Archbishop of Besançon, whose death in the Spanish expedition of Duke Philip is alluded to in Epistle 168.

EPISTLE 174. Merula, p. 194 ; Ep. xxxi. 26 ; C. 1836 (445).

Erasmus to William of Gouda.

My hearty greetings to you, dearest William. I lately translated some declamations, one of Libanius the Sophist, and two of uncertain authorship, which I dedicated and

* Louanii Anno a Christo nato MDXV. Decimo quinto Calendas Decembres Corrected in last sheet : lege Anno MDIII. *Declamatiunculæ.*

presented to Doctor Nicolas Ruistre, Bishop of Arras and Chancellor of this University. He was much pleased with my gift, trifling as it was, invited me to dinner, and offered his assistance in whatever matter he could gratify either me or my friends. When he was leaving the place, he sent me ten gold pieces by the Dean of Mechlin.

Before Christmas we are to address our Duke Philip with a Panegyric on his journey to Spain and happy return, which we should have got out of hand long ago, if we had not been imperfectly informed about the matter

I have made friends with Jerome Busleiden, Archdeacon of Cambrai, the Bishop's brother, a man expert in both tongues,—or rather he has made friends with me. He often says, that my fortune would have been made, if that personage had returned alive. Certainly my whole hope had been fixed upon him. I have given the Archdeacon your Apologues with a letter in praise of your genius and character. For I do not cease to proclaim my William's merits among my friends, although I have long seen that you are content with a provincial reputation. For during the many years that I have passed in France, England, Artois, and Brabant, you have never sent me any of your lucubrations, to give me a fitting opportunity of commending your genius, and do not even write me an epistle, to show to learned friends. And yet in the matter of your Odes you saw the sincerity of my heart. Although I am despised in Holland, I am certainly not altogether disregarded here, either among the noble, or the religious, or the learned. You will say perhaps, fame enough and to spare, if there were only something more substantial. In this I differ from you entirely; although not infrequently fame leads to profit. In this matter I have often, my dear William, wondered at the plan you have adopted, but I would not make myself disagreeable to an inseparable friend by repeated expostulations. But I guess, that perhaps you purposely avoid any close inter-

course with me, that you may not be called upon to take your share of the jealousy directed against me.

To dismiss this subject, my host Paludanus, the Orator of this University, a man skilled in both the tongues, was warmly expecting your arrival. I wonder you did not keep your promise and come. The lord Provost of Utrecht, our neighbour, speaks of you in all companies with much pleasure. I ask you, what trouble would it be for you to nurse the friendship of such men by a few letters. Florence of Egmond, having won the prize in every tournay, has brought back so much credit from Spain, Savoy, France, and Germany, as not only to obscure, but to extinguish the glory of all the other noblemen. I shall bring his praises into my Panegyric. You will be wise, if you write a letter to congratulate him, or, as I should prefer, a poem. I will take care he shall receive it, and that by me.

I celebrated the Bishop of Cambrai in three Latin epitaphs, and one Greek. They sent me only six florins,—to make him like himself, even in death! If you will take the trouble to write a short letter to my host, you will gratify both him and me, and perhaps benefit yourself; he is of all men living the most sincere admirer and helper of men of letters. Farewell, most learned William.

Louvain, 27 Nov. [1503].*

Florence of Egmond, whose martial exploits interested Erasmus and Herman, was a nobleman of Holland, and a country neighbour to the townsmen of Gouda, his castle of Ysselstein being situated not far from that place. He distinguished himself in 1516, when, as governor of Friesland, he defeated his cousin, Charles of Egmond, Duke of Guelderland, who had invaded the province under his charge. William took Erasmus's hint, and dedicated an edition of his Apologues to the baron of Ysselstein. The letter of dedication is reprinted in the edition of Martens, 1513, see p. 352. Erasmus was in correspondence

* Louanij quinto Calendis (*sic*) Decembris. Merula.

with this nobleman in 1517 about the education of his son Maximilian, then under the charge of a tutor at Louvain. Epistle xii. 30; C. 501 (461). Two of the Latin epitaphs on the Bishop of Cambrai are printed in C. i. 1222.

Epistle 175 is a short letter, which is not in any of the collections of Erasmus's correspondence, but may serve as an example of the interest which he took in schoolmasters and their work. It is found, without date of time, on the back of the title of a small tract of ten pages, containing the *Concio de puero Iesu*, *Expostulatio Iesu cum homine suapte sponte pereunte*, and *Epitaphium Scurulæ temulenti*,—which has no date or printer's name, but is printed in black letter, and evidently comes from some press of North Germany or the Netherlands of the early years of the sixteenth century. A copy is in the British Museum, bound in an old binding with several other similar books, all in black letter, and some printed at Deventer. The date of the epistle is approximately shown by the place of writing, and the preparation of Erasmus for the arrival of a Prince. To explain this, the words *principis aduentum* have, in this copy, a contemporary manuscript note, *Philippi ex Hispania*. But the tract in which the letter is preserved must have been printed after the foundation of Colet's School for which the *Concio* was written,—probably about 1513. We may conjecture that Cæsar or one of his friends who possessed a copy of the letter, was employed to correct the proof of this little pamphlet. Robert Cæsar continued for some time to reside at Ghent, being a correspondent of Erasmus six years later, C. 1586 (102), and frequently mentioned in letters from and to Antonius Clava of Ghent (C. 1644 A. 1788 B. 1789 B.), probably the Anthony of Epistle 175. This trifling Epistle in its original language, not being found in any of the printed collections of Epistles, is added in the Appendix to this volume.

EPISTLE 175. Concio, etc., fol. i. dors.; Appendix iii.

Erasmus to Robert Cæsar, schoolmaster.

Proceed, my Robert, in your noble work of preparing the youth of Ghent for the reception of the best learning, and do not let your mind be more moved by the clatter of the envious than an elephant by a fly, but rather be encouraged

by their bark. It is a fine thing to have opponents that are made uneasy by your resolution.

I am both surprised and sorry that you left us so suddenly; and this feeling was shared by my host, who is a great admirer of men like you. I showed your pupils' writings to our friends, but could scarcely persuade any one that they came from boys. I was going to write to Anthony, but I am busy night and day preparing for the Prince's arrival. I am sending you some things soon, by which you will admit your present to be compensated. Farewell, and love your Erasmus as you are valued by him, and you are valued highly.

Louvain, [Dec. 1503].

The *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, begun at Tournehem, or St. Omer, in 1501 (pp. 337, 341), was completed by the author at his leisure after his removal to Louvain. He appears to have sent it to the printer Thierry Martens, of Antwerp (afterwards of Louvain), in the winter of 1503. The imprint bears date the 15th of February, 1503, by which we should understand 1504, the year at Antwerp being generally reckoned from Easter. See p. 354. The little volume, as it also contains the Epistle *de Virtute amplectenda* (Epistle 87), the Epistle to Colet (Epistle 106) with the *Disputatiuncula de tædio et pavore Christi*, and some *precationes*, is entitled, *Erasmus, Lvcvbrativncvlae aliquot.* See pp. 191, 219.

At the beginning of the year 1504 Duke Philip had returned to Brabant, and the *Panegyric* or Congratulatory Address was presented by Erasmus himself to the Prince in the Ducal Palace at Brussels on the 6th of January, 1504. The orator was rewarded with the gift of a hundred florins. The next step was to print the Oration, while the occasion was still fresh in the memory of all. The best press in the Netherlands at this time was that of Thierry Martens, who had already in hand another book of Erasmus. The latter accordingly resolved to transfer his quarters to Antwerp, where he could direct the issue of both publications. The Panegyric, was printed in a small quarto volume, the pages of which are not numbered. The title is as follows: *Aa illustrissimū principē Philippū Arciducē Austriæ: ducē Burgundiæ*

etcetera. de triūphali ꝑfectione Hispaniensi: deque fœlici eiusdem in patriam reditu gratulatorius panegyricus: in quo obiter nō pauca de laudibus ipsius ac maiorū eius. Conscriptus ac eidem principi exhibitus a Desyderio Erasmo Roterodamo Canonico Ordinis diui Aurelii Augustini; and under the title is a cento of six Greek lines from Homer,—*Homerocenton.* The back of the title-page is fully filled by Epistle 176. The Panegyric follows in eighty-two closely-printed pages. At the end of the Panegyric is Epistle 177, followed by a Congratulatory Poem in hexameter verse, which occupies three pages (C. iv. 553). Neither of the Epistles, nor the Book itself, has any date of time, but the Oration is followed by the words: Dixi. Finitur Panegyricus exhibitus illustrissimo principi Philippo in arce ducali Bruxellensi, præsentibus magnificentissimo domino de Maigny etc. magno Cancellario Burgundiæ R. patre Epō Atrebatensi: Audientiario etcet. Anno a Christo nato supra millesimum quingentesimoquarto in die epiphaniæ.

Some of the biographers of Erasmus have imagined him reading or reciting his *Panegyric* before the archduke, surrounded by an assembly of courtiers and citizens in the great hall of the Palace of Brussels. See Drummond, *Erasmus*, i. 133, 134; Durand de Laur, *Érasme*, i. 73; Feugère, *Vie d'Érasme*, p. 31. The popular audience is in part suggested by the arguments of Epistle 177 (see p. 369), and by some expressions in the work itself. C. iv. 508 D. But the Panegyric, as we have it, would have taken several hours to read aloud; and although it is probable that it was considerably lengthened by the last revision of the author, still if it had been only a quarter of the present length, it would have been surely too much for the patience of the young Archduke. The words cited above only tell us, that it was exhibited or presented to the Prince in the presence of the Chancellor, the Bishop, and others, in the Castle of Brussels on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1504, where it may be observed that the year-date is given according to the Imperial (and modern) usage, not that of Brabant, which would have required the number 1503. See pp. 354, 361. In a later edition it is added in the Title, that the Chancellor de Maigny answered in the Prince's name. C. iv. 507. I do not find in the *Panegyric* any mention of Florence of Egmond (p. 359); but Erasmus contrives to introduce the name of William Herman, appealing to him as the historian of Holland (C. iv. 512 D), a title which he had poorly earned by a narrative of the war waged between Holland and Guelderland in his younger days. See p. 87. This little book was printed at Amsterdam, in black letter without date.

EPISTLE 176. Panegyricus (1504); Ep. xxix. 57; C. iv. 555.

Erasmus to Doctor Nicolas Ruistre, Bishop of Arras.

I have thought it right for many reasons, most distinguished Prelate, that the Panegyric which I lately presented to Prince Philip on his return from Spain should come into the hands of the public under your auspices; first, because you are the one person among us who sincerely favour literature, and are wont to play the part of a Mæcenas, or rather of a parent, to all the learned; in the second place, if this my labour shall contribute to enhance our Prince's glory, there is no one to whom his honour is more dear than it is to you; or if it shall have any influence on his life, it has been your one perpetual study, by free and wholesome counsels, to direct aright the minds of the dukes of Burgundy, from Philip to Philip, from great-grandfather to great-grandson; and lastly, I should wish our congratulation to be recommended to all good intellects by the same person who first obtained for it the Prince's approbation. This was testified, not only by his eyes and mien, but also by a most generous present, the pledge of his good opinion; and there was nothing he did not offer, if I had been minded to attach myself to his Court.

On the other hand, there are many reasons which urged me to hide and suppress my Oration. On the one hand I thought of the small measure of my powers, on the other I observed how hard is it so to speak as to sustain the majesty of the greatest princes, and how sore an offence *culpa deterere ingeni*,—to lower their dignity by default of genius. For it is not by every pencil that the forms of gods can be worthily represented. It should be added, that,

unequal to the task in other respects, I was also hindered, as you know, by want of time. It was not only late before the matter was presented to my mind, but I knew nothing of the facts of the Prince's journey, except what a man, by no means curious about such things and always intent on his books, might have learned by public rumour. Under such circumstances I first got together in a great hurry a sort of *silva* of phrases, and shaped a rude model of a future Panegyric. At a later time when I had inquired into the facts, and yet was not much better informed, some people being careless and others purposely concealing them, and a printed edition was demanded on all sides by the studious, not liking to weave the whole web anew, I inserted some additions in several places. Hence I fear the fingers of the more skilful will detect the inequality in the piece and some gaping seams here and there. A narrator has no really safe guide but his own eyes; whereas it has been my case not even to hear of more than a few events, and those not clearly ascertained, so that all this part will have to be skipped over as it were on tip-toe. For it is a sort of sacrilege to write of a prince without being certain of what one says.

Another difficulty was this, that the simplicity of my character, to speak honestly, somewhat shrank from this kind of writing, to which that sentence of Socrates seems alone, or mainly, to apply, when he says that Rhetoric is one of three parts of flattery. And yet this kind of ours is not so much praise (αἴνεσις) as admonition (παραίνεσις). For there is no such efficacious mode of making a prince better, as that of setting before him, under the guise of praise, the example of a good sovereign, provided you so attribute virtues and deny vices, as to persuade him to the former and deter him from the latter. For a physician does not cure all his patients by the same treatment, but by that most suitable for each. I might therefore defend myself by this rule, if I had not had to do with a prince whom one might

praise without need of any fiction. In this one respect I am fortunate; but they will be still more fortunate, who shall describe him in his later years. May the divine mercy in answer to our prayers grant more and more prosperity to his counsels. Farewell.

[Antwerp, 1504.]

The above dedication (without date in the original) was probably written at Antwerp; from whence Erasmus also addressed a long letter to John Desmarais, added at the end of the work after it was already in print. This letter contains an ingenious and elaborate apology for the adulatory style inevitable in compositions of this kind, the keynote of which is already sounded in the last paragraph of the above Dedication. For the saying of Socrates there referred to, see Plato, *Gorgias*, ed. Steph. i. 463; Transl. Jowett, ii. 333.

Epistle 177. Panegyricus, 1504; Ep. xxix. 56; C. iv. 549.

Erasmus to Joannes Paludanus, Orator of the University of Louvain.

I understand from your letter, Paludanus, dear to the Muses and to me, and indeed I guessed without it, knowing you to be more jealous of my reputation than I am myself, that you have been thirsting to hear what will be the fate and what the genius of our Panegyric, now emerging into light, and of which we are as it were watching the birth. The first sheet, fresh and still wet from the press, had scarcely begun to be shown and passed about as a novelty from hand to hand, when Erasmus, who you know has always been much delighted with that idea of Apelles hiding behind his pictures, was standing with ears intent, eager to catch from all around, not how many liked it (since for the assurance of my own mind one man's judgment is enough, provided it is like that of Velascus or yourself), but what part might be disapproved. For the man

who praises, unless he is more than usually learned, is only in the way; while one who finds fault, even though his learning is not great, either points out some blot that has escaped the author, or rouses him to defend what is properly expressed; and so either advances his learning or at any rate excites his attention. Therefore so long as I have my senses, I prefer one Momus to ten Polyhymnias. * *

Those persons who think Panegyrics are nothing but flattery, appear not to know with what design this kind of writing was invented by men of great sagacity, whose object it was, that by having the image of virtue put before them, bad princes might be made better, the good encouraged, the ignorant instructed, the mistaken set right, the wavering quickened, and even the abandoned brought to some sense of shame. Is it to be supposed that such a philosopher as Callisthenes, when he spoke in praise of Alexander, or that Lysias and Isocrates, or Pliny and innumerable others, when they were engaged in this kind of composition, had any other aim but that of exhorting to virtue under pretext of praise? * * *

Does not the Apostle Paul sometimes employ this sort of pious adulation, praising people in order to make them better? In what possible way could you with more impunity or with more severity reprove the cruelty of a wicked sovereign than by magnifying clemency in his person? How could you better reprove his rapacity, violence or lust, than by lauding his benignity, moderation and chastity?

But Augustine, it is argued, confesses as a fault, that he had lied in reciting the praises of an Emperor. How far this is affected by the consideration, that that Saint carried his hatred even of a lie to an excess of inflexibility, need not be discussed here. Certainly Plato and the Stoics allowed the use of a serviceable falsehood by a wise man. Do we not sometimes rightly encourage boys to a love of virtue by false praises? Does not the best physician tell his patients

that their symptoms or their looks are just as he would wish, not because they are so, but in order to make them so? It may be added, that a loyal subject may well fall under an illusion in his admiration of his prince, and forget any reserve in praising one whom he is bound to love without reserve. And it is for the public advantage, that even when a sovereign is not the best of men, those over whom he rules should think the best of him. It is for them that the Panegyric is written,† not for the Prince. For it is not addressed to the one person of whom it is spoken,‡ but to the many before whom it is spoken ;§ and a great deal must have reference to their hearing of it. Lastly these orations are also written for posterity, and for the world ; and in this view it is of little importance, in whose person the example of a good sovereign is put before the public, provided it is so skilfully done, that the intelligent may see the effect was not to deceive but to admonish. * * *

The defence I have made would, I think, be admitted to be a fair one by wise judges, even if some Phalaris or Sardanapalus or Heliogabalus had been praised in this Panegyric. But as the case stands, I should be sorry that any one should suspect me of requiring to be excused by any of the arguments I have alleged against the charge of adulation. I have had occasion to depict a prince, who is still young, but who, besides his unparalleled advantages of fortune, already shows signs of great merits, and in whose future life every virtue may be expected. I have certainly endeavoured so to direct the plan and composition of the whole speech as to make it plain to the learned and attentive, that flattery was the last object I had in view. This vice, as no one can testify so well as you, has always been so repugnant to me, that I should neither be able to flatter any one if I would, nor wish to do so if I could. I do not therefere at all fear

† scribitur. ‡ de quo dicitur. § apud quos dicitur.

that that imputation will stick to my character among those who, like you, know Erasmus both within and without.

And as in dealing with the charge of adulation you are able to be both the best witness and the best advocate of my innocence, so as far as regards the impeachment of my genius, no one knows better than you, under whose eye the whole affair has been begun and ended, that three most important things have been wanting, *πράγμα, πάθος καὶ χρόνος*, matter, passion and time. The first of these requisites is so important, that without it you have nothing to begin upon; for what could Tully himself say, if he was not instructed in his case? The second is of so much consequence that, according to Fabius, it makes men eloquent without learning; and you know how unwillingly and reluctantly I sate down to write. The third is of such a nature, that the most learned of men could not produce any finished work, without many a day and many a blot being spent in its correction. The prince had already reached the frontier of the kingdom, before the idea came into your mind; and it would have been a cold welcome to congratulate him on his return, when it was already a thing of the past. Considering the pressure of time, there was no want of industry on my part in making enquiries, but of the answers I obtained some related to the arrangements of banquets and trifles of that sort, others were too uncertain to be committed to writing; whereas if certain persons had been as zealous for the glory of their prince, as they are for their own interests, I saw the thing might be made brilliant enough; but that then the whole web would have to be woven afresh. * * * *

How much more fortunate was Pliny, to say nothing of his superiority in eloquence, not only because he had for his subject such an emperor as Trajan, and that already grey, already experienced in all the duties of civil and military life, but much more because he had for the most part himself

seen what he was expected to praise. For these reasons he has ventured in one of his letters to call attention to the figures, transitions and arrangement of his Panegyric. It is for me rather to ask those who have lynxes' eyes, to shut them on occasion.

I have dwelt somewhat largely upon these points in writing to you, for to whom else should I write about them? It is no one's part, if it is not yours, to undertake my defence against all censures. You are the one person who impelled me reluctantly to accept this task, and constantly spurred me on to proceed with it; by your authority and with your assistance I laid it before the illustrious Prince; and lastly it is you, that have not rested until you persuaded me to publish it. I may add that in the progress of the work you suggested, among other things, one thing especially at which I gladly caught, that I should do what in me lay by honourable mention, to rescue from oblivion the memory of one whose merits are beyond praise, that most distinguished prelate, Francis Busleiden, Archbishop of Besançon.

I have added a poem of the same texture, that is, of an impromptu kind, as you will readily see without my mentioning it.

Farewell, ornament of Letters! Defend us bravely, as you alone both can and ought to do.

Antwerp, from the Printing-office, [1504].*

We have no certain knowledge of Erasmus's movements at this time; but we may conjecture that, on the completion of his business at Antwerp, he returned to the friendly hospitality of Paludanus. He was now able to apply himself with fresh vigour to his Greek studies. He had by this time become possessed of a copy of the works of Lucian, an edition of which had been printed by Aldus in the course of the previous year; and his subsequent prose translations from the Greek were all from this author. Compare p. 356. The first dialogue

* Antwerpiæ ex officina chalcographica. *Panegyricus*, 1504.

chosen for this purpose was that entitled *The Cock* or *The Dream*. This work appears to have been begun during the winter of 1503-4 (see below, and compare p. 356), possibly in some interval of leisure, while waiting at Louvain for the return of the Prince, or at Antwerp for his proofs. It was probably completed soon after the termination of his business there.

In Epistle 168 Erasmus had lamented that his principal English patron was cut off from him by the sea. Not many months afterwards Lord Mountjoy received the appointment of Captain of the Castle of Hammes, one of the outlying fortifications of the English pale at Calais. See p. 231. The patent is dated 26 June, 18 Hen. VII. (1503), but was made to take effect from the preceding 6th of April. At the last-mentioned date we may suppose that the actual appointment took place by a less formal order from the sovereign, under which the new official had probably crossed the Channel to take possession of his charge. After this time the young lord, if not resident at Hammes, was no doubt frequently there, and it was probable that Erasmus should take advantage of one of these visits to pay his respects to his English patron without crossing the Channel. Epistle 178, dated from the Castle of Hammes, 1503, affords some evidence that he was there about this time. The year-date is perhaps no more trustworthy than these after-added year-dates generally are; but if the visit took place before Easter (7 April), 1504, it needs no correction. It was probably on the occasion of this first visit to the little fortress, that Erasmus composed an elegiac poem of four-and-twenty verses in its honour, beginning thus: Me, quia sim non magna, cave contempseris, hostis. C. i. 1219; Knight, *Erasmus*, App. v. These verses are among the *Epigrammata*, printed by Bade at the end of his edition of the Adages, Jan. 1507. See p. 414.

Erasmus, when at Hammes, availed himself of the facility of communication with England to return some civilities he had received from a veteran English diplomatist, Dr. Christopher Ursewick (Almoner to King Henry VII. and Dean of Windsor) and for many years one of his most generous friends, by sending him a transcript of a Latin version of Lucian's *Dream*, with a Dedicatory Epistle, in which he speaks of his having entered the garden of the Greek Muses, which blossoms even in winter, and plucked a bud which especially delighted him. The following characterization of Lucian may serve to throw some light, not only on Erasmus's own turn of mind, but also on that of his correspondent.

EPISTLE 178. *Luciani opuscula*, Paris, 1506; Ep. xxix. 5; C. i. 243.

Erasmus to Dr. Christopher Ursewick.

* * * * *

Good Heavens! with what humour, and with what quickness does he deal his blows, turning everything to ridicule, and letting nothing pass without a touch of mockery! His hardest strokes are aimed at the Philosophers, especially the Pythagoreans and the Platonists, on account of their supernatural assumptions, and at the Stoics for their intolerable arrogance. The last are smitten hip and thigh, and with every sort of weapon, and indeed not without good reason. For what is more hateful or insufferable than Malice putting on the mask of Virtue? Hence he had the title of blasphemer from those who were touched on a tender part. He uses no less liberty throughout his writings in deriding the gods, whence the surname of Atheist was bestowed upon him, an honourable distinction as coming from the impious and superstitious. * * *

Farewell, best and kindest Christopher, and enlist Erasmus among your humble clients, as one that in duty, love and devotion will not yield to any.

From the Castle of Hammes, 1503-4.†

The familiar correspondence of the year 1504, from which we might have learned something more of this visit to Mountjoy, is entirely wanting. Neither are we able to speak with certainty of his occupations during the remainder of the year. We are informed by Beatus Rhenanus that he gave lectures at the University of Louvain, when

† The translation of Lucian's dialogue entitled *Gallus* sive *Somnium*, was included, with the *Toxaris* and other translations from the same author by Erasmus and More, in a volume printed by Bade in 1506. See p. 422. The dedication to Ursewick is there, but without date. In the editions printed by Froben in 1517 and 1521, the date is, Ex arce Hammensi. An M.D.III.

he was staying with Paludanus. See pp. 23, 28. But we know from his own letters that he refused to undertake any public teaching during the early part of his residence there (Epistles 168, 169), and there is no hint in his later letter to William Herman (Epistle 174) that he had changed his mind before he was occupied with the work of preparing his Panegyric. It is probable, that after his return in 1504, he accepted the invitation of the rulers of the University, and delivered a course of lectures on Rhetoric or Poetry. The teaching mentioned by Beatus cannot be attributed to his residence at Louvain in later years, when he was known as a Theologian whose views were disapproved by the leading members of the University. We learn moreover from Epistle 182, that Erasmus found time during this summer for a chace of interesting manuscripts, which appears to have taken place in the library of a monastery near Louvain. See pp. 380, 386. It was also during his residence with Paludanus, according to his own testimony in the Catalogue of Lucubrations, that Erasmus composed his translation in Latin verse of the Hecuba of Euripides. See p. 393. He describes it, as he describes his translations from Libanius and Lucian, as an exercise in Greek; but it was a more ambitious work, and was undertaken at a later time, when the first difficulties of the new language had been overcome. It was presented to Archbishop Warham in January, 1506 (p. 393), and we may attribute its elaboration to the comparative leisure of the latter part of his stay at Louvain in 1504.

A letter addressed to him by Reyner of Gouda, *physicus*, and dated 1 Sept., was first published in the edition of Le Clerc, having been copied, among other epistles mostly of a later date, into the MS. Letter-book of Erasmus (now preserved in the Public Library of Deventer), which was in the hands of the editor of that work. See our Introduction. EPISTLE 179, C. 1861 (474). This epistle, which refers to a History of Holland in fifteen books composed by the writer, and begs a letter in return, was probably written in 1504, while Erasmus was still in the Low Countries, from which he was absent for several years after. In a letter written from London to another correspondent, in April, 1506 (Epistle 189), Erasmus sends his greeting to Reyner, whom he describes as alterum literarum Hollandicarum decus, William Herman being the other partner in this honour. Reyner, who had the surname of Snoy, published, 18 May, 1513, some juvenile poems of Erasmus with the title, *Herasmi Roterodami Silva Carminum.* See p. 86.

CHAPTER XIV

Erasmus at Paris, 1505. *Renewed correspondence with Colet. Valla's Notes on the Latin text of the New Testament; Dedication to Christopher Fisher. Josse Bade, the printer. Epistles* 180 *to* 183.

IN the winter of 1504-5 we find Erasmus, after an absence of between three and four years, returned for a time to Paris. We may conjecture with great probability, that his movements were in some measure influenced by events which had lately occurred at the monastery of Stein. When in 1502 he chose Louvain as a residence, the Prior of his convent was Nicolas Werner, from whose interference he felt, after a long experience, tolerably secure. Upon the office being vacated by Werner's death, which is said to have occurred early in September, 1504 (Walvis, *Beschrijving van Gouda,* ii. 136), it was conferred upon Erasmus's old comrade and correspondent, Servatius. It is not improbable that the new Prior received upon his appointment an admonition from the authorities of Sion or of Windesheim concerning his duty to recall into residence a member of the Convent whose absence was no longer justified by his studies at the University of Paris, and that Erasmus before leaving Brabant had already received a message which made him uneasy. In any case he might well apprehend that, if he continued to reside in the Low Countries, pressure would be put upon him, through the ecclesiastical authorities of his country, either to return into residence, or to accept some spiritual cure or permanent academic office, which would justify a continued dispensation. In these circumstances he thought it best to return for a time to his residence at Paris, while he continued with the new Prior the same policy we have seen him practise with Werner, keeping up a friendly correspondence, in which the motives and objects of the life he had chosen might be placed in the most favorable light. See Epistles 184, 188. What Erasmus says in Epistle 180 about his reason for retreating to France is at least not inconsistent with the considerations above suggested. See p. 375.

During part of this stay at Paris, if not throughout the whole of it, Erasmus was the guest of an English resident, Dr. Christopher Fisher, Protonotary Apostolic, and afterwards Bishop of Elphin in Ireland (Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, p. 63), from whose house Epistle 180, and probably also Epistles 181, 182, and 183, were written. Epistle 180 is addressed to Colet, to whom Erasmus appears to have written not long before, but received no answer. See p. 377.

Colet had been lately appointed to the Deanery of St. Paul's, in succession to Dr. Robert Sherburne, who, having been appointed Bishop of St. David's, obtained the restitution of the temporalities of that see, 12 April, 1505 (*Fœdera*, xiii. 115). His predecessor at St. David's, John Morgan, otherwise Young, died before 24 May, 1504, at which date his will, dated 25 April, 1504, was proved (Le Neve, *Fasti*, i. 300). Colet received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the University of Oxford, as it is said, in 1504, but the official evidence has been lost; and the temporalities of the Prebend of Mora in St. Paul's church, which had been held by Sherbourne as an appendage of the Deanery, were restored in Colet's favour, 5 May, 1505 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 411; Lupton, *Life of Colet*, p. 120). These dates bring us as near as we can arrive by evidence to the date of Colet's appointment; it is probable that the nomination and commencement of residence took place in 1504, though the business was not completed until the following spring. Epistle 180, which is later than the appointment, was written before the end of the winter of 1504-5 (see p. 378, note), and apparently before Erasmus had turned his thoughts to the work with which he was occupied early in March (Epistle 182).

Epistle 180. Farrago, p. 307; Ep. x. 8; C. 94 (102).

Erasmus to John Colet.

If either our mutual regard, most learned Colet, had grown out of common reasons, or your character had seemed to savour of anything common, I should be a little afraid that our friendship might have failed, or at least have been cooled, by so long a separation both in time and place. As

it is, since you have been endeared to me by my admiration of learning and love of piety, and I to you by some hope, perhaps, that I possessed the same qualities, I do not think I need fear what we commonly see happen,—that I have ceased to be in your mind because I am out of your sight. The fact that I have for several years received no letter from Colet, I prefer to attribute to any other cause rather than to your having forgotten your humble friend. But as I have no right and no wish to find fault with your silence, so all the more do I beg and entreat that you will in future steal some moments of leisure from your studies and affairs to greet me now and then with a letter.

I am surprised that none of your commentaries on Paul and the Gospels have yet seen the light. I know your modesty, but even that should be sometimes overcome in consideration of the public interest. Upon the title of Doctor and the honour of the Deanery, and some other distinctions, which I hear have been spontaneously conferred on your merits, I do not so much congratulate you, who I well know will demand nothing of them for yourself but labour, as I do those for whom you are to bear them, or as I do the honours themselves, which appear for once to be worthy of that name, when they fall to one who deserves but does not solicit them.

I cannot tell you, most excellent Colet, how intensely I long to devote myself to sacred literature, and how disgusted I am with every hindrance and delay. But the unkindness of Fortune, who still regards me with her old disfavour, has prevented me from extricating myself from these entanglements. It has been with this idea that I have retreated to France, in order in some measure to throw them off, if I cannot untie them. I shall then address myself in freedom and with my whole heart to divine studies, in which I mean to spend the remainder of my life. Yet three years ago, I did venture to write something on St. Paul's Epistle to the

Romans, and finished with a single effort some four rolls,* which I should have continued, if I had not been hindered, my principal hindrance being my constant want of Greek. Consequently for about three years I have been entirely taken up with the study of that language, and I think I have not altogether thrown my labour away. I also began to look at Hebrew, but frightened by the strangeness of the idiom, and in consideration of my age and of the insufficiency of the human mind to master a multitude of subjects, I gave it up. I have perused a good part of the works of Origen, under whose teaching I think I have made some progress. He seems to disclose some original springs and points out the principles of theological science.

I send you, as a small literary present, some lucubrations of my own.† Among them is that discussion upon the Agony of Christ, in which we were formerly engaged in England, but so altered that you will scarcely recognise it. Moreover your answer and my reply, were not to be found. The *Enchiridion* was not composed for any display of genius or eloquence, but only for the purpose of correcting the common error of those who make religion consist of ceremonies and an almost more than Jewish observance of corporeal matters, while they are singularly careless of things that belong to piety. I have endeavoured nevertheless to lay down a sort of Art of Piety, after the manner of those who have composed systems of instruction in various branches of knowledge.

All the other pieces I wrote almost against my will, especially the *Pæan* and *Obsecratio*, a labour undertaken upon Batt's request to gratify Ann, Princess of Veer. As

* *Volumina.* As to this work, see pp. 342, 343.

† *Lucubratiunculas aliquot*, see p. 361. With the volume so entitled, which included the *Enchiridion*, and the *Pæan* and *Obsecratio* (addressed to the Virgin), Erasmus appears to have sent the *Panegyric* of the Archduke Philip.

to the *Panegyric*, I so disliked it, that I do not remember having done anything more reluctantly; seeing, as I did, that a subject of this sort could not be treated without adulation. However I adopted a new contrivance of being both very free in my flattery and very flattering in my freedom.

If you want to have any of your own lucubrations printed, you have only to send me the copy. I will attend to the rest, and see that it is most accurately done.

I wrote not long ago, as I think you will recollect, about the hundred copies of my Adages which were forwarded to England at my cost not less than three years before.* Grocin had written to me, that he would strictly and carefully attend to their distribution according to my wishes, and I do not doubt he has performed his promise, since no better or honester man is bred in Britain. Will you therefore condescend to lend me your help in this matter, by stirring up the attention and activity of those by whom you may find the business ought to be completed? For there can be no doubt, that in so long an interval the books have been sold; and somebody must have got the money, which at the present moment I need more than ever. For in some way or other I must contrive to live entirely to myself for several months, in order to get clear of the engagements I have undertaken in profane literature, a thing I hoped to do this winter, if I had not been disappointed in so many of my expectations. Neither will a great price be required to purchase this freedom, which is a matter of a few months. I beseech you therefore to do what you can to help me in my craving for sacred studies, and to rescue me from that kind of literary work which has ceased to be agreeable to me. I must not ask my lord Mountjoy, although if he came forward to help me of his own good nature, he would not be

* See pp. 257, 274.

doing anything out of the way or inappropriate, as he has always encouraged my studies in that way, and may find a special reason in my Adages, undertaken by his suggestion and inscribed to his name ; for I am ashamed of the first edition, both because it is so full of typographical errors that you might think it purposely misprinted, and because I was induced by some advisers to hurry the work, which now after the perusal of Greek authors begins to appear poor and meagre ; and I have therefore determined by a new edition to mend both my own and the printers' faults, and at the same time to provide some profitable entertainment for the studious.

But although in this interval I am engaged perhaps in a humbler work, nevertheless while I pass my time in the gardens of the Greek authors, I gather, as I go on, much that will also be of use in sacred studies. For this one thing I know by experience, that we cannot be anything in any kind of literature without Greek. For it is one thing to guess, and another to judge ; one thing to believe your own eyes, another thing to believe other people's.

My letter has run on to an unexpected length. But my loquacity arises from love and not from anything worse. Farewell, most learned and excellent Colet. I should like to know what has happened to our Sixtinus, and what your devoted ally Prior Richard Charnock is about. To make sure of what you may write or send coming to my hands, you must order it to be delivered to your loving friend, Christopher Fisher, a special upholder of all learned persons, in whose household I am now staying.

Paris, 1504-5.*

* Lutetiæ, ANNO M.D.IIII. *Farrago.* The letter was probably written early in 1505. Witness the expression *hac hieme*, p. 377, and on the other hand the absence of any mention of the book of Laurentius Valla. Epistles 182, 183. This according to the old style of Paris would justify the date, M.D.IIII.

The following letter addressed to Peter Gillis (Petrus Ægidius), the same who a few years later was the intimate friend and correspondent both of Erasmus and of Thomas More, bears the printed year-date 1503, but as it is dated from Paris, it may be safely attributed to 1505. It appears to have been written shortly before Easter (23 March), and it shows that Erasmus had lately been at Antwerp,

EPISTLE 181. Farrago, p. 81 ; Ep. iv. 27 ; C 94 (101).

Erasmus to Peter Gillis.

I had made up my mind to write to you, my dear Peter, but some interruptions have occurred to prevent it. The Laurentius and some other collectanea of yours are safe, and would have gone back to you, if it had not been that I did not like your plan. For if you are to come here at Easter, as you write, there is no reason why you should want the books sent back ; if you are not to come, they shall then be sent where you wish. There is no risk of anything being lost, especially as I am looking after them.

When I was last at Antwerp, your father, on my coming to him, wanted to say something important and serious, but I was obliged to leave him. I suspected, however, that it was about putting you in my charge. This I shall not myself advise, for fear of appearing to desire it for my own profit, neither shall I oppose it, as I am anxious to do you good, and I see how much I can do, if you are with me a few months. I only wish your father had made up his mind, before I left Antwerp.

Farewell, and wherever you can find them, get together the minor works of Rodolphus Agricola, and bring them with you. John of Gorcum sends his salutation to you.

Paris [February or March, 1505].*

* Lutetiæ, anno M.D.III. *Farrago.*

It is rather surprising that in Epistle 180, with which Erasmus sent to Colet some books he had lately printed, he makes no mention of another work published shortly after, in which his correspondent would have been especially interested. He had probably not yet determined what he should do with it. In the preceding summer he had discovered in a monastic library a volume of Notes on the Latin text of the New Testament by the Italian scholar, Laurentius Valla, which he had brought with him to Paris, and submitted to the judgment of Christopher Fisher, who encouraged him to edit and publish it. It was apparently during his stay in Paris in this year that Erasmus was first brought into association with the learned printer, Josse Bade, who became one of his most attached and useful friends. Bade (Jodocus Badius Ascensius), a man three or four years older than Erasmus, was a native of Asche in Brabant, who had emigrated to France and been settled for a time as a teacher at Lyons, where, in June, 1497, he had assisted in correcting for the press an edition of Gaguin's History. He was now established as a printer in Paris, and was entrusted by Erasmus with the printing of Valla's Annotations. In offering this work as a contribution to theological science the editor was aware that it was by no means likely to be received with universal approbation. The Western Church had for so many centuries accepted the text of the Vulgate as an authentic document, and so many approved arguments and established doctrines were founded upon that text, that the teachers of religion were naturally unwilling to allow its accuracy to be questioned. It might be further anticipated that the authority of a mere scholar without theological training would be received with special jealousy by the professed theologians. In a dedicatory Epistle addressed to Dr. Christopher Fisher Erasmus anticipates these objections, and endeavours to refute them.

EPISTLE 182. Laur. Vall. Adnot. 1505, Titul. dors. Farrago, p. 51 ; Ep. iv. 7 ; C. 96 (103).

Erasmus to Christopher Fisher, Protonotary Apostolic and Doctor of Pontifical Law.

When I was hunting last summer in an old library,—for

no coverts afford more delightful sport,—some game of no common sort fell unexpectedly into my nets. It was Laurentius Valla's Notes on the New Testament. I was taken on the spot with the desire to communicate my discovery to all the studious, thinking it churlish to devour the contents of my bag without saying anything about it. I was somewhat frightened, however, not only by the old prejudice against Valla's name, but also by an objection specially applicable to the present case. But as soon as you had perused the book, you not only confirmed my opinion by your weighty judgment, but began to advise and even urge me with reproaches not to be induced by the clamour of a few to deprive the author of the glory which he deserved, and many thousands of students of so great an advantage, affirming without doubt, that the work would be no less agreeable than useful to healthy and candid minds, while the others with their morbid ideas might be boldly disregarded. In pursuance of your opinion we shall discourse in the present Preface of the purpose and utility of the work, provided that we may premise a few words in confutation of the general prejudice against the name of Laurentius.† * * *

We must now come to the considerations that more properly belong to this subject. I imagine there will be some persons, who as soon as they read the title of the work, and before they know anything of its contents, will exclaim loudly against it; and that the most odious outcry will be raised by those who will chiefly benefit by the publication, I mean the theologians. They will call it an intolerable act of temerity, that this grammarian, after harassing all other branches of learning, cannot keep his captious pen even

† In this part of the epistle Valla's criticism of the scholarship of his time is defended. Erasmus had treated the same subject several years before (see Epistles 26, 27); and some (omitted) passages of the present epistle seem to show that he had his earlier compositions still in his mind.

from sacred literature. And yet if Nicolas Lyranus is listened to, while he plays the pedagogue to ancient Jerome, and pulls to pieces many things that have been consecrated by the consent of ages, and that out of the books of the Jews, which though we may admit them to be the source of our received edition, yet for ought I know may be intentionally corrupted, what crime is it in Laurentius, if after collating some ancient and correct Greek copies, he has noted in the New Testament, which is derived from the Greek, some passages which either differ from our version, or seem to be inaptly rendered owing to a passing want of vigilance in the translator, or are expressed more significantly in the Greek ; or finally if it appears that something in our text is corrupt ? They will say perhaps, that Valla being a grammarian has not the same privilege as Nicolas a theologian ? I might answer, that Laurentius has been counted by some great authorities as a philosopher and theologian. But after all, when Lyranus discusses a form of expression, is he acting as a theologian or as a grammarian ? Indeed all this translating of Scripture belongs to the grammarian's part ; and it is not absurd to suppose Jethro to be in some things wiser than Moses. Neither do I think that Theology herself, the queen of all sciences, will hold it beneath her dignity to be attended and waited upon by her handmaid, Grammar ; which if it be inferior in rank to other sciences, certainly performs a duty which is as necessary as that of any.

If they reply that Theology is too great to be confined by the laws of Grammar, and that all this work of interpretation depends upon the influence of the Holy Spirit, it is truly a new dignity for divines, if they are the only people who are privileged to speak incorrectly But let them explain first, what Jerome means when he writes to Desiderius : It is one thing to be a prophet, and another to be an interpreter ; in one case the Spirit foretells future events, in the other

sentences are understood and translated by erudition and command of language. Again, what is the use of Jerome laying down rules for the translation of the sacred writings, if that faculty comes by inspiration? Lastly, why is Paul said to be more eloquent in Hebrew than in Greek? And if it was possible for the interpreters of the Old Testament to make some mistakes, especially in matters not affecting the faith, why may it not be the same with the New, of which Jerome did not so much make a translation as emend an old one, and that not strictly, leaving words, as he himself testifies, some of which are those principally called in question by Laurentius? Again, shall we ascribe to the Holy Spirit the errors which we ourselves make? Suppose the interpreters translated rightly, still what has been rightly translated may be perverted. Jerome emended, but what he emended is now again corrupted; unless it can be asserted that there is now less presumption among the half-learned, or more skill in languages, and not rather corruption made easier than ever by printing, which propagates a single error in a thousand copies at once.

But, say they, it is not right to make any change in the Holy Scriptures, in which even the points have some mysterious meaning. This only shows how wrong it is to corrupt them, and how diligently what has been altered by ignorance ought to be corrected by the learned, but always with that caution and moderation which is due to all books, and above all to the sacred volume.

Again, it is said that Laurentius had no right to take upon himself an office which Jerome undertook at the bidding of Pope Damasus. But their objects were not the same. Jerome substituted a new edition for an old; Laurentius collects his observations in a private commentary, and does not require you to change anything in your book, although the very variety we find in our copies is sufficient evidence that they are not free from errors. And as the fidelity of

the old books is to be tested by the Hebrew rolls, so the truth of the new books requires to be measured by the Greek text, according to the authority of Augustine, whose words are cited in the *Decreta* (distinc. ix.). In reference to which passage, I think no one is so cruel as not to pity, or so grave as not to laugh at that silly gloss of some one who dreamed that Jerome had asserted in his Epistle to Desiderius, that the Latin copies are more correct than the Greek, and the Greek than the Hebrew,—not seeing that Jerome was confirming what he alleged by the suggestion of a proposition plainly absurd, and that the preceding words *aliud est si* have the same meaning as if he had said *nisi forte*, "unless perhaps." It would have been madness else to translate one Testament from the Hebrew and to emend the other from the Greek, if in both cases the Latin versions were better. * * *

There is another thing I hear some say, that the old interpreters, skilled in the three tongues, have already fully unfolded the matter as far as is necessary. But, first, I had rather see with my own eyes than with those of others; and in the next place, much as they have said, they have left much to be said by posterity. Consider again, that to understand even their explanations, some skill in languages is required. And lastly when you find the old copies in every language corrupted as they are, in what direction are you to turn? Consequently, most learned Christopher, what you often say is as true as truth, that they have neither sense nor shame, who presume to write upon the sacred books, or indeed upon any of the books of the ancients, without being tolerably furnished in both literatures, for it may well happen that while they take the greatest pains to display their learning, they become a laughing stock to those who have any skill in languages, and all their turmoil is reduced to nothing by the production of a Greek word. And if there are any who have not the leisure to learn Greek

thoroughly, they may still obtain no small help by the studies of Valla, who has examined with remarkable sagacity the whole New Testament, adding incidentially not a few observations out of the Psalms, of which the edition in use is derived from the Greek and not from the Hebrew. I conclude that the studious will owe much to Laurentius, and Laurentius will owe much to you, through whom he is presented to the public, and by whose judgment and patronage he will be more commended to good intellects, and better protected against the malevolent. Farewell.

Paris, [March] 1505.

The above Epistle has no date in the original book, or in *Farrago*, but is dated Lutetiæ M.D.V in *Opus Epistolarum*. It appears to have been in the printer's hands before the 8th of March, 1505, since it is followed, in the original edition of the Annotations, by a short epistle of Josse Bade to Erasmus, dated Nonis martiis sub annum MDV, expressing Bade's appreciation of the work, and his hope that the author's hunting (venatio tua, see the opening words of Epistle 182) will afford delight to all students of divine literature. EPISTLE 183. *Adnotationes Vallæ*, f. 2, dors.; C. 1522 (2).

The Annotations of Valla,—*Laurentij Vallensis in Latinam Noui Testamenti interpretationem ex collatione Graecorum exemplarium Adnotationes apprime vtiles*,—were printed in a small folio volume of forty-five folios, beside the two which contain the title, the dedicatory preface (Epistle 182), and the short Epistle of Bade (Epistle 183). At the end of the book are six lines added by the printer, recommending the work, apologizing for errors of the press, especially in the Greek accents, which the reader is asked to excuse ob pœnuriam characterum, and concluding with the words, Finitum est hoc opus in ædibus Ascensianis ad idus aprilis. M.D.V. The title-page has the press-mark and name of Jehan Petit. Valla's *Adnotationes* were several times reprinted at Basel, and were re-edited by Jacobus Revius, with the title, which he found ascribed to the book in the author's letters, *De Collatione Novi Testamenti*, Amsterdam, 1630. All the later editions appear to depend for their text upon that of Erasmus, to whom Revius attributes the preservation of the work. There appears to be no further trace of the manuscript. In Wetstein's

Prolegomena to the New Testament, Erasmus is said to have found it in the Abbey of Parc by Louvain. *Prolegomena*, ed. 1764, p. 238; ed. 1831, p. 125. The *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta* of Antonius Sanderus, Lille, 1641, contains in pt. ii. p. 162 *seq.* an account of the MSS. then at Parc, including two of Laurentius Valla, but not that of the *Adnotationes*, which, I fear, was never restored to the monastic library, and was probably thought of no importance, after its contents had been printed.

Epistle 182 is the last that we have of Erasmus during this visit to Paris; and we have no evidence how long after its date he remained in that city. A new impression of the Adages was issued by John Philippe in the year 1505 (Vander Haeghen, *Bibliotheca Erasmiana*, p. 8); but there is no reason to suppose that Erasmus gave any assistance to the printer. In this reprint the author's name appears still in its old form (Desyderius Herasmus Roterdamus), which had been disused by him before the previous year (pp. 38, 364); and he says himself, in his letter to Polydore Vergil, 23 Dec. 1520 (Ep. xvii. 3; C. 674 D), that no additions were made to the original book until he was in Paris in 1506 on his way to Italy, when Bade was preparing a new edition. See p. 414.

Upon the completion of his literary work in Paris, Erasmus seems to have had no inclination to return to Brabant. A probable reason for his preference of a foreign residence has been suggested at the commencement of this chapter. He had sent through Colet an indirect appeal for pecuniary aid to his old pupil, Lord Mountjoy (see pp. 377, 378); and it was probably in consequence of the hint so conveyed, that he received, shortly after, an invitation from that nobleman to visit him again in England. See pp. 388, 389.

CHAPTER XV

Second visit of Erasmus to England, April, 1505, to May, 1506. Introduction to Archbishop Warham; Translation of the Hecuba *of Euripides. Grace for degree at Cambridge. Epistles 184 to 193.*

ERASMUS appears to have crossed the Channel on his second journey to England in the spring of 1505, and found in London most of the Englishmen for whose society he cared. Grocin and Linacre, as well as Colet, were settled there. Thomas More, lately married to his young wife, Jane Colt, was living in the street called Bucklersbury. Erasmus remained for some months the guest of Lord Mountjoy, whose house in London appears to have been near St. Paul's, on the west side of Paul's Wharf Hill, opposite to Derby House (now the Heralds College), upon the site afterwards occupied by Doctors Commons. (Stow, *London*, ed. 1633, b. iii. pp. 408, 409; *Three Chronicles*, Camden Soc. 1880, p. 143.) He was now a man of twenty-six years; and his accomplishments and high character had caused him to be selected by Henry VII. as the companion and Mentor of the young prince Henry, now in his fifteenth year, who in 1502 had become heir to the throne. See pp. 200, 424. A striking proof of the esteem in which Mountjoy was held is found in the fact that, young as he was, he was admitted, some little time before the end of this reign, to the Privy Council, then a limited body composed principally of officials, like the cabinets of modern times.* He was therefore in a position to introduce

* Polydore Vergil (*Hist.* p. 566) gives a list of Henry's original Council, with a second list of those afterwards admitted, and a third list of the latest additions; and Lord Mountjoy is in the second list. Grafton copied the names from Polydore without attending to these distinctions, and Dugdale has consequently represented Mountjoy as a councillor of the first year, to the surprise of those who found him completing his education at Paris twelve years later.

Erasmus into the royal circle, and to recommend him to the distinguished ecclesiastics who were the most influential members of the Government.

We have no extant letters of Erasmus between his dedicatory epistle to Christopher Fisher (Epistle 182) and the following letter to the Head of his Convent, written some months after his arrival in England. He appears to have allowed as much time to pass as he decently could, before writing to the Prior, his last letter having been sent "long before" he left Paris. To secure it a more respectful reception at Stein, Epistle 184 was dated from the Bishop's Palace in London. The Bishop of London during the greater part of this year was William Barnes, who succeeded Warham in that see in 1504, and died in October, 1505. Through Colet or Mountjoy, both near neighbours, the Bishop or some members of his household may have been personally known to Erasmus. The next Bishop, Dr. Fitzjames, was no friend to the Dean.

EPISTLE 184. Merula, p. 204; Ep. xxxi. 33; C. 1870 (485).

Erasmus to Servatius.

I wrote to you long before leaving Paris, and I suppose you have received that letter, though I somewhat fear it may be lost, such is the carelessness of couriers. Therefore, if there has been by accident any default, we must mend it by taking pains to write often. It is a long business to explain what object we have had in retiring to England, especially as we were formerly despoiled of our money here, and some hopes appeared just now to be held out, at home, which were not to be scorned. But I beg you to believe that I have not come back to England without serious reasons, or without the advice of prudent counsellors. The success of the matter is in higher hands; although the gain we have sought is not an increase of fortune but of learning. I have now been spending some months with my lord Mountjoy, who made a great point of calling me back to England, not without the general agreement of the learned of this country.

For there are in London five or six men who are accurate scholars in both tongues, such as I think even Italy itself does not at present possess. I do not set any value on myself, but it seems there is not one of these that does not make much of my capacity and learning. And if it were in any circumstances allowable to boast, I might at any rate be pleased to have gained the approbation of those whose pre-eminence in Letters the most envious and the most hostile cannot deny. But for myself I think nothing settled, unless I have the approval of Christ, on whose single vote all our felicity depends. Farewell.

London, from the Bishop's Palace. [1505.]†

Erasmus protests in the above epistle, that his object in coming to England was not an increase of fortune. But, in the Catalogue of Lucubrations he says that he was tempted by the letters of friends and their promise of mountains of gold; and a similar statement is made in the Compendium. See pp. 11, 393. We have no copies of the letters of his English friends, but we may conjecture that in the previous correspondence Colet or Mountjoy had referred to the probability of his obtaining some valuable preferment in this country.

Epistle 185 is printed by Merula with a date like the last,—*Londini ex ædibus Episcopalibus*,—without any mention of time; and if this date is accepted as authentic, we may conclude that it was sent from London to Holland about the same time as Epistle 184,—probably with it. There was no other time during any of Erasmus's visits to England, when he was likely to date a letter from the Bishop's Palace. On the other hand the greeting sent to Herman, and Erasmus's anxiety that he should write to Mountjoy, might seem to point to the earlier time when Erasmus and Mountjoy were at Paris, and Herman was living at the monastery. Compare Epistle 51, p. 123. But the message may have been intended to be forwarded to him, if still at Haarlem (p. 329), by the next messenger from Stein, who might possibly be Francis himself; and there seems to be no sufficient reason for rejecting the date.

† Lōdini ex ædibus episcopalibus. Merula.

Erasmus appears to be collecting his epistles with a view to publication, probably by means of the Press. Compare pp. 197, 198. Some collections appear to have been already circulated in manuscript. See pp. 317, 339, 455. It may be that we owe it to this letter and the consequent exertions of Francis, that the early Epistles afterwards printed by Merula were preserved. The idea of publication was not pursued for the present by the author; and when he did in fact begin to print his Epistles, he had more important recent letters to submit to the learned world. See Introduction. We may assume that the Francis here addressed was his old correspondent. Epistles 12, 13, 14, 39.

EPISTLE 185. Merula, p. 201; Ep. xxxi. 30; C. 1816 (435).

Erasmus to Francis.

You will do me a great favour, dearest friend, if you will help in collecting, as far as possible, the letters which I have written to various persons with more than usual care,—as I have an idea of publishing one book of Epistles,— especially those of which I sent many to Cornelius of Gouda, a great many to my William, and some to Servatius. Scrape together what you can and from wherever you can, but do not send them except by the person I direct.

I do beseech you, my Francis, by our mutual love, and by your happiness, for which I care no less than for my own, that you will apply yourself with all your heart to Sacred Literature. Pore over the old interpreters. Believe me we shall come this way to God's blessing, or we shall never come at all, although I do not doubt you are already doing what I advise.

Farewell, and sometimes in your prayers commend me to Christ. My greetings to William, to whom I do not write, being very busy and my health uncertain. Get William, if you can, to write carefully to my lord. He has such an affection for men of learning that the sun never saw the like.

London, from the Bishop's Palace. [1505.]

Richard Foxe, Keeper of the Privy Seal, was a typical example of the clerical statesman of his time, having been bishop in succession of Exeter, Wells, and Durham, the two first of whose churches he confessed that he had never seen (Ellis, *Letters*, ii. 5), and now occupying the see of Winchester, the wealthiest in England. He had apparently taken some notice of Erasmus in his former visit to this country; and his love of learning was afterwards shown by his foundation (in 1516) of the college of Corpus Christi in Oxford, in which especial provision was made for the study of Greek. To him Erasmus presented a translation of Lucian's dialogue entitled *Toxaris*.

EPISTLE 186. Luciani Opuscula, Paris, 1506, tit. dors. Ep. xxix. 3; C. i. 213.

Erasmus to Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester

The fashion of distributing presents on New Year's Day, most reverend Prelate, has come down to us from remote ages; and is thought to be of happy omen both to the persons to whom the presents go, and to those who receive them in return. Accordingly, having looked to see what sort of present I could choose for so great a patron and so powerful a friend, and having found nothing in my store but mere papers, I must fain send a paper present. What else indeed could be more fittingly offered by a student to a Bishop, who, already loaded with Fortune's favours, prefers Virtue, and her ally, Good Literature, to sums beyond calculation; who accepts with indifference, I had almost said reluctance, the gifts of Fortune, but well furnished as he is with the treasures of the mind, still desires to be further enriched with them.

With Terence's Parmeno in our mind, we may recommend this little present of ours as having come all the way, not from Æthiopia, but from Samosata, a city of the Comageni.*

* *Parmeno.* Ex Æthiopia est usque hæc. *Thraso.* Hic sunt tres minæ! Terent. *Eunuchus*, Act iii., Sc. ii. 18. Samosata, the birthplace of Lucian, was in the province of Commagene (Κομμαγήνη) in Syria.

It is Lucian's dialogue entitled *Toxaris*, or *Friendship*, which within the last few days we have turned into Latin. * * * This dialogue will be read with more pleasure as well as profit by one who observes the appropriateness of its language to the persons who take part in it. The speech of Menesippus has a flavour entirely Greek; it is smooth, lively and witty. That of Toxaris breathes a Scythian spirit, simple, rough, serious and stern. This difference of diction, a diverse thread purposely followed throughout by Lucian, I have endeavoured to reproduce.

I beg you auspiciously to accept this New Year's trifle from your humble client, and to continue to love, advance and assist Erasmus, as you have hitherto done.

London, 1 Jan. 1506.†

It was during this visit to London that Erasmus was recommended by William Grocin to the favour of Archbishop Warham, who afterwards became his most generous friend and patron. William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, was not at this time the old man whose deeply furrowed features are familiar to us in the pictures of Holbein, being only about sixteen years senior to Erasmus, who was now in his fortieth year. The accomplishments by which Warham had risen to the highest position in Church and State were rather those of a lawyer than an ecclesiastic; indeed it was not until he was more than forty years of age that he entered into Holy Orders. When in middle life he had begun to be employed by the government in diplomatic duties, his rise was remarkably rapid. He was made Master of the Rolls in 1494, Bishop of London, 1501, Keeper of the Great Seal, 1502, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1503, and Chancellor in the same year, passing his rival, Bishop Foxe, who was two or three years his senior in age, and had been much longer in the service of the Crown. His acquaintance with Erasmus appears to have been made towards the end of January, 1506. When the latter went to dinner at Lambeth in company with Grocin, he took with him a translation in Latin verse of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, of

† Londini Calendis Ianuarijs. MDVI. *Luciani Op.* 1506. The year was no doubt added in printing; if written in January, it would have been written, 1505.

which work, and also of his first interview with the Archbishop, he gives the following history in the Catalogue of Lucubrations written in 1523, and revised in 1524. The tragedies of Euripides and of Sophocles had been printed by Aldus in 1503 and 1502, both edited by Marcus Musurus. The editio princeps of Aeschylus was somewhat later. The work of translation has been mentioned, p. 372.

Catalogue of Lucubrations. C. i. Præf ; Jortin ii. 418.

Some years before I went to Italy, when I was staying at Louvain, I translated the Hecuba of Euripides for the sake of an exercise in Greek, when there was no supply of teachers of that tongue. This attempt was suggested by Philelphus, who had translated the first scene, in a funeral oration, and not, as I then thought, successfully.* I was induced to go on with what I had begun by the encouragement of my then host, John Desmarais, Orator of the University of Louvain, and a man of the most exact judgment. At a later time when, tempted by the letters of friends and by their promise of mountains of gold, I had returned to England,—finding a blank page in the volume, I added a preface and a more than impromptu Iambic poem, and by the advice of erudite friends, especially William Grocin, who had then the highest reputation of the many learned men of Britain, I presented the book to the Reverend Father, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Chancellor, that is, supreme judge of that realm. It was on that occasion that my fortunate acquaintance with him began. I was received by him before dinner with few words, being myself by no means a talkative or ceremonious person ; and again after dinner, as he also was a man of unaffected manners, we had a short conversation together, after which he dismissed me with an honorary present, which he gave me when we

* As to the relation of Erasmus's work to that of Philelphus, compare p. 396, written at an earlier date.

were alone together, according to a custom he had, to avoid putting the receiver to shame or creating a jealousy against him. This took place at Lambeth; and while we were returning thence by boat, as is usual there, Grocin asked me what present I had received. I said in jest, an immense sum! When he laughed, I asked him his reason,—whether he thought the Prelate was not generous enough to give so much, or not rich enough to afford it, or that my work was not worthy of a munificent present. At last having revealed the amount of the gift, I asked him playfully why the Archbishop had given so little, and when I pressed the question, he answered that none of the reasons I had suggested was right, but a suspicion had occurred to him, that perhaps I had already dedicated the same work to some other person elsewhere. Surprised at such a speech, I asked, how that suspicion had come into his mind, and Grocin said with a smile, but of the Sardonic kind, Because that is a way you people have, meaning that such things are often done by men of our profession. Not being used to such sarcasms, the sting remained in my mind, and when I returned to Paris on my way to Italy, I delivered the book to Bade to be printed, adding to it the Iphigenia in Aulis, of which I had made a more fluent and free translation during my stay in England, and whereas I had offered only one to the Prelate, I now dedicated both to him. In this way I took my revenge for Grocin's scoff. For at that time I had no intention of going back to England, nor any thought of visiting the Archbishop again. Such was my pride, when my fortune was so low. This work, which has been revised more than once, I have re-edited for the last time this year.

The concluding sentence appears to refer to Froben's edition, published in February, 1524. The Preface or dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Epistle 187), which was printed with the two translations at Paris in 1506, is dated *Londini, nono Calendas*

Februarii (24 January). It may therefore be assumed to be the *præfatio* which Erasmus mentions as having been inserted in the manuscript presented to Warham at Lambeth. And if, as we cannot doubt, Erasmus's recollection was right about the Iphigenia having been added afterwards, the line in which he speaks of "two tragedies" was probably altered upon the work being printed in Paris. P 414. When in the Venice edition of 1507, a separate dedication was added to the Iphigenia, the original dedication might well have been restored entirely to the Hecuba. Compare Epistle 205. The following passage would then have run as follows: I began therefore to turn into Latin the Hecuba of Euripides, hoping etc. As the text stands, having first explained to the Archbishop that his translations of profane authors were undertaken as an exercise with a view to more important theological studies, Erasmus continues as follows.

Epistle 187. Euripides, Paris, 1506; Ep. xxix. 24; C. i. 1129.

Erasmus to Archbishop Warham.

* * * *

I began therefore to turn into Latin two of Euripides' tragedies, the Hecuba and the Iphigenia in Aulis, hoping some god would breathe favourably on so bold an enterprise. When I found that the first sample was not disapproved by men deeply skilled in both tongues (of whom, if one may confess the truth without prejudice, England now has several in every branch of learning, worthy of the admiration of all Italy *), I completed the work, the Muses being propitious, in a few months. What pains it cost me, they only will experience, who shall descend into the same arena. For the mere act of making good Latin out of good Greek is one that requires no ordinary artist, a person not only well provided with a copious and ready apparatus of

* In a later letter, addressed to Aldus, Erasmus speaks of the approval this translation had received from Linacre, Grocin, William Latimer, and Cuthbert Tunstall, all friends of the learned printer. See Epistle 204.

both languages, but also most quick-sighted and watchful; insomuch that for many ages no such translator has obtained the suffrages of all the learned. It is easy therefore to guess, what a task it is to render verse by verse, especially when the poetry translated is so various and unusual, and that out of an author not only ancient and a Tragedian, but wonderfully close, subtle and rapid, in whom there is nothing superfluous, nothing that you can either take away or alter without injury; and one moreover that frequently introduces rhetorical passages and treats them so acutely, that he constantly seems to be pleading a cause. Consider too the Choruses, which by some affectation are so obscure as rather to require an Œdipus or the Delian god himself, than a mere translator. When you add to this the corruption of the manuscripts, the scarcity of copies, and the want of any interpreter to fly to, I am the less surprised, that even in this happy age no Italian has ventured to attempt this task of translating Tragedy or Comedy; whereas many have laid hands on Homer (among whom even Politian himself was not content with his work), some one else has attempted Hesiod, and that not very happily, and another has attacked Theocritus with still less success. Finally Francis Philelphus translated the first scene of the Hecuba in a funeral oration (as I found out after I had begun my version), but in such a way that the experiment of so great a man put us in better humour with our own. Therefore being not so much deterred by so formidable examples or by the many difficulties of the task, as allured by the more than honeyed charm of language which even those who least like him attribute to this poet, I have not feared to attempt a work hitherto untried, hoping that, if I did not achieve a great success, still candid readers would think my endeavour worthy of some praise, and that the most unfavourable would at least receive with indulgence so arduous a work at the hands of a fresh interpreter. Such indulgence I may

especially claim, since I have deliberately added no little burden to the other difficulties of my task by my scrupulousness in endeavouring to reproduce the figures and as it were the texture of a Greek poem, to render it verse for verse and almost word for word, and to balance with the utmost fidelity for Latin ears the force and weight of every sentence. I need not decide, whether this has arisen from my not altogether approving that freedom of translation which Tully allows to others and has used himself, I might almost say to excess, or whether as a fresh hand I chose to transgress on this side, so as to appear too scrupulous rather than too licentious, or in other words, to be seen now and then touching the shore rather than swimming with my boat upset in midsea. I preferred in fact to run the risk of the learned finding a want of brilliancy and finish in my verse rather than a want of fidelity; and finally I had no wish to come forward as a Paraphrast, and purvey myself that obscurity with which many hide their ignorance, and, like the cuttle-fish, avoid discovery by shrouding themselves in the darkness they create. Therefore when my readers do not anywhere meet with the grandiloquence of Latin Tragedy, the *ampullas et sesquipedalia verba* of which Flaccus speaks, they must not find fault with me, if in performing the duty of an interpreter I have preferred to render the compressed soundness and elegance of my author, rather than a tumidity which does not belong to him, and which in other writers has no great charm for me. * * *

If it is my good fortune to find my study approved by one whom all approve, I shall neither regret the labour hitherto spent, nor shall I shrink in future from a greater effort, in order to forward the interests of Theology.

Farewell, and enlist Erasmus among those who are devoted with all their hearts to your Fatherhood.

London, 24 Jan. [1506].†

† Londini Non. Cal Februarij. *Euripides*, Paris, 1506.

The first interview of Erasmus with Warham, as it is described in the Catalogue of Lucubrations, was not altogether satisfactory. P 394. It is impossible to say, whether the suspicion attributed by Grocin to the Archbishop was really in his mind. If so, it was probably soon dispelled. Erasmus remained in England four months after this time, but he has left no account of any later interview with his new patron, whom we find three years later joining with Mountjoy in encouraging him to return to England. Epistle 210. Meantime he had the satisfaction of feeling, that by the gratuitous dedication of the Iphigenia, he had vindicated his professional character.

About the date of the preceding dedication, an event occurred which gave much occupation to the English Court for the next few weeks, and seriously interfered with the plans and hopes of Erasmus. His own sovereign, the Archduke Philip, now King of Castile in his wife's right, had set sail from Flushing on the 9th of January to visit Spain with his Queen; but meeting with tempestuous weather in the Channel they were compelled to land at Falmouth. King Henry would not allow them to leave the country without seeing them at his Court, and Lord Mountjoy was despatched with the Earl of Arundel and Lord St. Amand to escort the Queen of Castile to Windsor, where she arrived on the 10th of February, 1506, the King, her husband, having preceded her by some days. Before the Spanish sovereigns left England, which was not until early in April, Henry had negotiated some important treaties with his involuntary guests,* upon whom Lord Mountjoy appears to have been kept in attendance, a costly duty which he probably owed to his having some acquaintance with other languages beside his own. Epistle 189.

Epistle 188. Merula, p. 202; Ep. xxxi 31; C. 1870 (484).

Erasmus to Servatius.

I have already addressed several letters to you, to which I am surprised that you have not returned a word in answer.

* *Fœdera*, xiii. 140; Pauli, *Geschichte Engl.* iii. 620. A contemporary narrative of the royal visit has been printed partly in Austin, *Order of the Garter*, ii. 254, and partly in Tighe, *History of Windsor*, i. 424.

I am still in London, most welcome, as it seems, to the greatest and most learned of the whole country. The King of England has promised me a benefice; but the Prince's arrival has caused the matter to be put off. I am continually turning the question over in my mind, how I can appropriate what is left of my life (I know not how much it may be), all to piety, all to Christ. I see * that a man's life, even if it be a long life, is fleeting and transient, and that my own constitution is delicate, its strength not a little impaired by the toil of study, and somewhat by my misfortunes. I see, that in learning there is no issue, and so it comes to pass, that we seem to be beginning afresh every day. I have therefore resolved to be content with my mediocrity, especially now that I have mastered a sufficiency of Greek, and to apply myself to meditation and preparation for death. I ought to have done so long ago, and been frugal of my years, my most precious possession, when it was at its best. But though frugality may be late in its influence,† what remains must be the more thriftily used, the less and the more worthless it is. Farewell.

London 1 April [1506].‡

EPISTLE 189. Merula, p. 204; Ep. xxxi. 39; C. 1853 (462).

Erasmus to James Maurits.

If you are well, most loyal friend, we have reason to be specially glad. We are ourselves fairly well, and shall always bear you in mind as long as breath stirs these limbs.§ I hope it will come to pass that I shall see you

* Vide, *read* Video.

† Tametsi sero in fundo [*qu.* influat] parsimonia.

‡ Londini Calendis Aprilis. Merula.

§ Dum spiritus hos regit artus. Virgil. *Aeneid*, iv. 136.

this summer. We shall then be together and will unfold the mysteries of darkness. For in Pluto's realm one must think how to return, and everything must be warily done. I am heartily grieved that our Prince chanced to come into these parts, and that for many reasons. He is not yet re-embarked, which is so much the worse for me. My Mæcenas is obliged by the king's command to wait upon him, and that at his own cost; and I meantime am emptying my small purse. I have written more fully to our friend William. Salute Doctor Reyner the physician, that second glory of Dutch letters, and Master Henry the merriest of men, and the rest of those that love me. To your amiable wife and sweet children I wish all joy and felicity.

London, 2 April [1506].*

Dr. Reyner (Snoy) was a correspondent of Erasmus. See Epistle 179, p. 372. In the above letter Erasmus does not venture to speak plainly of the Prince's treatment. In the later Adages, under the maxim *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna*, he warns sovereigns against the danger of leaving their own countries either for war or any other cause, and alludes to Philip's unfortunate journey in the following terms.

Adagia, Chil. ii. 5, 1; C. ii. 553 D.

Leaving his subjects a second time he was carried by a tempest to England, a country which at that time was not on good terms with ours. What happened to him there, what sufferings he underwent, what promises he made, upon what conditions he was allowed to go, we have no wish to commemorate. He yielded to necessity, I admit it and pardon him. But what necessity was there to put himself into that necessity? He did not take warning by these misfortunes and return home; but pursued his journey to Spain, where he met his end, a youth born for the highest purposes, if he had not been jealous of his own felicity.

* Londini postridie Calendas Apriles. Merula.

Among the learned persons, whose acquaintance was probably made by Erasmus during this visit to England, was Dr. John Fisher, Warham's Suffragan at Rochester, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. We can scarcely be wrong in attributing to his influence the facility offered to Erasmus for obtaining a degree, which is evidenced by the following entry in the Cambridge University records. This document, here given in its original language, has no date but that of the year; but seeing that Erasmus left England about the beginning of June, we must attribute it to one of the earlier months.

University of Cambridge, Grace Book. Γ 1505-6.
Knight, *Life of Erasmus*, App. cxviii.
Searle, *History of Queen's College, Cambridge*, p. 134.

Conceditur Des. Erasmo ut unicum vel si exigantur duo responsa una cum duobus sermonibus ad clerum sermoneque examinatorio et lectura publica in Epistolam ad Romanos vel quævis alia satisfaciant sibi ad incipiendum in Theologia sic quod prius admitatur Baccalaureus in eadem et intret libros Sententiarum Bedellisque satisfaciat.

It will be seen that by this concession the candidate was to be admitted to inception in Theology, subject to the following conditions: that he should make one response, or two, if required, two sermons *ad clerum*, an examinatory sermon, and a public reading on the Epistle to the Romans, or some other similar reading; it was also required that he should first be admitted Bachelor in the same faculty, enter the Books of Sentences, and satisfy the Bedells. In this short sentence there is crowded so much obscure technicality as even an expert in the language of University documents could not explain in few words. One phrase at least it is necessary to understand. To begin (incipere) in Theology means to begin to read publicly or teach, in other words to become a Doctor. Therefore under this concession Erasmus was empowered, on the fulfilment of certain conditions, to become a Doctor in Theology; and one condition was that he should be first admitted a Bachelor in the same Faculty.

This interpretation, which is perhaps sufficient for our immediate purpose, gives rise to the following questions. Was Erasmus at this

time already a Bachelor in Theology of another University, or, we may say more simply, of the University of Paris, in which case his contemplated admission to that degree at Cambridge would be what is called an admission ad eundem? And did Erasmus make any, and what use of the Cambridge grace? In considering these questions we may take it as proved by the Record of the University of Turin, cited in Chapter xvi. that, when a degree was granted to him there, 4 Sept. 1506, he was already a Bachelor of Divinity, but not a Doctor. We must therefore conclude that he did not make use of the Cambridge grace to receive the latter degree in England. There remains the question, whether he made use of it to obtain the degree of Bachelor, in order to facilitate his proceeding, according to his long-settled plan, to the higher degree in Italy. Upon this point I refer the reader to what has been said respecting the probability of his having attained that status at Paris in 1498. See pp. 157, 158.

Dr. John Caius, physician, antiquary, and second founder of Gonville College, tells us that not long before his own residence at Cambridge (which is believed to have begun in 1529), Erasmus was there; that he lived at Cambridge (Cantabrigiæ vixit) about 1506, at which time King Henry VII. visited the University; that he delivered lectures in Greek, and wrote a book on Letter-writing, which he published there by means of Sibert, a Cambridge printer, and that he obtained a Grace from the University to be made Bachelor of Theology. He adds, that he was succeeded in his professorship by Richard Croke, a pupil of Grocin, who was also Professor at Leipsig, and flourished about 1514. Caius, *Hist. Acad. Cantab.* (1574) p. 127. We should gladly find in Dr. Caius's assertions some trace of a Cambridge tradition, that Erasmus was there in or about 1506, and that he became a graduate of the University. The suggestion of a Bachelor's and not a Doctor's degree may be explained by the fact, that after the publication of the Preface to the *Opera Erasmi* in 1540, if not before, it was known that Erasmus received his Doctor's degree at Turin. See pp. 28, 419, 422. The confusion of dates in Dr. Caius's narrative,—the Grace for a Degree (1506), the Greek lectures (1511-13) and the book on Letter-writing (published without his authority in 1521, see p. 167), being all apparently attributed to the same period,—would not perhaps much weaken the authority of a story depending on tradition. But, after all, the Doctor does not explicitly assert that Erasmus made use of the Grace; and we may well suspect that his belief, respecting Erasmus's presence at Cambridge about 1506 and

Bachelor's degree, was founded upon an imperfect recollection of the entry in the Grace book, rather than upon any independent tradition. It is true that in that year king Henry VII. (a pilgrim on his way to Walsingham) visited Cambridge, where with the Knights of the Garter, who accompanied him, he kept the Feast of St. George (23 April) in the half-finished chapel of King's College. Ashmole, *Order of the Garter*, p. 558. The Chancellor's oration on the king's reception has been preserved. Lewis, *Life of Bishop Fisher*, App. viii. But there is no evidence that Erasmus was then at Cambridge. His host, Lord Mountjoy, was not yet a Knight of the Garter. And if he visited the University to take advantage of the Grace, he would probably choose a time more convenient for that purpose.

While he remained in London in the absence of the Court and of his courtly friends, Erasmus, found consolation in the society of Thomas More, who was encouraged by his companion's example to make some translations from Lucian. Among these were the dialogues entitled *Cynicus, Necyomantia* and *Philopseudes*, the Latin versions of which he inscribed to Dr. Thomas Ruthall, the king's secretary. The dedicatory epistle is without date, but may be attributed to the spring or early summer of 1506. It has been included in the Epistolary of Erasmus, and erroneously ascribed to his authorship, C. 1862 (475). It is here retained on account of the light which it throws on the mental attitude of the two friends at this period. The candour and honesty of the opinions expressed in it are characteristic of More, while the freedom with which established errors are exploded might well excuse its attribution to Erasmus. The prefatory observations of the translator contain an apology for his author. The *Cynic*, he tells us, which praises the self-denying life of that sect, as a protest against the luxury and self-indulgence of mankind, has been in part adopted by St. Chrysostom in one of his Homilies, where Christian simplicity and the narrow way that leads to life are commended. The other two pieces are described and defended in the passage quoted below.

EPISTLE 190. Luciani Opuscula, Paris, 1506; C. 1862 (475).

Thomas More to Dr Thomas Ruthall.

* * * *

The *Necyomantia*, the name of which is not so happy as its matter, attacks in the wittiest fashion the impositions of

conjurors, the empty fictions of poets, and the uncertain sparring of philosophers on every possible subject. There remains the *Philopseudes*, a dialogue as profitable as it is witty, which exposes and ridicules with Socratic irony the common appetite for lying ; wherein it does not much disturb me to find that the author was not sure of his own immortality ; sharing in this respect the error of Democritus, Lucretius, Pliny, and many others. Why indeed should I care for the opinion of a Pagan upon matters which are among the chief mysteries of the Christian faith ? The dialogue at any rate teaches us, on the one hand, not to put faith in the illusions of magic, and on the other, to keep our minds clear of the superstition which creeps in under the guise of religion. We shall lead a happier life, when we are less terrified by those dismal and superstitious lies, which are often repeated with so much confidence and authority, that even St. Augustine himself, a man of the highest intelligence, with the deepest hatred of a lie, was induced by some impostor to narrate, as a true event which had happened in his own time, that story about the two Spurini, one dying and the other returning to life, which, with only a change of name, had been ridiculed by Lucian in this very dialogue so many years before. No wonder then, if ruder minds are affected by the fictions of those who think they have done a lasting service to Christ, when they have invented a fable about some Saint, or a tragic description of Hell, which either melts an old woman to tears, or makes her blood run cold. There is scarcely any life of a Martyr or Virgin, in which some falsehood of this kind has not been inserted ; an act of piety no doubt, considering the risk that Truth would be insufficient, unless propped up by lies ! Thus they have not scrupled to stain with fiction that Religion, which was founded by Truth herself, and ought to consist of naked truth. They have failed to see, that such fables are so far from aiding religion, that nothing can be

more injurious to it. It is obvious, as Augustine himself has observed, that where there is any scent of a lie, the authority of truth is immediately weakened and destroyed. Hence, a suspicion has more than once occurred to me, that such stories have been largely invented by crafty knaves and heretics, partly for the purpose of amusing themselves with the credulity of persons more simple than wise, and partly to diminish the authority of the true Christian histories by associating them with fictitious fables, the feigned incidents being often so near to those contained in Holy Scripture, that the allusion cannot be mistaken. Therefore while the histories commended to us by divinely inspired Scripture ought to be accepted with undoubting faith, the others, tested by the doctrine of Christ, as by the rule of Critolaus, should either be received with caution or rejected, if we would avoid both empty confidence and superstitious fear.

But whither am I proceeding? My epistle is already almost as long as a book, and all the while not a single word has been said in your praise, to which any other man might have given his whole attention, seeing that without any suspicion of flattery, an abundant material would have been supplied either by your eminent learning and judicious management of affairs, as shown in so many arduous and successful embassies, or by your singular probity and wisdom, without a full knowledge and experience of which the most prudent of princes would never have chosen you for his Secretary. * * *

[London, 1506.]†

The reference in the above letter to the wisdom shown by Henry VII. in the selection of his ministers, and the good terms upon which the writer stood with the King's Secretary, may suggest the question, whether there is any sufficient evidence for the commonly received

† No date in *Luciani Opuscula*, 1506.

story of Thomas More being himself in disgrace after the Parliament of 1504. The description of him in the following Epistle rather suggests that he was already practising with success as a barrister.

In friendly rivalry with More, Erasmus translated the *Tyrannicida* of Lucian, and then composed a Declamation in answer to it. This work he dedicated to Richard Whitford, who had formerly accompanied Lord Mountjoy to Paris, and who appears to have been afterwards,—perhaps at this time,—one of the chaplains of Bishop Foxe of Winchester. When Epistle 191 was written, Erasmus appears to have been in the society of More, who was not likely at this season of the year to be far from London. I infer that the *rus*, from which the letter is dated, was suburban. The Declamations both of More and Erasmus were printed a few months later by Bade at Paris, together with their translations from Lucian. See pp. 414, 422.

EPISTLE 191. Luciani Opuscula (1506) f. 30; Ep. xxix. 7; C. i. 265.

Erasmus to Richard Whitford.

For several years, dearest Richard, I have been entirely occupied with Greek literature; but lately, in order to resume my intimacy with Latin, I have begun to declaim in that language. In so doing I have yielded to the influence of Thomas More, whose eloquence, as you know, is such, that he could persuade even an enemy to do whatever he pleased, while my own affection for the man is so great, that if he bade me dance a hornpipe, I should do at once just as he bade me. He is writing on the same subject, and in such a way as to thresh out and sift every part of it. For I do not think, unless the vehemence of my love leads me astray, that Nature ever formed a mind more present, ready, sharpsighted and subtle, or in a word more absolutely furnished with every kind of faculty than his. Add to this a power of expression equal to his intellect, a singular cheerfulness of character and an abundance of wit, but only of the candid sort; and you miss nothing that should be found in a

perfect advocate. I have therefore not undertaken this task with any idea of either surpassing or matching such an artist, but only to break a lance as it were in this tournay of wits with the sweetest of all my friends, with whom I am always pleased to join in any employment grave or gay. I have done this all the more willingly, because I very much wish this sort of exercise to be introduced into our schools, where it would be of the greatest utility. For in the want of this practice I find the reason why at this time, while there are many eloquent writers, there are so few scholars, who do not appear almost mute, whenever an orator is required, whereas if, in pursuance both of the authority of Cicero and Fabius and of the examples of the ancients, we were diligently practised from boyhood in such exercises, there would not, surely, be such poverty of speech, such pitiable hesitation, such shameful stammering, as we witness even in those who publicly profess the art of Oratory.

You will read my declamation with the thought that it has been the amusement of a very few days, not a serious composition. I advise you also to compare it with More's, and so determine whether there is any difference of style between those, whom you used to declare to be so much alike in genius, character, tastes and studies, that no twin brothers could be found more closely resembling one another. I am sure you love them both alike, and are in turn equally dear to both. Farewell, most charming Richard.

In the country, the 1st of May, 1506.*

Assisted by his wealthy English patrons, Erasmus had, we may presume, fairly replenished his purse; and he now took up again his old purpose of visiting Italy But not being satisfied that his own resources were sufficient without further assistance, he undertook to superintend the education of two youths, sons of Dr. Baptist Boerio, King Henry's Genoese physician, whom their father was sending with

* Ruri ad Calendas Maias, MDVI. *Luciani Opuscula* (1506).

an English preceptor, Master Clifton,* to complete their education at Bologna. He appears to have left England about the beginning of June, 1506. Just before his departure he sent one of his customary presents,—a translation of the dialogue of Lucian entitled *Timon* or *The Misanthrope*,—to the king's secretary, Dr. Ruthall, with the following short dedicatory letter.

EPISTLE 192. Luciani Opuscula, Paris, 1506; Ep. xxix. 6; C. i. 255.

Erasmus to Dr. Thomas Ruthall.

Look, most courteous Ruthall, what audacity is supplied me by the singular facility of your character and manners. Knowing as I do, that among the magnates of the Court you hold a chief place both in favour, in dignity and in erudition, nevertheless I am not afraid of sending to your Excellency my trifling productions, still in the rough and scarcely corrected from the first draft. But what am I to do? The shipman is already in a hurry, and crying out that winds and tides wait on no man. In order therefore to leave something of myself with a person who has made so much of me, I send what has chanced to be in hand,—a Misanthrope forsooth, to the most philanthropic of men. There is no dialogue of Lucian more profitable, or more agreeable to read. It was translated some time ago by another hand, but so done as if the translator wished to demonstrate that he knew neither Greek nor Latin; and one might not unreasonably suspect him of being suborned by those who bear a grudge against the author.

You will I trust put a good construction on our boldness,

* This name, which is Clyfton in *Farrago* (see p. 411), has been misread Clyston, and so repeated in all the later collections and biographies. I owe this correction, with many other valuable suggestions, to Mr. P. S. Allen.

and reckon Erasmus among those who are most attached to you. Farewell.

London [May or June, 1506].*

About the same time Erasmus despatched to Louvain a translation of another of Lucian's dialogues, entitled *De Mercede Conductis*, with the following dedicatory letter to his friend the Orator of the University there.

EPISTLE 193. Luciani Opuscula, Paris, 1506; Ep. xxix. 8; C. i. 297.

Erasmus to Joannes Paludanus.

That you may understand, most courteous Paludanus, that your Erasmus, while he takes flight over lands and seas, constantly carries with him the remembrance of you, I send in evidence, Lucian's dialogue entitled Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων (of Hired Attendants), which I have turned into Latin before going off to Italy, and just on the point of departure. You will be amused to see in it, as in a mirror, all the discomforts of a court life, which you used often to describe to me from experience, having yourself suffered shipwreck and been cast ashore, and only just restored to that life of liberty and letters.

I do this with a special purpose,—to challenge you to venture on something similar yourself, as you have now had a long practice in Greek literature. I may well say, to venture, for in my opinion there is no more venturesome act, than to try to make good Latin out of good Greek. Farewell, and as I love you well, return my love.

[London, May or June, 1506.] †

* No date in the Paris or Venice editions (1506, 1516). Londini, Anno M.D. iiii. *Luciani Dialogi*, Ed. Basil. (1517, 1521.)

† No date in *Luciani Opuscula* (1506), nor in the later editions.

CHAPTER XVI.

Journey to Italy; Paris, Turin, Florence, Bologna; June, 1506, to November, 1507. Doctor's Degree. Publication of Translations from Euripides and Lucian. Correspondence with Aldus. Epistles 194—206.

ERASMUS left England about the beginning of June, 1506. He had a long and disagreeable passage to the Continent, having been obliged, in deference to the arrangements of his travelling companions, to take ship in the port of London, instead of crossing by Dover as he had hitherto done. The three following letters were probably sent to London by the same courier. The first is addressed to Linacre, whose professional skill appears to have been useful to Erasmus.

EPISTLE 194. Farrago, p. 305; Ep. x. 6; C. 100 (105).

Erasmus to Thomas Linacre.

We have arrived at Paris, in other respects without damage, but I caught a troublesome sickness by gathering of cold during our four days at sea, which even now gives me a severe pain in the front of my head. The glands under the ears are swollen on both sides; with throbbing in the temples, and singing in both ears. And all the time I have no Linacre at my side to exert his skill in relieving me. So much the Italian alliance has cost us at present. For nothing in my life was ever so firmly resolved, as never to commit myself to winds and waves, where there was any road by land.

We have come to life again in France; for there has been a persistant and general report in this country, that Erasmus had departed to the shades. I guess that the rumour arose

by mistake, out of the death of that Frenchman Miles, as he, like myself, had come from France and had been taken into Lord Mountjoy's house, where a few days after he was seized with plague and died. I am not affected at all by the omen ; and, thanks to this mistake, have a foretaste in life of what will be said of me after I am dead !

France appears so charming to me on my return, that it is doubtful whether my mind is more fascinated by England, which has bred me so many and such noble friends, or by France which is most agreeable to me on account of old acquaintance, of the freedom it affords, and lastly because of a sort of special favour and popularity that I enjoy here. I am therefore conscious of a double pleasure, being equally delighted in seeing my French friends again, and in calling to mind my British intimacies, especially as these will I hope shortly be renewed.

You could not help laughing, if you knew how greedily my poor Greek is expecting the present I promised him in return for his reeds from Cyprus, how often he mentions the δῶρον, how often he complains of its not being sent. It is really amusing to disappoint such a gaping crow. The stupid fellow does not observe that I wrote to him, πέμψω δῶρόν τι ἄξιόν σου (I shall send a present worthy of you), that is, something of no value.

I hope that the duty I have undertaken as to the education of Baptist's sons will turn out well. I see the boys are intelligent, modest and tractable, and their knowledge is already beyond their years. No one could be more good-natured, loving and attentive than their tutor, Clifton.* Farewell, most learned and kind preceptor. Write to me often, if only a few lines.

Paris [12 June], 1506.†

* Clyfton illo eorum curatore. *Farrago.* Clystone illo, etc. *Opus. Epist.* Sim. *Opera* (1540). See p. 408, note.

† Lutetiæ. ANNO M.D.VI. *Farrago.* See next epistle for the date of month.

EPISTLE 195. Farrago, p. 318 ; Ep. x. 21 ; C. 99 (104).

Erasmus to Colet.

Leaving England and returning to France, I can hardly tell you, with what a mixture of feelings I am affected. It is not easy to decide, whether I am more happy in seeing again the friends I formerly left in France, or more sad in leaving those I have lately gained in England. For this I can truly affirm, that there is no entire country which has bred me so many friends, so sincere, so learned, so devoted, so brilliant, so distinguished by every kind of virtue, as the single city of London ; every one of whom has so vied in loving and assisting me, that I know not whom I should prefer to another, and am bound to return an equal affection to them all. The parting from those cannot but be painful to me. But again memory brings me comfort ; by constantly thinking of them I seem to make them present, and I hope it will soon come to pass, that I shall meet them again, not to part until separated by death. To bring this speedily and happily into effect, I am confident—such is your love and partiality for me—that you will exert yourself with my other friends.

It is impossible to say how pleased I am with the disposition of Baptist's children. No boys could be more modest, more tractable or more industrious in their studies. I trust therefore that they will answer to their father's intentions and my pains, and some day or other bring great credit to Britain. Farewell.

Paris, the morrow of the Sacrament (12 June), 1506.*

* Parisijs. postridie sacramenti. Anno. M.D.VI. *Farrago.* The morrow of the Sacrament is the day after the festival of Corpus Christi, which fell in 1506 on the 11th of June. See p. 328. In Le Clerc's edition the date given is 19 June, 1506.

Epistle 196 is addressed to Roger Wentford, the Master of St. Antony's School in London, with whom Erasmus had probably become acquainted through More. The school attached to St. Antony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street, at which More himself is said to have been educated, had the highest reputation of any school in London. The Hospital was suppressed in the reign of Edward VI. and the School fell to decay. Stow, *London*, ed. 1633, p. 190. Wentford continued for many years an intimate and useful friend of Erasmus. The latter part of the Epistle describes the journey, and the mixed feelings with which the writer had returned to France. See Epistles 194, 195.

EPISTLE 196. Farrago, p. 233; Ep. viii. 42; C. 100 (106).

Erasmus to Roger Wentford, Master of St. Antony's School.

Among the many most agreeable friends with whom Britain has made me acquainted, you, my dear Roger, are one of the first to come to my mind. Your love has been so constant, your society so delightful, your services so useful, that to whatever quarter of the world my fates may lead me, I shall carry with me the most agreeable recollection of my Roger. I wish your fortune had allowed you to accompany us to Italy. You would then be in entire possession of your Erasmus, whom you have already in many ways made most thoroughly your own. * * *

Paris, June 12, [1506].†

It had probably been arranged with the friends of his travelling companions, that the party should spend several weeks in Paris before proceeding on their journey. During this period Erasmus placed in the hands of the printer, Bade, the translations which he had lately made from Euripides and Lucian. These were printed in the same form and type, in two small folio volumes. The volume of Euripides, the main contents of which were at once delivered to the printer (see p. 394),

† Parisijs, postridie Sacrament. Anno M.D.VII. *Farrago.*

was finished 13 Sept. 1506, soon after Erasmus left Paris. It is entitled *Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia latinæ factæ Erasmo interprete;* and contains; 1. The dedicatory Preface to Archbp. Warham (Epistle 187); 2. *Carmen iambicum Trimetrum* (in twenty-five lines) also addressed to the Archbishop; 3. *Argumentum Hecubæ;* 4. The *Hecuba* in Latin; 5. *Argumentum Iphigeniæ in Aulide;* 6. A short preface to the *Iphigenia*, with the heading *Erasmus lectori;* 7. The *Iphigenia* in Latin; 8. *Geruasii Drocensis Epigramma* (see p. 435); 9. The Ode in Praise of England, here entitled *Prosopopœia Britanniæ*, at the end of which are the words *Panegyrici finis*, and the Colophon, *Ex officina Ascensiana ad Idus Septemb. MDVI.* Beatus Rhenanus, then a student at Paris, possessed a copy in the same year. (Knod, *Bibliothek des Rhenanus*, p. 68). The Lucian was not ready till the end of the year, the publication being deferred in order to give the author time to send some more of his own translations for insertion, and to induce Thomas More to contribute to the work. A description of its contents may therefore be better inserted in a future page, see p. 422. Bade was busy at the same time upon a new edition of the *Adages*, to which the author contributed a small instalment of the matter provided for the more enlarged work which he still had in view. Bade's edition, the printing of which was completed 24 Dec. 1506, has a supplement dated 8 Jan. 1507, entitled *Epigrammata*, which includes, with other works already published, the poem on Old Age written during the journey to Italy (see p. 416), here entitled *De fuga vitæ humanæ*, which was also printed in the volume of Translations from Lucian (see p. 422), and at Venice in December in the new edition of the Euripides, p. 436.

Before leaving Paris, or possibly from Orleans on his way south, Erasmus despatched to René d'Illiers, Bishop of Chartres, a translation of the *Alexander* or *Pseudomantis* of Lucian. The Bishop appears to have been already acquainted with some of his correspondent's works, and it is characteristic of the comparative freedom of opinion before the alarm of the Reformation, that Erasmus ventures to suggest to a dignitary of the Church, with whom he was not on intimate terms, that some of Lucian's satire was applicable to existing ecclesiastical abuses. The accident to the Cathedral of Chartres, mentioned at the end of the dedicatory Epistle, took place on St. Ann's day (26 July), 1506. (Roulliard, *Histoire de Chartres*, p. 150 b.) The Bishop, whose love of books is commemorated by the historian of his church, died a few months after this dedication.

EPISTLE 197. Luciani Opuscula (1506); Ep. xxix. 4; C. i. 229.

Erasmus to René, Bishop of Chartres.

Having learned from various sources, most Reverend Father, how favorably a person of your exquisite taste has thought and spoken of my poor talent and trifling compositions, and being bound for Italy, but prevented by engagements with fellow-travellers from waiting upon you in person, I have found another way of calling your Erasmus to your mind, and have sent you Lucian's *Pseudomantis*, a wicked scoundrel, but more serviceable than any one else in detecting and exposing the impostures of a class of people not unknown to you, who even in these times are wont to delude the vulgar with magic miracles, and feigned religion, or with pretended pardons and conjuries of that sort. I hope therefore that you will read him, not only with some profit, but also with the greatest pleasure, since I understand that, while,—not to speak of the nobility of your birth, the splendour of your fortune, or the authority of your office,—you are perfectly skilled in serious and solemn studies, nevertheless you do not altogether recoil from these more elegant Muses, but are pleased to mingle such delightful and profitable entertainments with your arduous business. Whichever you may choose, whether the black salt,—*sal nigrum*,— which they attribute to Momus, or the bright salt,—*sal candidum*,—which they ascribe to Mercury, may all be found in the greatest abundance in Lucian.

I cannot tell you how grieved I am to hear, that your noble and renowned temple of Chartres has been set on fire by lightning. Farewell, till our return from Italy.

Paris, [August, 1506.]*

* No date in original edition. Lutetiæ Anno M.D.V. *Luciani Dialogi.* Basil. 1517 and 1521.

Leaving Paris probably early in August, the party made a stay of a few days at Orleans, where Erasmus was the guest of Nicolas Béraud (Beraldus), with whom he renewed his acquaintance in 1517, and who was in after years his correspondent. Epist. i. 14, C. 183 E. They proceeded on their journey by way of Lyons, where they appear to have stayed at an inn, which left a favorable impression on the mind of Erasmus, who in one of his Colloquies contrasts the friendly reception of the French landlady and her family with the treatment of their guests by German innkeepers. *Colloquia,* s. tit. *Diversoria.* C. i. 715). After leaving Lyons, they passed through Savoy into Piedmont.* His Alpine journey was associated in the memory of Erasmus with a poem on the approach of Age, which he composed at the age of forty, as a farewell to youth and the vigour of early manhood. Of this work he gives the following account in his often cited Letter to Botzhem, or Catalogue of Lucubrations.

Catalogus Lucubrationum (1523). C. i. *Præf.* Jortin, ii. 417.

My poem on Old Age, addressed to William Cop, was written in the Alps on my first journey to Italy. A hateful quarrel had arisen between the pursuivant of the King of England, who accompanied us for our protection all the way to Bologna, and the tutor of the youths, whom I was taking to Italy, under a bargain in which I was entangled as in a noose. I did not go as their pedagogue, for I had declined the charge of their conduct, nor as a teacher, but as superintendent of their studies, for which I was to point out the road ; a fatal arrangement, that no form of misery might be wanting to my life ; for I never passed a more uncomfortable year. Between these two persons the contest had become so warm that after furious abuse, they drew their swords on one another. Up to this time I was angry with only one of them ; but when after such a storm I saw them converted all at once into friends by drinking a bottle of wine together,

* Olim enim e Lutetia per Lugdunum petens Italiam, bonam illius (Sabaudiæ) partem vidi. Erasmus Petro Morneyo. Epist. xxv. 16 ; C. 1394.

I hated them both alike. For as I look upon those persons as madmen, who put themselves in such a passion without some very grievous offence, so I consider them to be not worth trusting, who so suddenly become friends after a deadly quarrel. So it came to pass, that in order to beguile the tediousness of the ride, while I abstained from talking with the disputants, I got this poem done, noting it down on paper from time to time upon the saddle, in order not to lose any part of it, as new ideas are apt to drive out the old. When we came to the inn, I wrote out from my notes what had thus taken birth. So you have an equestrian, or perhaps I should say an Alpestrian poem, which nevertheless the learned say is not altogether unhappy, in whatever circumstances it was born.

Upon the first production of this poem, Erasmus seems to have regarded it with the same satisfaction as he expresses at a later time in the lines above quoted. He soon after sent a copy of it to Paris, to be inserted in two of the volumes which were about to issue from the press of Bade. See pp. 414, 422. The publication was repeated in the Aldine edition of the translations from Euripides, printed in December of the same year (p. 436), and in other collections of his minor works. It may be read in C. iv. 755.

The first place on the other side of the Alps where the party halted for any time, was Turin, where they stayed long enough for Erasmus to take the degree of Doctor of Theology. The diploma, which is dated Friday, the 4th of September, 1506, shows that the candidate was already a Bachelor in the same Faculty, but does not reveal at what University he had obtained that degree. See pp. 158, 402. It has been twice printed from Erasmus's own copy preserved at Basel. *Familiares Epistolæ Erasmi ad Amerbachium*, Basileæ, 1779; Vischer, *Erasmiana*, Basel, 1876, p. 7. His fellow traveller, Clifton, is said by Rhenanus to have also taken a degree at this time at Turin. Pp. 28, 411.

From Turin the party proceeded to Bologna. The correspondence of Erasmus does not enable us to follow his movements on the journey; but by means of one of his Colloquies we trace him to the Certosa of Pavia, where he was struck, not so much by the beauty as

by the costliness of the work, a magnificent temple being provided for the convenience, or rather inconvenience, of a few poor monks, who were supposed by their Rule to live in solitude, and whose church was already infested by sightseers. *Colloquia: Convivium religiosum.* C. i. 685 A. The travellers had not been long at Bologna before that city was threatened with siege by a French army. They thought it best, therefore, to retire for the present, and crossing the Apennines, took refuge at Florence. The following Epistles, despatched in haste to the Netherlands, afford little information about the important events of which Erasmus was a spectator.

EPISTLE 198. Merula, p. 207; Ep. xxxi. 36; C. 1858 (468).

Erasmus to Master John Obrecht.

It is a pleasure to me to find you thinking and speaking of us in such a friendly way. This was reported to me by Master William, the preceptor of the Great Treasurer's children, a man much attached to you, who is now living at Bologna, and with whom I am most intimate. I have lately accepted the degree of Doctor in Theology, contrary to my own sentiment and by the compulsion of friends, who thought this title would confer on me some authority. I shall see you again, I hope, next summer, when we can compare notes together about everything. You will greet for me our common friends, to whom I wish every blessing. If you have any fancy for our trifles, many of my lucubrations have been lately printed at Paris in Bade's press. Farewell.

[Florence, 4 Nov. 1506].*

EPISTLE 199. Merula, p. 209; Ep. xxxi. 40; C. 1854 (463).

Erasmus to Master James Maurits, Licenciate of both Laws.

Your Erasmus is alive and well, thank Heaven, and does not forget you, wherever he may be. He begs you to

* No date in *Merula* See the next Epistle.

forward the inclosed note as soon as possible to Master John Obrecht. Please do not refuse to undertake this small trouble for me. There is much news here in Italy that is worth writing; but the messenger is already starting. Greet the most erudite Master Reyner the physician for me, also Henry, and all other friends. Fare well and happily with all your household.

Florence, 4 Nov. [1506].*

EPISTLE 200. Merula, p. 206; Ep. xxxi. 35; C. 1871 (486).

Erasmus to Servatius.

We have come to Italy for many reasons, although we find it disturbed by the turmoil of war, insomuch that, as the Pope with the French army was preparing to besiege Bologna, we have been obliged to take refuge at Florence. But certain intelligence having now come, that Bentivoglio with his three sons has fled and been caught by the French, we are returning to Bologna, hoping to find things settled. For the Pope with his Cardinals is to winter there.

I have received a Doctor's degree in Theology, and that altogether against my own judgment, and overcome by the solicitation of friends. I shall see you, I hope, next summer. Farewell.

[Florence, Nov. 1506].†

It may be observed that Erasmus, in informing his friends of his degree, takes no pains to point out at what University it was obtained. He appears to have returned to Bologna, after its surrender to Pope Julius, but before the conqueror made his triumphal entry, of which Erasmus was a spectator. (Spectabam, ut ingenue dicam, non sine tacito gemitu. *Apologia adv. Stunicam*, C. ix. 360.) The Sunday following Martinmas (Nov. 11) was November the 15th, and the following letter is dated the next day.

* Florentiæ pridie nonas Novembres. *Merula.*

† No date in *Merula.*

EPISTLE 201. Merula, p. 207 ; Ep. xxxi. 37 ; C. 1871 (487).

Erasmus to Servatius.

Though we wrote lately from Florence, still as letters are often lost in so long a journey, I will write again to-day. We have come to Italy, principally for the sake of Greek ; but in these parts, while wars are hot, studies are chilled, which will make us anxious to fly back all the sooner. We have taken a Doctor's degree in Theology, not at all by our own choice, but compelled by others.

Bentivoglio has left Bologna. The French had besieged the town, but were repulsed by the citizens with the loss of a few men. On St. Martin's day, Pope Julius entered Bologna, and the next Sunday celebrated mass in the Cathedral. The Emperor's arrival is expected, and an expedition is being prepared against the Venetians, unless they cede the places claimed by the Pope. Meantime the University keeps holiday Farewell.

Bologna, 16 Nov. [1506].*

Erasmus while at Florence had made some further translations from some of the shorter dialogues of Lucian, which he sent to Paris to be included in the volume which Bade was printing. Pp. 421, 422. These were dedicated to Jerome Busleiden. Meantime the news arrived that Philip, King of Castile, had died in Spain. His death occurred at Burgos, 25 Sept. 1506.

EPISTLE 202. *Luciani Opuscula*, Paris, 1506, fo. xlviii ; Ep. xxix. 9 ; C. i. 311.

Erasmus to Jerome Busleiden, Provost of Aire, Royal Councillor

A report has prevailed here for some time, too sad to be

* Bononiæ, decimo sexto calendis [*sic*] Decembris. *Merula.*

readily believed, but so persistent that it cannot be treated as baseless, that our Prince Philip is no longer among the living. * *

When I lauded him as a youth in my Panegyric, such as it was, good Heavens, how many more Panegyrics, and those how full of history, did I promise myself? Now things are changed all at once, and I set myself in sorrow to write his epitaph. How vain is it for us insignificant persons to put any trust in our fortunes, when Death at his will snatches away even those in the prolongation of whose life all men are so much concerned? But why, my Jerome, should I embitter your grief by indulging my own? What is left is to pray that Heaven may grant to the children their father's fortune, but united with the longevity of the late Emperor Frederic; to you also your brother's success as their adviser, with a life more prolonged than your brother's. To this letter,—that it may not come to so great and so learned a friend unaccompanied by some small literary present,—I have added some Dialogues of Lucian, which I turned into Latin during the few days when we took refuge at Florence for fear of the siege, occupying myself in this manner that I might not be without any occupation at all. For in Italy at present studies are singularly chilled, while wars are warm. Pope Julius fights, conquers, triumphs, and in fact plays the part of Julius to perfection.

Farewell, and commend Erasmus over and over again to the most Reverend Father, Nicolas Ruistre, Bishop of Arras.

Bologna, 17 November, 1506.*

The new translations from Lucian sent by Erasmus to Bade (with a copy of Epistle 202, and of the poem *de Senectute*, p. 416), and some other work of the same kind already received from More, completed the volume in the hands of Bade (see p. 414), the piece-

* No date in *Luciani Opusc.* 1506. Bononiæ, xv. Cal. Decemb. MDVI. *Luciani Opusc.* Basil. 1521.

meal and gradual composition of which is very apparent in the original edition. It is entitled, *Luciani compluria opuscula ab Erasmo Roterodamo et Thoma Moro Traducta*, and is composed of three distinct parts. The first part consists of fifty-three numbered folios, containing 1. (f. i to xxix) four dialogues, *Toxaris*, *Alexander*, *Gallus* and *Timon*, preceded, severally, by Epistles 186, 197, 178, 192; 2. (f. xxx to xlix b) a translation of Lucian's Declamation entitled *Tyrannicida*, a *Declamatio Lucianicæ respondens*, preceded by Epistle 191; and the dialogue *De mercede conductis*, preceded by Epistle 193; 3. (xlix b. to li) *E Luciano dialogi breviores;* 4. (li to liij b) the Poem *Ad Gulielmum Copum de Senectute subrepente.* This poem ends near the bottom of the page. The word τελος follows, and then, by way of colophon, a short advertisement (with the heading *Ascensius lectori S.*) recommending to the studious the dialogues of Lucian, as translated by Erasmus, *viro literatissimo et nuper Sacræ theologiæ laurea decorato* (the first public announcement of his degree), and his poem on old age, with the promise of more from the same workshop, and concluding with the words *Vale ex officina ascensiana. Sub Calend. Novemb. MDVI.* The second part, probably the last printed, beginning with a second f. xlviij, and going on to f. lxi, contains Epistle 202, and some more short dialogues, concluding at the bottom of f. lxi dors. with the words, τελος. *Ex officina ascensiana.* The third part, which has no pagination, consists of More's contribution (of which some account has been given in p. 403), preceded by Epistle 190, and concludes with the following Colophon: *Finis. Ascensius Moro suo S.D.* (six complimentary elegiac couplets). *Ex officina Ascensiana ad Idus Nouemb. MDVI.* It appears from this that the printing of the third part was finished on the 15th of November, a fortnight after that of the first, and before the date of Epistle 202, with which the second part commences. The absence of pagination of the third part is thus explained. The date when the second part was finished and the book was ready for issue, does not appear.

One incident which occurred during Erasmus's sojourn at Bologna, —apparently soon after his second arrival there, while Pope Julius was still in that city,—made a striking change in his personal appearance during the remainder of his life. He had hitherto worn the habit of an Augustinian monk, varied a little according to the custom of the country in which he was staying; but the inconvenience and danger to which he was exposed owing to some ignorant people

having mistaken his costume for that used by the physicians employed to attend the victims of the plague, served as a plausible reason for assuming the less conspicuous dress of an ordinary priest. For this change he is said to have obtained a dispensation from the Pope. The story is told by Erasmus himself in the Epistle to Grunnius (see C. 1828, 1829), and also by Beatus Rhenanus (see p. 29); but it has been regarded by some of the biographers as an improbable fiction (Drummond, *Life of Erasmus*, i. 168; Pattison, *Encycl. Brit.* art. *Erasmus*). But without excessive credulity we may suppose the story founded upon some actual occurrence; that Erasmus upon his removal to Italy did in fact give up the monastic habit, cannot be doubted. Among the circumstances said to have accompanied the change, we might naturally seek for some evidence of the alleged Indulgence obtained from Pope Julius; and this Beatus thought he had found in a confirmation of the old privilege by Leo X. But the Bull of the latter Pope does not in fact contain any reference to a preceding Indulgence. See p. 29, and note there.

About the same date as Epistle 202, Erasmus sent a letter to Henry, Prince of Wales,—whom he had before addressed as a child (Epistle 94), and to whom we may assume that he had become better known during his second visit to England,—condoling with him on the death of the King of Castile. An answer was sent by the Prince in the following January (Epistle 203). Of this correspondence Erasmus gives the following account in a letter written to Joannes Cochleius in 1529, in reply to some questions as to the authorship of King Henry's book against Luther, which Erasmus maintained to be substantially of the King's own composition. The statement that the letter of Erasmus was sent from Venice may be assumed to be a mistake, arising from carelessness in referring to a transaction which took place twenty-three years before. The description which he gives of the letter leaves no doubt that it was of the same time as the letter to Busleiden, which referred to the news of Philip's death in similar words; and we do not find elsewhere any hint of Erasmus being in Venice until about a year later.

Erasmus to Ioannes Cochleius. Opus Epist. 1529, p. 972; Ep. xxiii. 15; C. 1183 B.

As far as regards the King's power of expression, I send

you a sample which may enable you to guess how much may have been acquired in so many years. For the whole of the enclosed letter he wrote when a youth with his own hand. When I was staying at Venice, I sent a letter to him deploring the death of King Philip, my own sovereign. I have kept no copy of it, but it began nearly in the following words: "A report has arrived here too sad to be readily believed, but so persistent that it cannot appear altogether baseless, that Prince Philip has departed this life." The boy at once recognised a certain elegance in the construction, and you will see that he has begun his own letter with a similar phrase. I knew the hand, but, to speak candidly, suspected a little at the time that he had had some help from others in the ideas and expressions. In a conversation I afterwards had with William Lord Mountjoy, he tried by various arguments to dispel that suspicion, and when he found he could not do so he gave up the point and let it pass, until he was sufficiently instructed in the case. On another occasion, when we were talking alone together, he brought out a number of the Prince's letters, some to other people and some to himself, and among them one which answered to mine. In these there were manifest signs of comment, addition, suppression, correction, and alteration. You might recognise the first drafting of a letter, and you might make out the second and third, and sometimes even the fourth correction; but whatever was revised or added was in the same handwriting. I had then no further ground for hesitation, and overcome by the facts, I laid aside all suspicion. Neither do I doubt, my dear Cochleius, but that you would do the same, if you knew this King's happy genius.

Basle, 1 April, 1529.

Of the practice adopted in Epistle 203, of putting a motto at the head of a letter, some examples may be found in the Paston Letters.

EPISTLE 203. Opus Epist. 1529, p. 973; Ep. xxiii. 16; C. 1840 (451).

Prince Henry to Erasmus.

Jesus is my Hope.

I am much struck by your letter, most eloquent Erasmus, which is too elegant to appear composed on a sudden, and so lucid and simple that it cannot be supposed to be premeditated by so dextrous an intellect. For it somehow happens, that those writings which are elaborated by ingenious minds and produced with more than usual care, bring with them also a greater share of studied difficulty, for while we aim at a more refined eloquence, we lose, without being aware of it, that open and clear manner of expression. But your epistle, charming as it is in its grace, is no less transparent in its perspicuity, so that you seem to have carried every point. But why do I set myself to praise your eloquence, whose skill is well known through the whole world? There is nothing I can compose in your praise which is worthy of that consummate erudition. I therefore pass over your praises, about which I think it better to be silent than to speak insufficiently.

The news of the death of the King of Castile, my much lamented brother, I had received with regret long before I read of it in your letter. Would that it had come much later or had been less true! For never since the death of my most dear mother, has a less welcome message come to me. And to speak the truth, I was not so ready to attend to your letter as its singular elegance demanded, because it appeared to reopen a wound which time had begun to heal. But those events that are determined by Heaven, must be so received by mortals. Meantime pray proceed, and signify to us by letter any news you have, but let your news be

of a pleasanter kind; and may God bring to a good event whatever may happen worth telling. Farewell.

Richmond, 17 Jan. [1507].*

Erasmus does not appear to have acted upon the invitation, conveyed in the above letter, to become a correspondent of the young Prince, although he is said to have been gratified by receiving a letter from him. According to a story told by Pace he carried the letter for some time about his person in order to show it to his friends. Paceus *de Fructu Doctrinæ*, cited by Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 351. This is probably a reminiscence of the meeting of Pace and Erasmus at Ferrara in 1508 (see p. 451). If Erasmus had at once accepted the Prince's suggestion, and the latter had been tempted to further efforts, he might have received his correspondent with more interest upon his return to England.

Upon the reassembling of the University at Bologna in the winter of 1506, Erasmus entered upon his duties as superintendent of the studies of the young Boeri. He was probably provided with accommodation in the apartment occupied by them and their English tutor; and as he was not expected either to give them lessons or to accompany them in their leisure hours, the arrangement afforded him leisure for his studies. Nevertheless he says in the Catalogue of Lucubrations, that he never spent a year more unpleasantly. Dr. Baptist was not happy in the choice of a preceptor, nor the latter in the charge he had undertaken. We have seen that Clifton had already lost the good opinion of Erasmus before they crossed the Alps. P. 416. He also failed to gain the respect of his younger companions. Whatever his demerits, we may feel some pity, when we think of the position of an English tutor placed at an Italian University in charge of Italian pupils impatient of his control, and living in the same house with a recognised director of their studies, who was not friendly to him, and whose conversation was of a satirical turn. Erasmus appears to have engaged himself with Dr. Baptist for a year; and his letters from Florence show that he considered he should be free in the summer. He remained, however, from November, 1506, to December, 1507, at Bologna. The correspondence which he had during this time with Dr. Baptist about the prolongation of his services was not satisfactory. Beatus Rhenanus reports that he terminated his engagement *propter patris morosi-*

* Ex Richemundia decimoseptimo die Ianuarij. *Opus Epist.*

tatem; and a letter of Erasmus written to the two younger Boeri, 13 January, 1531, contains the following reminiscences.

Erasmus to the brothers Boeri. Ep. xxvi. 57; C. 1350 c.

The friendship which I had with your father of blessed memory was overcast by a little cloud. Ours, as you know, was never broken. I therefore hope that you have not altogether forgotten Erasmus, once a strong man, when he wrestled with the Beetle, and now become a gladiator in his old age, having to fight continually with so many monsters.

Another letter of Erasmus written in April, 1531, in reply to an answer received from Bernard Boerio, the younger of the brothers, contains a further allusion to his association with Clifton.

Erasmus to Bernard Boerio. Ep. xxv. 19; C. 1397 EF.

When you say that the name of Erasmus has been like a garland to you, and has inspired everybody with a great idea of your erudition, I wish it was as true as it is lovingly written. We owe it to him whom you designate with the name of Beetle, not only that I left you earlier, but also that the sweetness of our intercourse was tempered with a large dose of aloes, so that, had not my honesty kept me to my duty, may I die if I could have been induced by a huge sum to tolerate the monster for a single month. I often wondered that so prudent a man as your father was so ill-advised as to entrust his dearest pledges to one who was scarcely fit to have charge of pigs, and who indeed from the weakness of his mind required a guardian himself.

During his sojourn at Bologna, Erasmus became known to all the learned persons then resident in the University. (Epistle 206, p. 434.) His chief ally was Paul Bombasio, Professor of both the learned tongues, of whom Erasmus says in the Adages that he never had a more attached friend or more delightful companion. C. ii. 221 B. They corresponded in later years, when Bombasio had gone to seek

his fortune at Rome, and having become secretary to Cardinal Pucci, was most anxious to be useful to Erasmus in the suit he then had at the Papal Court. C. 351, 352. Another acquaintance formed at Bologna (C. 788 A) was with Scipio Carteromachus (or Fortiguerra), with whom he became more intimate two years later at Rome. See pp. 453, 454. Among the literary work undertaken during this period was the revisal of his early composition, entitled *Antibarbari*. See p. 100. There can be little doubt that he was also in some measure occupied with the preparation of the enlarged edition of the *Adages*, which was printed at the Aldine Press in the course of the following year (see pp. 23, 28), although in his first communications with Aldus no allusion is made to this work, and he does not appear to have contemplated at that time any long visit to Venice.

For Epistle 204, and the other letters addressed to Aldus and Franciscus Asulanus, the reader is indebted to M. Pierre de Nolhac, who printed them in his charming work entitled *Érasme en Italie* (Paris, 1888), from the autograph manuscripts preserved in the Library of the Vatican. It might be suspected that in the opening sentences of Epistle 204, Erasmus was addressing himself to what he believed to be a weakness of his correspondent, as it seems to have been generally thought that Aldus's business was a profitable one.* But the year 1506 had been an unfortunate year for Venice and the printer, his business being interrupted by war. No book appears to have been printed by him in that year, nor any in 1507 except the little book of translations from Euripides printed for Erasmus. A. F. Didot, *Alde Manuce*, pp. 283-293.

Epistle 204. Nolhac, Érasme en Italie, p. 97.

Erasmus Roterodamus to Aldus Manutius Romanus.

There is a wish, most learned Manutius, which has many times occurred to my mind. As not only by your skill and the unrivalled beauty of your typography, but also by intelligence and learning of no common order, you have thrown a vast

* See what is said in pp. 438, 440, where Erasmus contrasts it in that respect with the trade of Froben. The same belief is implied in the Colloquy, *Opulentia sordida*, which is evidently descriptive of the housekeeping of Aldus, or Asulanus. See p. 448.

light upon the literature of Greece and Rome, I should be glad if those merits had brought you in return an adequate profit. For as to fame, there is no doubt that to the furthest posterity the name of Aldus Manutius will fly from mouth to mouth among all that are initiated in the religion of letters. Your memory then, as your character now, will deserve not only admiration but love, because you devote yourself to the restoration and publication of good authors, with the greatest solicitude, but, as I hear, with no proportionate gain. Like Hercules you are employed in labours of the noblest kind, which are of more advantage to others than to yourself. I am told that you are editing Plato in Greek, a book expected with the greatest interest by the learned world. I should like to know what authors you have printed on the subject of Medicine. I want you to give us Paulus Aegineta. I wonder what has so long prevented you from publishing the New Testament,* a work, which if I guess aright, will be exceedingly welcome even to the great majority of our class, I mean the class of theologians.

I send you two tragedies, which I have translated boldly enough, but whether with corresponding success you will judge for yourself. Thomas Linacre, William Grocin, William Latimer, and Cuthbert Tunstall, friends of yours as well as mine, approved them highly. You know these men to be too learned to be mistaken in their judgment, and too honest to be tempted to flatter, unless indeed they are a little blinded by their partiality for me. Those Italians also to whom I have shown my attempt, do not condemn it. Bade has printed the plays, and, as I hear from him, has no reason to regret it, for he has already succeeded in selling all his impressions. But my reputation has been somewhat compromised, the pages being full of misprints. He offers

* It appears that Aldus had more than once declared his intention of printing the Bible. See *Annales des Aldes*, p. 516, cited by M. de Nolhac, *Érasme en Italie*, p. 98.

himself to print a new edition to correct the former one, but I am afraid, to use the phrase of Sophocles, that he will mend one mischief with another. I should think my lucubrations secure of immortality, if they came out printed in your type, especially that minute type which is the most elegant of all. In that case the volume will be very small, and the matter may be carried out at a trifling cost. If you find it convenient to undertake the business, I propose to supply the corrected copy sent by bearer without any charge, except that you will be so good as to send me a few volumes for presentation to friends.

I should not be afraid of undertaking the work at my own expense and risk, were it not that I shall have to leave Italy in a few months. For the same reason I am anxious to get the thing done as soon as possible. It is scarcely a ten days' business. If you insist on my taking a hundred or two hundred copies for myself, although Mercury (as patron of commerce) is not apt to be very propitious to me, and it will be inconvenient to have a parcel to carry, still I will not refuse to take them, provided you fix a favorable price.

Farewell, most learned Aldus, and pray rank Erasmus among those who heartily wish you well. You will do me a favour by letting me know whether you have in your warehouse any authors not in common use ; as those learned Englishmen have charged me to make the inquiry. If on the whole you are not inclined to print the Tragedies, please return the copy to the bearer, to be brought back to me.

Bologna, 28 Oct. [1507].*

A favourable answer having been received to the above letter, Erasmus proceeded to give further directions about the intended publication (Epistle 206). Among other things he determined to

* Bononiæ. V Cal. Nouembr. The autograph original is in the Vatican (Reg. Vat. 2023, f. 163), endorsed by Aldus: *Erasmus Roterodamus, Ex Bononia V. Kal. Nouembr*, 1507. Nolhac, *Érasme en Italie*, p. 97.

substitute for the short preface to the *Iphigenia in Aulis* (addressed to the Reader), which was in the Paris edition, a second dedicatory Epistle to Archbishop Warham. See pp. 414, 435. It may be noted that at the time of Erasmus's tentative estimate of the Greek Tragedians in Epistle 205, the works of Sophocles and Euripides had lately been made accessible to the learned by the editions supervised by Marcus Musurus and printed by Aldus in 1502 and 1503. Æschylus was not printed until 1518. The reader may also be reminded that the original *Hecuba* of Euripides was produced B.C. 425, while the *Iphigenia in Aulis* is regarded as a work left unfinished at the author's death nineteen years later.

EPISTLE 205. Euripidis Hecuba, etc., Venice, 1507; Ep. xxix. 25; C. i. 1153.

Erasmus to William, Archbishop of Canterbury.

When I began to deal with this Tragedy, most reverend Prelate, I seemed at once to perceive a change in the taste of the language and in the character of the poetry. For if I am not mistaken, it has a little more brilliancy and the diction is more free. In this respect it might seem like Sophocles; but again in the closeness of the arguments and in a sort of declamatory power of persuading and dissuading, it rather recalls Euripides as its parent. However, it is not for me to pronounce to which poet it is to be ascribed, neither do I think it important to decide. Nevertheless we have thought fit to relax somewhat of our old scrupulousness, that we might not in this respect be out of harmony with our subject. The translation of the *Iphigenia* is therefore more free and more diffuse, without, however, departing from fidelity of interpretation. In one point we have ventured in both plays to act on our own judgment, inasmuch as in the choruses we have a little qualified the immoderate variety and licence of the verse, having hopes that the learned will pardon this deviation, considering the straits in which we found ourselves, and that neither Flaccus nor Seneca has

rivalled in diversity of metres or in liberty of feet the Greek lyric or tragic poets; whom, however, they were not translating but only imitating. Indeed, if my more serious studies permitted me to translate other tragedies, I should not only persevere in this boldness, but should not fear to change both the style and matter of the choruses, and should prefer either to treat some common subject or to digress into some agreeable episode, rather than to spend my pains upon tuneful nonsense, to use the phrase of Horace.* For in no other instance does antiquity appear to me to have played the fool so much as in this sort of choruses, in which eloquence was debased by an excessive affectation of novelty, and in aiming at verbal miracles all grasp of reality was lost. Farewell, *decus meum*.

[Bologna, November, 1507.]†

The answer of Aldus to Epistle 204 appears to have included an invitation to Venice, and also a suggestion that Erasmus should add to his work an *excursus* upon the metres used in the Plays. We also find that the little book was intended to include an epistle to Aldus (see pp. 434, 435), which is not found in the published volume, and must therefore have been suppressed upon a later revision. I am inclined to think that it was replaced by a short note addressed *Ad lectorem. De carminum generibus,* which is followed by some blank pages, immediately preceding the translation of the *Hecuba*. It is interesting to observe that the corrections suggested by Erasmus in the passages cited from the Aldine edition of Euripides (p. 433) have found favour with later editors.

Epistle 206. Nolhac, Érasme en Italie, p. 100.

Erasmus to Aldus Manutius.

The mere prospect of seeing so renowned a city, the interest of our business, and above all the sense I have of your friendliness and sincerity, all invite me to fly to Venice,

* Nugaeque canorae. Horat. *De Arte Poet.* 322.

† No date in original, or in any later edition.

if only the season were spring, or a vernal autumn. But as it is, I am terrified by the climate, which is both strange to me, and just now extremely disagreeable, especially as within the last few days this air of Bologna has affected my health, which is usually delicate.

There will perhaps be some passages, about which you will not agree with me, and on this account especially I did wish to be with you. In several places I am myself in doubt, and in a few I suspect the text to be faulty. So in *Hecuba*, fol. B. 4, right page, for οὐ μήν γε πείθῃ, I read οὐκ ἤν γε. At the bottom οὗτος σὺ μαίνῃ I think is better given to Agamemnon than to Hecuba. In *Aulis*, fol. Zz. 4, left page, ταχθεῖσα τοῖσι φιλτάτοις, I read τἄχθιστα. So in several other places I have ventured to differ from the text. On these points I should be very glad to have a talk with you as a person whose opinion I should value, if it were not for the state of my health. But if you meet with a manifest blunder (for I am human), I give you leave to correct it at your own discretion, and perform the duty of the friend you say you are. If it appears doubtful, so that it might be maintained, and I may be supposed, not to have made an unconscious mistake, but to have adopted a different view, then you will leave it as it is,—or alter it, if you please, for what is there I would not venture to entrust to Aldus?

As to the verses, it does not appear to be important. For, in the first place, except in one or two instances, I have not used in the choruses the same metres as Euripides. For, considering that in many choruses there are almost as many metres as lines, and having regard to the liberty the Greeks used in varying feet,—when I saw too that neither Flaccus in his Odes, nor Seneca in his Tragedies, had imitated such variety or liberty,—I thought it would be foolish for me with my limited means to attempt it. I contented myself therefore with fewer varieties. Again, if we undertook to set down the names of the metres we have

used in the choruses (and each metre has several names), to describe their composition and the laws and license of their feet, we should have to do the same throughout the play; for the rest does not all consist of iambic trimeters, the metre being occasionally varied; and as it does not seem congruous to add so large an appendix to so small a volume, I think it will be neater to send the work out without addition. At present also I have not the authorities required for such a work; I prefer therefore to let the subject alone rather than to treat it unskilfully. And indeed the time is not sufficient for any additions. I have many reasons for wishing the thing finished quickly, so that I may have this keepsake to give my learned friends on New Year's day, and I have some acquaintance with every one here who either knows or professes Literature. After Christmas I am going to Rome, where it will be an object with me to make use of a little present of this kind either to renew old friendships or to make fresh acquaintances. I send you my Epistle* to yourself with very few alterations. As to your own inscription, I leave the whole matter to your judgment.† The testimony of Aldus will be gratifying to me; and if there is any one else, whom you are likely to oblige by inviting his good word, use your discretion. As soon as the thing is completed, I want twenty or thirty priced copies to be sent me directly.‡ The money shall be paid to the person who delivers the books, or on your order; or if you prefer that it should be prepaid, that shall be done.

* *Ex isto iam* [read *Epistolam*] *ad te meam mitto.* See next page (third line), and observation in p. 432.

† A recommendation of the work by Aldus is printed on the back of the title.

‡ *Codices estimatos.* M. de Nolhac thinks that *codices æstimati* were something in the nature of "large paper copies." It might be thought here, that Erasmus was merely guarding against the idea that he was ordering any number of copies to be sent him gratuitously; but the expression occurs in another passage, where something like the suggested interpretation seems to be required. See p. 440, first line.

Farewell, most learned and no less obliging Aldus, and place Erasmus among your most hearty friends and admirers. If there is anything in my Epistle to you * which you wish to be altered, do what you think best at your own discretion. You will omit the epigram which is put at the end of the Tragedies. It was the composition of a young Frenchman, then in my service, whom I jestingly made believe that his poem was intended for the press, and I gave it into Bade's hands on my departure, in the presence of the lad, in order to keep up that expectation. I wonder what induced the man to print it, as I warned him that I was only making fun of the boy.† I have altered the Preface to the *Iphigenia*, you will therefore do away with the old, and substitute the new;‡ if my Epistle appears too long, I have underlined the words which had better be omitted.

I have no doubt you will find a fresh crop of errors made by those who correct the types. But that is a matter to which I need not call your attention.

Write soon to inform me whether you have received my letter; for the bankers are not always to be depended on; and let me know on what day the work is to be finished. Farewell, and order your Erasmus as you please.

[Bologna, November, 1507]§

The volume appears to have been completed in good time, as the imprint bears date in the month of December, 1507. It contained,

* *Si quid est in epistola ad te mea.* See page 434.

† These lines (omitted in the Venice edition) have preserved the name of one of Erasmus's pupil servants. They commence as follows:

Geruasii Omenii Drocensis
Ad lectorem Epigramma.
Lector, adest tragici mellita Euripidis ante hac
Non nisi Cecropiis Musa locuta uiris. * *

‡ Epistle 205.

§ The original autograph of this letter is in the Vatican. Reg. Vat. 2023 f. 162. It is without date, but is endorsed *Ex Bononia Erasmus*, 1507. Nolhac, *Érasme*, p. 100.

beside the two plays of Euripides, the poem of Erasmus in praise of Henry VII. and his children, and the Ode *de Senectutis Incommodis* addressed to Cop, already printed, with two different titles, in two separate publications, by Bade. See pp. 414, 422.

When Erasmus wrote Epistle 206, he was proposing to proceed to Rome after Christmas, and appears to have had no intention of even seeing Venice. But the alliance formed with the great Venetian printer naturally led to his assistance being obtained in the production of the enlarged edition of the Adages, which Erasmus had long had in view. Unfortunately the letter in which the printing of this work was proposed to Aldus has not been found. It would have been interesting to know the terms agreed upon between author and bookseller in this more important transaction. With such a work before him, Erasmus could no longer hesitate in accepting Aldus's invitation. It was absolutely necessary that he should be present himself at the production of a book, a great part of which was still to be written.

CHAPTER XVII.

Continued residence in Italy. Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Siena, Rome, Naples, 1508-9. *Revision of the Adages. Italian friends. Alexander Stewart, Bishop of St. Andrew's. Death of Henry VII. Journey to England, June and July,* 1509. *Epistles* 207-211.

ERASMUS arrived in Venice towards the end of the year 1507. He was lodged by Aldus in the house of his father-in-law, Andrea d'Asola, who was then employed in the printing-office of Aldus, having been his predecessor in the business, as he was afterwards his successor. It appears from letters addressed to Aldus in 1507 and 1508, that he was then living in the house of Messer Andrea da Asola at San Paterniano, near the Rialto Bridge. Nolhac, *Les Correspondants d'Alde*, pp. 64, 65. During the sojourn of Erasmus in Venice, which lasted altogether about ten months, his correspondence fails us. It is probable that in the stress of business his epistles were few; not one private letter has been found. In a passage inserted in a later edition of the Adages, he gives a most interesting description of his work there, comparing the exploits of Aldus with the later labours of Froben, with whom Erasmus was then in alliance, and dwelling upon the 'candour' and liberality of scholars and possessors of libraries, to which the work of the great Italian printer owed so much.

Adagia (1526), p. 354, Chil. II. Cent. i. Prov. 1; C. ii. 405.

Who was there among the learned, that did not uphold the efforts of Aldus? Who was there that did not suggest something to relieve his labours? How often were ancient manuscripts sent him from Hungary or Poland, to be published with due care to the world,—not without some personal present in token of esteem. What Aldus attempted

in Italy (for he is now dead, though the trade is still carried on under the recommendation of an honoured name), John Froben is now attempting on this side of the Alps, with no less zeal than Aldus, and with considerable success, though, it must be owned, without equal profit. If you ask how this happens, I think one of the chief reasons is this, that there is not the same liberality of mind among us as among the Italians, so far as regards the concerns of literature. I am able to speak from very sure experience. When I, a Hollander, was publishing in Italy my work on Proverbs, all the learned who were within reach, came forward to supply me with the authors, not yet printed, that they thought likely to be of use to me. Aldus had nothing in his treasures which he did not place at my service. The like was done by John Lascaris, by Baptista Egnatius, by Marcus Musurus, by Brother Urbano. I was assisted by some whom I knew neither personally nor by name. I brought nothing with me to Venice but the confused and indigested material of a future work, and that compiled only from authors already published. With great temerity on my part we began together, I to write and Aldus to print. The whole affair was finished in about nine months, and in the meantime, I had an attack of gravel to deal with, a mischief I had not known before. It may readily be conceived how large a proportion of the utility of my work would have been missing, if the learned had not supplied me with manuscripts. Among these were the works of Plato in Greek, Plutarch's *Lives*, his *Moralia*, the printing of which was begun about the time my book was ended, the *Deipnosophistæ* of Athenæus, Aphthonius, Hermogenes with commentaries, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* with the scholia of Gregory Nazianzen, all Aristides with scholia, the commentaries on Hesiod and Theocritus, Eustathius upon the whole of Homer, Pausanias, Pindar with some accurate commentaries, the collection of Proverbs with the title of Plutarch,

and another with that of Apostolius. The last was lent us by Jerome Aleander. There were other materials of smaller importance, which I have either forgotten, or need not mention. And of all these none had yet been printed. I will tell you a story on the other hand of the liberality of a Cisalpine friend, who was among my chief acquaintance, and indeed is so still, as it is my maxim to know my friends' characters, and not to take them amiss. When I was preparing my third edition,* I had happened to see that he had a Suidas, in which the Proverbs were marked in the margin. It was a huge book, and there were a great many pages to turn over. As I wanted, therefore, to economize this labour, I asked him to lend me the volume, if only for a few hours, while a boy marked the notes upon the margin of my own copy. I made the request more than once, and he always refused. When I had tried every kind of entreaty without effect, I asked him whether he intended himself to bring out a book on Proverbs, as I should be happy to resign the work to one who was likely to deal with it more successfully. He protested he had no such intention. Well then, said I, what is your motive? At last, with the air of a culprit on the rack, he confessed his objection, that those things by which the learned had hitherto secured the admiration of the people, were now being made common property. Hence those tears! There are old manuscripts hidden in the colleges and monasteries of Germany, France and England, which, with few exceptions, their possessors are so far from volunteering to communicate, that, when asked, they either hide them, or refuse, or sell the use of them at an extra-

* Cum adornarem editionem Venetam. So *Adagia*, Basel, 1528, p. 355. I venture to read *tertiam*. We can scarcely doubt that it was not the Venetian, but the first Basel edition revised by the author, to which a Cisalpine friend was asked to contribute. In the preface to that edition, dated from London, 5 Jan. 1513-14, Erasmus uses the same expression in describing his revision: qui jam tum hanc tertiam editionem adornarem.

vagant charge, ten times the value of priced copies.* The result is that, after being so finely kept, they are either eaten away by moths or mould, or stolen by thieves. The Nobility too are so far from aiding literature by their liberality, that they think no money more completely thrown away, than what is spent for such a purpose, and nothing quite satisfies them, which does not produce some return. If the princes on this side of the Alps were as liberal in the pursuit of honorable studies as the Italians, Froben's Serpents might be well nigh as prosperous as the Dolphin of Aldus. The latter with his deliberate rapidity,—*lente festinans*,—bred for himself no less gold than reputation, both well deserved. Froben, while he holds his staff always upright, with nothing in view but the public advantage, while he never departs from the simplicity of the dove, and displays the serpent's wisdom more in his emblem than in his acts, is richer in fame than in fortune.

The reader need not be reminded that the press-mark of Aldus is an anchor with a dolphin, while that of Froben is an upright staff,—upheld by two hands and entwined with two serpents,—on the top of which a dove is perched.

Four learned persons, to whom Erasmus was under obligation during his work upon the Adages, are mentioned in the above extract. Two of these were Greek refugees. John, or Janus, Lascaris (the latter name used by himself, Hodius *de Græcis Illustribus*, p. 247), a man some twenty years senior to Erasmus, had come as a young man to Italy, and had been employed by Lorenzo de' Medici to collect manuscripts in the East. He was afterwards invited by Charles VIII. to France, where he was able to give some help to Budé in his Greek. C. 245 F. When he made the acquaintance of Erasmus at Venice, he had filled for some years the position of Ambassador from the French King, Louis XII., to the most Serene Republic. Erasmus speaks in another place of his hospitable table, to which he was himself often invited, if his pressing occupations had permitted such an indulgence. C. ix. 1137 C. See p. 447. Marcus Musurus, of whom Beatus Rhenanus has given a eulogy, which is no doubt an echo of the conversation of his

* Decuplo æstimatorum codicum. See note, p. 434.

friend (see p. 31), was a native of Crete, some four years younger than Erasmus. He had edited for Aldus, as early as 1498, the *editio princeps* of Aristophanes, and was for some years (1503—1509) Professor of Greek at the University of Padua. He was then compelled by war to transfer his lectures to Venice. Invited in 1516 to Rome by Leo X. he was made Archbishop of Monovasia (C. 1601 F.); and died at Rome in the autumn of 1517 (C. 274 F). Another of the learned men, to whom Erasmus was obliged at this time, was Baptista Egnatius, a Venetian by origin, and many years Professor of Rhetoric at Venice. He was afterwards a correspondent of Erasmus, who describes him in 1525, as long known to him by intimate companionship, a man of sound learning, honest, sincere, and a true friend to his friend. C. 896 C. In the fourth scholar, to whom Erasmus acknowledges his obligation under the name of Brother Urbano, we meet with an interesting personality, which in some measure recalls the Artesian friar, Vitrarius (p. 338). Urbano Bolzano of Belluna was a learned Franciscan, who retained the humble manners of his Order, travelling always on foot, both in his pilgrimage to the East and on his journeys in Italy. Chosen by Lorenzo de' Medici to assist in the education of his son, John, afterwards Pope Leo X., he was the author of the first Greek grammar written in Latin, that of Constantine Lascaris, published at Milan in 1476, being in Greek. Urbano appears to have taught that language at Venice. He refused at a later period all dignities offered him by Pope Leo; the only office he ever accepted being that of Warden of his Convent, which he soon resigned. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Litteratura Italiana*, vol. vi. p. 1606.

Among the other friends with whom Erasmus was associated at Venice, not the least important was Jerome Aleander, then a man of eight-and-twenty years, and an accomplished scholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. According to Beatus Rhenanus (see p. 30) Erasmus during the early part of his stay shared Aleander's chamber in the house of Asulanus; and, when the younger scholar left Venice about Easter, 1508, to teach Greek at Paris, Erasmus wrote to recommend him to his friends there. C. 544 C. D. He afterwards rose to a high position in the Church,—Archbishop, Cardinal, Papal Nuncio,—and was one of those who during the Lutheran controversy disapproved of the attitude of Erasmus. Many years after their intercourse at Venice, when Aleander was already Papal Nuncio, the two men found themselves at the same inn, 'the Savage Man,' at Louvain, where according to the Epistle to Marcus Laurinus, written by Erasmus

in 1523 in order to dissociate himself from the Lutherans, they spent some hours agreeably together, their evening talk, not so much of theology as of literature, being prolonged till midnight. This was apparently in October, 1521, when Erasmus was preparing for his journey to Upper Germany, in which he was nearly having the Nuncio for a companion. C. 669 D, 750 C D. The distrustful mind of Erasmus exaggerated throughout the hostility of Aleander, whom before the meeting at Louvain he had suspected of inviting him to dinner at Cologne in order to poison him; and to whose instigation he afterwards attributed the attacks made upon him by Doletus and Julius Cæsar Scaliger, with which Aleander had nothing to do. C. 1421 E, 1514 A, 1755 B. See p. 448. The name of Scaliger was unknown to Erasmus, who was informed by Rabelais, in a letter dated 30 Nov. 1532, that his assailant was a physician resident at Agen in Guienne. See the Fourth Appendix to this volume, pp. 472, 473.

The work of rewriting the Adages and printing them in their new form was completed in September, 1508. The author then addressed a new Prefatory Epistle to Lord Mountjoy. In the following translation will be found those clauses which have a personal interest.

Epistle 207 Adagia, ed. 1508; C. ii. Præf.

Erasmus to William, Lord Mountjoy.

Some time ago at Paris I put together a small collection of Proverbs, composed in a few days with no great care, and without even a moderate supply of Greek volumes, to serve as a sort of common-place book for your especial use; because I had seen that you took a peculiar pleasure in this kind of reading. The work was published by some persons whose intentions were good, but their zeal in my service excessive and unfortunate; the impression being so full of faults that you might suppose it done on purpose. Nevertheless this book, composed and printed as I have described, was, whether for its own sake or for yours, received with unexpected favour. It was thought to have furnished so much help to the candidates of polite literature, that they acknowledged themselves no little indebted to your lordship,

and also in some degree to my industry With the view therefore at the same time of correcting the errors of the old edition, which were not mine, and of putting all students under a further obligation to us both, and especially of aiding those studies which are daily more and more gaining ground among your countrymen in England, I have put the same work again on the anvil, and being provided with an almost complete apparatus of Greek books, have collected from various authors more than three chiliads and two centuries of Adages; for why should we not number these, as we do other treasures? I had some intention of appending a collection of remarkable metaphors, graceful allusions and poetical allegories, * * * and to add with especial care the allegories of Sacred Literature from the ancient Theologians. But when I saw the almost infinite magnitude of the task, I changed my mind. * * *

I do not altogether regret the present work, as it has in some degree renewed the memory of boyish studies almost forgotten. So far, it seemed, I might be allowed to travel; but to devote a great part of my life to a business that is not mine, I thought unbecoming to myself and likely to expose me to censure. The Theological allegories, being proper to my profession, I propose to treat, when I have the Greek volumes required for the purpose; and I shall do this the more readily, as I see that for many centuries this important subject has been neglected, while Theologians are spending their entire pains upon subtle questions, which might be discussed without blame, if they did not exclude everything else. The other part of the subject I am the more willing to drop, as I understand that it has been already taken in hand by Richard Pace, a young man so accomplished in both literatures as to be able by his genius alone to throw a lustre upon all Britain, and of that purity and modesty of character, as to be worthy of the favour of men like you. With such a capable successor, we may

escape further pains not only with no loss, but with some gain to students, and at the same time the credit of the whole work will be due to Britain. * * *

If we have succeeded in bringing to light some things not commonly known, of which I think you will find not a few in this volume, we impart them willingly and without boasting; if on the other hand we have made some mistakes, we shall no less willingly be corrected, being equally prepared to teach candidly what we know, and to learn ingenuously what we do not. * * *

It is my hope, that my vigils will be best approved by the candid reader, if you accept them with your usual kindness, as the one Mæcenas of my studies. For by what other word can I either more briefly express your singular disposition towards me, or more fully sum up your praises? You are indeed alone worthy of that fine sentence of Apuleius,—of the learned most noble, of the noble most learned, and of both the best. I ought to add, most modest of all. * * * As the simplicity of my own character shrinks from every sort of flattery, and your singular modesty is intolerant even of the most modest praises, we will pass from them to the treatment of Adages, which according to the precept of philosophers we shall inaugurate with a Definition. Read and Farewell, or rather meanwhile be as much with me as you can.

[Venice, September, 1508.]†

In the last words of the dedication the author invites his friend to be as much in his company as possible; I presume, by devoting all his leisure to reading his book. We shall presently see something more of Richard Pace, of whom Erasmus speaks in such flattering terms. See pp. 451, 452. His book, which Froben printed in 1517, entitled *De Fructu doctrinæ*, disappointed Erasmus. C. 1675F, 1676E, 1681C.

The Aldine edition of the Adages has the following title: *Erasmi Roterodami Adagiorum chiliades tres ac centuriæ fere totidem.* Below these words, on the title-page, is a preface with the heading, *Aldus*

† No date in original.

Studiosis. S. A double Index follows, (1) of Proverbs, alphabetically arranged, and (2) of subjects discussed; some verses by Germanus Brixius being inserted between the two parts; then Epistle 207 The body of the book contains the three Chiliads, consisting each of ten centuries of Proverbs. Then follow *In quartam Chiliadem centuria prima* and *centuria secunda*, containing two hundred and sixty more proverbs. At the bottom of the last page is the date: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi. Mense Sept. M.D.VIII. A copy of the new book was sent to Lord Mountjoy, with a private letter from the author, which has not been preserved, but appears to have been written in a melancholy tone. See Epistle 210, p. 458.

After the pressing work of the Adages was ended, Erasmus was induced to stay a few weeks longer with Aldus, whom he assisted in the editing of some of the other books which he had in hand. Among these were editions of Plautus and Terence, about which Andrea d'Asola wrote to consult Erasmus after Aldus's death. *Catal. Lucub.* C. i. Præf.; Jortin, *Erasmus*, ii. 423; C. 1666 F. In a later Epistle Erasmus mentions his receipt of twenty crowns for correcting the confused verses found in the copies of the former author. C. 807 E. He was also engaged upon the text of Seneca's Tragedies; but his notes on this work he retained, and afterwards communicated to Bade, who used them in an edition in which they were mixed with those of others. *Cat. Lucub.* ubi supra. *Senecæ Tragœdiæ restitutæ per D. Erasmum.* Parisiis, Badius Ascensius, 1514.

During the whole of his residence at Venice Erasmus appears to have been an inmate of the household of Andrea d'Asola, and to have been occupied mainly in work connected with the Aldine press. When many years later his literary opponents were seeking any weapon with which they might wound their antagonist, they affected to remind him of the time when he had been so long in the service of Aldus, whom they represented as his employer, and also as his teacher. The last contribution of Alberto Pio, Prince of Carpi, to this controversy, printed at Paris in April, 1531, contained some observations on the *Moria* of Erasmus, in which the critic, among other things, found fault with a playful allusion of the author to the number of Grammars edited by Aldus. In the scarcity of Epistles belonging to this part of Erasmus's life, we may cite the passage from his answer to the Prince's book (written in the same year, 1531), where in dealing with this criticism he furnishes some reminiscences of his life at Venice.

Apologia ad xxiv libros Alberti Pii. (1531).
C. ix. 1136, 1137.

Our author expatiates in praise of Aldus, whom, he says, I ungratefully blame and ridicule. The only words in the *Moria* about Aldus are these: "My Aldus has given us more than five grammars of his own." Cruel ridicule indeed! Aldus told me himself that he had written his grammar nine times over. But where does he find the ingratitude? "Without his hospitality," he says, "you would never have been so fine a fellow as you are, for you cannot deny, that while serving in his printing-office at Venice, you made much progress in both tongues." So Pius. I know not whether he thinks that I learnt Greek and Latin from Aldus; certainly Aldus, if he were alive, would be amused to hear it. I will add nothing about Aldus's learning; I loved him when he lived, and will not wound him, now he is dead. But this I can truly say, that when I came to Italy, I knew more Greek and Latin than I do now. I had brought with me from England a mass of materials for the Adages, with a parcel of books, principally Greek, in which I had made my notes. I was ambitious, I admit, that the book should issue from that celebrated Press; and Aldus received the proposal with avidity. I lived about eight months in the house of Asulanus; and the work was written and printed in a few months. Meantime where was the leisure for learning Greek and Latin? We were so busy, that we had hardly time, as they say, to scratch our ears. Aldus often declared that he wondered how I could write such a quantity off-hand, in the midst of so much noise and bustle. I corrected the last proofs of my work myself, but only in case I wished to make any alteration; for errors of the press there was a paid corrector, named Serafino. Aldus read it after me, and when I asked him why he took this trouble, 'I am studying,' he said, 'all the time.' I was obliged to Aldus for furnishing

me with manuscript copies of books, and not to him alone, but also to John Lascaris, Marcus Musurus, Baptista Egnatius, and Urbanus Regius.† Do you call an author a servant of the printing-office, because he is present at the production of his own work? I was not bound in any other way to Aldus, and his office was rather serving me. But it is said, that I used his table. I did so indeed, because I had no choice, being intent on finishing the work as soon as possible. But the table and whole house was really Andrea d'Asola's, Aldus being himself a workman there. That table, however, cost me an attack of stone, a malady I had not known before; and if I had not been tied by my anxiety to finish the work, I was often invited by John Lascaris to share his house and table. Indeed I had money enough of my own, to live two years at Venice, without anything I might receive from my own country. When I found my health endangered by the unaccustomed diet, I asked Aldus whether Asulanus would allow me to prepare my food in my chamber, and when he said I might do so, I ceased to use the table. And all this time it is said that Aldus was my master, when he was not even my host. At Rome I would not submit to enter the service of Cardinals, though their manners were so agreeable that you could not hope to have more easy companions. And yet without knowing it, I had had Aldus for my master! I do not know, whether he looked on me as a servant; at any rate he yielded his place at table to me; he admitted that he had learned a great deal from me; and he tried, after the work was ended, to keep me for the winter, wishing to have some practice in Rhetoric. * * * For myself, I am not indebted to Italy for any letters that I have. I wish I owed her more; there were those there, from whom I might have learned, as there

† It appears that we ought to read *Frater Urbanus* or *Urbanus Bolzanus*. See p. 441. Urbanus Regius was a German correspondent of Erasmus.

were also in England, in France, in Germany; but in Italy I had no leisure.

In speaking of Italy in the last sentence,—especially in the last words,—the writer might seem to be thinking of Venice, as the whole passage is concerned with his residence there; and his estimate of his literary obligation might then be accepted without reserve. But he elsewhere broadly denies his acquisition of languages in Italy. C. x. 1755, 1756. With respect to Greek, compare Epistle 201, and p. 450.

About the time of Erasmus's controversy with the Prince of Carpi, the challenge issued by the *Ciceronianus* (published in 1528) was taken up in no generous spirit by Julius Cæsar Scaliger, who in his first *Oration against Erasmus*, published in 1531, repeats the story of his subservient position in the printing-office of Aldus. In his second Oration, dated in 1535, he gives a description of Erasmus's life at Venice, for which he quotes the authority of Aldus himself, whom he had once met at Mantua. According to this story, Erasmus was well able to do more work in a day than any other person in two, but his labours were not so profitable to Aldus as they might have been, because he made up for his diligence by drinking freely, at his supper, of his host's expensive Malmsey, or "Monembatic" wine, while his other assistants were prolonging their labours till late in the evening. We know from his correspondence, that a certain amount of wine formed part of his ordinary diet (see p. 165); and that he was not indifferent as to its quality. See Epistles 220, 222. In a frugal household such a guest may have somewhat tried the liberality of his entertainer; and it is not inconceivable, that Aldus may, possibly in jest, have recalled his father-in-law's embarrassment at the rapid consumption of his choicest wine. The circulation, on the authority of Aldus or of Asulanus, of some such story as this, if it in any way came to the ears of Erasmus, may have provoked him to write and publish the satirical description of Italian housekeeping contained in the short Colloquy entitled *Opulentia Sordida;* the locality of which is not mentioned, but the identity of the master of the household, Antronius, and of his son-in-law, Orthrogonus, in whose room Gilbertus, who tells the story, was accustomed to pass his time when he was waiting hungry for his dinner, are beyond question. But before the end of this ungenerous retrospect the author himself suggests, that the voracious habits common in the North are rather acquired than natural, and

that a more sparing diet would be better both for mind and body. C. i. 862-866. It may be added that Erasmus appears to have been mistaken in supposing that Aldus and his father-in-law were wealthy men.

In October or November, 1508, Erasmus left Venice for Padua, where he was invited to give lessons in Rhetoric to Alexander Stewart, Archbishop elect of St. Andrews, a natural son of King James IV of Scotland, who was pursuing his studies at that place. See p. 30. This young prelate, about eighteen years of age, after being associated in an embassy to the Court of Paris with the earl of Arran, had lately arrived in Italy. Erasmus found Padua an agreeable residence, and became very intimate with Marcus Musurus, to whom he was already under obligations. See pp. 438, 440, 441. Another of his friends was Raphael Reggio, the elderly Professor of Rhetoric, whose zeal for the new Learning has been recorded by Erasmus in an epistle written in 1525, which also contains a eulogy of Musurus, and an anecdote of Erasmus's life at Padua, which, though trivial, may serve to show the terms upon which he was living with his Greek friends.

Erasmus to Jodocus Gaverus. Ep. xxiii. 5 ; C. 788 B.

* * *

At Padua I met with Raphael Reggio, a very old man, but his age was fresh and green. He was then, I think, not less than seventy, and yet no winter weather was so cold as to prevent his going at seven o'clock in the morning to attend the Greek lecture of Musurus, who scarcely let four days pass in the whole year without reading. Some of the lads could not bear the severity of the season, but neither shame nor winter kept that old man from the lecture room. Musurus died before old age, after he had been made an archbishop by the favour of Pope Leo,—a Greek by birth, being of Crete, but marvellously skilled in the Latin tongue, an accomplishment attained by scarcely any Greek, except Theodore Gaza, and John Lascaris, who is still living. Musurus was besides a student, and not a mere student, of the whole range of philosophy, a man born for the highest

position, if he had been permitted to live. One day, when I went to supper at his house, his father, a little old man who knew no language but Greek, was present, and while the basin was being handed from one to the other, as is done to prevent unnecessary delay, I took the father's hand and said in Greek, ἡμεῖς δύο γέροντες; the old fellow was wonderfully delighted, while he washed his hands with me, though at that time I was scarcely older than Musurus. Musurus then embraced a learned youth named Zacharias, saying, καὶ ἡμεῖς δύο νέοι.

According to Epistle 201 Erasmus came to Italy "for the sake of Greek"; and when we bear in mind that in the sixteenth century Greek, as well as Latin, was much more studied as a spoken language than it has lately been, we can scarcely doubt that during his stay in Italy he derived some advantage from opportunities, never enjoyed before, of familiar intercourse with accomplished Greeks. Compare pp. 447, 448.

Among the attractions which detained Erasmus at Padua was the agreeable society of a young Frenchman named Germain Brice (Germanus Brixius), who had first become known to him at Venice, where Brice had been staying in order to avail himself of the Greek instruction of Lascaris. He remained for many years one of Erasmus's correspondents. C. 194 B. But the threat of approaching war made it expedient for foreign students to withdraw from this part of Italy. The friends of the young Archbishop had chosen for his winter retreat the city of Siena, a healthy locality far removed from the seat of war; and thither Erasmus prepared to accompany him. When Epistles 208 and 209 were written, he had probably been several weeks in Padua. It is not clear what was the *commentariolus* of which he was expecting a transcript from Francis, probably Francis d'Asola, the son of Andrew. M. de Nolhac suggests that it was the result of his labours upon the Tragedies of Seneca. See p. 445.

Epistle 208. Nolhac, Érasme en Italie, p. 105.

Erasmus to Aldus Manutius.

Germain has kept me here with his enchantments in spite of my being packed up and ready for the journey. You

must urge Francis to make haste in transcribing my small Commentary. For I shall try whether I cannot use it as a present to oblige somebody, and get some booty out of it, so as not to have been doing nothing these months.

Andrew has counted to me all the crowns,* knowing what he was about; but I do not doubt he will do his duty in the matter. Farewell, most learned and most kind Aldus.

Padua, the morrow of the Conception, 9 Dec. [1508].†

EPISTLE 209. Nolhac, Érasme en Italie, p. 106.

Erasmus to Aldus.

A curse on these wars which prevent our enjoying a part of Italy which pleases me more and more every day. Bid Francis forward my Commentary, for within two days we are all going away. Farewell, most friendly Aldus. I will explain in person to Bombasio what you wanted me to write, and also your zeal in his service. Farewell.

[Padua, December, 1508.]‡

These trifling Epistles are all that we have to represent the correspondence of Erasmus during the years 1508 and 1509. Before the middle of December, 1508, we may suppose the travellers on their way to Siena. Halting for a few days at Ferrara, they were welcomed by Erasmus's English friend, Richard Pace (p. 443), who was residing there on a diplomatic mission. One of the learned residents whom Erasmus met at Pace's house, Celio Calcagnini, in a correspondence which took place some fifteen years later, answered Eras-

* *Omnes scutatos.* It seems to be a question of payment by number or by weight. Andrew was probably Andrea d'Asola.

† Patauij. Postridie Conceptionis. Autograph. Reg. Vat. 2023. f. 164. Endorsed: *Mense Decembr.* 1508. *Da Padua. Erasmus.*

‡ Autograph, not signed or dated. Reg. Vat. 2023. f. 164. Endorsed: *Erasmus.*

mus's inquiries after several of the persons he had seen at Ferrara, and recalling the conversation which had taken place among them, reminded him, how in answer to an inquiry about the meaning of the Latin phrase, *intus canere*, he had referred to his own Adages, and had fetched out of his valise a copy of the book lately printed at Venice. C. 882 C. Before leaving Ferrara Erasmus entrusted to the custody of Pace the manuscript of his *Antibarbari*, in part lately revised, of the loss of which there is frequent mention in later Epistles. C. 105 E; C. x. 1692 C; *Cat. Lucubrat.* Jortin, ii. 439. See p. 100.

After seeing, in passing, his friend Bombasio at Bologna (Epistle 209), Erasmus proceeded with the young Archbishop to Siena, where we may conjecture that they arrived before the end of the year. He had still nearly six months before him in Italy, part of which was spent at Rome or in more distant travel. The first two months were passed at Siena, recruiting his own health and assisting in the studies of his pupil. With a view to the latter he wrote some rhetorical exercises, one of which, entitled *Declamatio de Morte*, was found by the author among his papers and published several years later. C. iv. 617. In his comment upon the Adage, *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna*, Erasmus, insisting on the duty of Sovereigns to devote all their energies to the welfare of their own countries, points his lesson, not only by the example of his own sovereign, archduke Philip (see p. 400), but also by the story of the defeat and death of James IV of Scotland in his invasion of England, where the young Archbishop of St. Andrew's lost his life with his father at Flodden. He then proceeds to give an interesting picture of his former pupil, who was tall and handsome in person, and seems to have been no less remarkable for his intellectual capacity.* His studies included not only those assisted by Erasmus, Greek and Latin,—in which latter language he was taught not only to read and write, but to declaim on a given subject, exercising his tongue as well as his pen (see Epistle 191), but also the Canon Law, for which he had another teacher. During meals his chaplain read a passage from St. Jerome or St. Ambrose, interrupted occasionally by the Archbishop in order to discuss the meaning of the author with one or other of the two doctors who sat at table with him. The interval of rest and conversation that followed was not too much prolonged. In the afternoon he found time for music and singing,

* Deum immortalem! quam velox, quam felix, quam ad quidvis sequax ingenium, quam multa simul complecti poterat! *Adagia*, C. ii. 554 B.

and devoted any leisure he could command to the study of History, in which he took great delight. We may conclude from this description, that the Archbishop's household was not a small one, and Erasmus mentions, among his merits, the extraordinary prudence and good temper with which he composed any disturbance that might arise among his servants. The preceptor and pupil were evidently on intimate terms; and the latter, with all his precocity, was not without a boyish love of fun, as Erasmus in another place tells a story of the Archbishop having amused himself by taking him in with an imitation of his handwriting on the margin of a book. C. 1078 B. A younger bastard son of James IV., scarcely ten years of age, was with his brother during some part of his stay at Siena. (Erasmus to Hector Boece, *Cat. Lucubrat.* C. i. Præf. * * * * * * 3.) The Archbishop was a reputed son of the King by Marion Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonshaw, and his age at the time of his association with Erasmus (nearly twenty years, according to the description in the *Adages*, above cited) seems to show that the king's intimacy with this lady began at an earlier time than his biographers have supposed (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* xxix. 146, 152). The younger brother was not improbably James Stewart, afterwards earl of Moray, a son of the King by Janet Kennedy, who was the reigning favourite towards the close of the century

At Siena in Carnival time the party witnessed a singular bull-fight in the Piazza del Campo, which was the usual amusement of that season, and in which the bull was confronted, not by a swordsman on foot or a mounted lancer, but by great wooden machines in the shape of various beasts moved by men inclosed within them. C. ix. 516 C. Shrove Tuesday, 1509, was the 20th of February.

It was probably during the Carnival week, that Erasmus took leave of the Archbishop for a short time, when he made his first journey to Rome, which he would scarcely accomplish in less than four days. Among the many learned persons whose acquaintance he had still to make, he found there one friend already known to him at Bologna, Scipio Carteromachus, whom he describes as a man universally learned without any ostentation. Carteromachus was useful in introducing him to some persons of note. C. x. 1750 F. "He used," Erasmus says, "to slip unexpected into my room, where we beguiled some hours of the afternoon with literary talk. And not my table only was frequently shared with him, but we sometimes slept in the same bed." The streets of Rome at midnight were probably not very safe for the solitary home-goer. M. de Nolhac has pointed out that Carteromachus

himself left Rome early in Lent in the suite of Cardinal Alidosi, legate at Bologna, who arrived in that city on the 7th of March. *Érasme en Italie*, p. 64. We must therefore place these days of intimate companionship between the 20th of February and the end of the month. And it appears from a letter of Carteromachus to a Roman correspondent, Angelo Colocci, dated at Bologna on the 28th March, that he had already written to Colocci "in favour of Erasmus, author of the Proverbs." Nolhac, *Les Correspondants d'Alde Manuce*, p. 48. One of the first persons whom Erasmus would naturally seek to know at Rome was Tommaso Inghirami, the librarian of the Vatican, whom he mentions as an intimate friend, under the name of Phaedrus. See p. 32. He gained this name from having acted the part of Phædra in Seneca's tragedy of Hippolytus in the Court before the palace of Raphael Riario, Cardinal of St. George and nephew of Pope Julius; a fact, says Erasmus, which I heard from the Cardinal himself. C. 788 E. Inghirami's portrait by Raphael Sanzio is in the Pitti Gallery. The great painter was already in Rome, and Erasmus's taste for Art may have been gratified by a visit to his studio. Riario, whose palace, designed by Bramante, is now known as the Cancelleria, became one of his powerful protectors, with whom he corresponded in after years. Upon his request made by order of the Pope, Erasmus wrote an oration against declaring war on the Venetians, a matter then debated in the Papal Conclave, and another oration in favour of the war. The latter, he tells us, prevailed, although he had taken more pains with the former. *Catal. Lucubrat.* C. i. Præf. Jortin, ii. 441. The reader may smile at the orator taking his own rhetoric seriously; but his ardour for peace made him hope that his genuine arguments would be fairly considered. Erasmus was also presented to the Cardinal John de' Medici, afterwards Leo X., to whom he had written some years before in the name of the Abbot of St. Bertin (Epistle 158), and was graciously received by him at his house, as Erasmus reminds him in a letter written to him as Pope, 28 April 1515. C. 149 C.

We have no means of ascertaining the duration of Erasmus's first visit to Rome. We have seen, that at its commencement he was there during the last week of February. He was also in Rome on Good Friday (April 6). C. i. 993 A. But it is probable that he had in the meantime returned to his pupil at Siena, especially as the time allotted for the sojourn of the latter in Italy was drawing to a close. Among the friends that he had made at Rome was Jacobus Piso, the representative of Lewis, King of Hungary, at the Papal Court, who

after Erasmus's return to Siena, sent him a manuscript volume of his Epistles, which Piso had bought at a bookseller's shop, and which Erasmus committed to the flames.* We can scarcely doubt, that we here meet with one of those transcribed collections of early Epistles, of which we have read, pp. 197, 317, 390. Having now more important correspondents, Erasmus did not wish any longer to encourage the circulation of these collections.

Before his return to Scotland the Archbishop naturally desired, himself, to see Rome; and he also resolved to extend his journey to some places of interest further south. See p. 32. Erasmus accompanied him to Rome; and it was probably during this second visit, that he was present on Good Friday at the Sermon preached at the Vatican before Pope Julius II., the eloquence of which had the pagan character described in the *Ciceronianus*. C. i. 993 A. We have no particulars of the Neapolitan tour, beyond those reported by Beatus (p. 32), who does not even say expressly, whether Erasmus took part in it. But a reference in one of his Epistles to the Neapolitan libraries (musea, C. 1627 E) and a picturesque allusion in another to the tunnelled road between Naples and Cumæ (C. 230 D) may serve to show this journey to be probable. When he took his last leave of his pupil, the Archbishop presented him with a small collection of rings as a keepsake. One of these had a gem set in it, engraved with a bust with long hair, forming the top of a square pedestal. An Italian antiquary told Erasmus that it represented the God, Terminus, upon which he had the words, *Concedo nulli Terminus*, engraved upon it, taking it as a reminder of the inevitable termination of life. C. x. 1758, 1759. This became his ordinary signet, and with it his will is expressed to be sealed.

Erasmus appears to have been in Rome on the 30th of April (see p. 458); and the Archbishop probably left Italy in May He travelled home by Germany and Flanders. His countrymen in another generation had forgotten his Roman pilgrimage, but remembered his association with a celebrated man. Bishop John Lesley, who wrote his Chronicle for Mary, Queen of Scots, a niece of the Archbishop, mentions his return, in 1509, out of Germany, where, as the Bishop thought, he had been "at the Skules with Erasmus Roterodamus, that cunning clarke." Lesley, *Chronicle* (Bannatyne Club, 1830), p. 80.

* This incident is mentioned in the Epistle to Beatus, dated 27 May, 1520, which was printed as a Preface to the *Epistolæ ad diversos*, published at Basel, August, 1521. Ep. i. 1; C. 553B. See Introduction, p. xxii.

It is of some interest to observe that there are two letters written by the Archbishop to the King, and a third to Patrick Painter (the King's Secretary), formerly his preceptor, copied in the letter-book of the latter, now in the King's Library in the British Museum. They are written in Latin, and dated from Padua, one on the 22nd of October and two on the 26th of March, without year. It has been assumed that they belong to 1511-2. They are principally occupied with the business of the See and the Archbishop's patronage. The letter to Painter is written with care, and may recall the teaching of Erasmus. It is probable that the dates of place were added by the transcriber, and the two later letters written at Siena in 1509. I observe that, in speaking of a letter sent from Padua, the writer uses the words *ex Patauio*, not *hinc*.

After parting with the Archbishop, Erasmus finished his sojourn at Rome. Italy, according to a letter written in 1519, had had three attractions for him, the Sacred places (first mentioned of course), the Libraries, and the society of learned men. C. 370 C. He had fairly completed his programme. He had made the acquaintance of the most eminent scholars of the country, and his own position as a man of letters had been established and recognised. He had published his enlarged Adages, by the completion of which his rank in literature was permanently assured; and he was now free to apply himself to the important theological works which he was ambitious of editing. It was open to him to use his great reputation as a scholar for the purpose of pushing his fortune at the Papal Court, where he appears to have been given to understand that the office of a Penitentiary* was open to him, a profitable place and a stepping-stone to higher dignities. P. 32. But if there was one motive by which Erasmus was consistently influenced throughout his life, it was his anxiety to avoid any position by which his liberty would be curtailed. Office or even residence in Rome necessarily involved a sacrifice of independence; and the character of the reigning Pontiff was especially repugnant to him. If he was hesitating as to the acceptance of Roman preferment, the news which arrived from England in May, 1509, made him less inclined to yield to the temptation. King Henry VII. died on the 22nd of April, and this event was probably known in Rome in the second

* The office of Greater Penitentiary was one of the highest dignities in the Curia, and had been held by Julius before his election to the Papacy.

week of May. The hopes which Erasmus had formerly conceived of advancement in England were much encouraged, now that his princely correspondent had become king, and his friend Mountjoy appeared likely to exercise considerable influence at Court. The latter had addressed two letters to Erasmus shortly before, but was so much occupied during the first month of the new reign, that it was not till the last week in May that he found time to write again. In this Epistle a new era is announced in terms which at the time were scarcely felt to be extravagant.

EPISTLE 210. Farrago, p. 49; Ep. iv 6; C. 7 (10).

William, Lord Mountjoy to Erasmus.

I have no fear, my Erasmus, but when you heard that our prince, now Henry the Eighth, whom we may well call our Octavius, had succeeded to his father's throne, all your melancholy left you at once. For what may you not promise yourself from a prince, with whose extraordinary and almost divine character you are well acquainted, and to whom you are not only known but intimate, having received from him (as few others have) a letter traced with his own fingers? But when you know what a hero he now shows himself, how wisely he behaves, what a lover he is of justice and goodness, what affection he bears to the learned, I will venture to swear that you will need no wings to make you fly to behold this new and auspicious star. Oh, my Erasmus, if you could see how all the world here is rejoicing in the possession of so great a prince, how his life is all their desire, you could not contain your tears for joy. The heavens laugh, the earth exults, all things are full of milk, of honey and of nectar! Avarice is expelled the country Liberality scatters wealth with bounteous hand. Our king does not desire gold or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality. I will give you an example. The other day he wished he was more learned. I said, that is not what we expect of your Grace, but that you will foster and encourage learned men.

Yea surely, said he, for indeed without them we should scarcely exist at all. What more splendid saying could fall from the lips of a prince? But how rash am I to launch my little boat upon the ocean. This is a province reserved for you. But I was tempted to begin my letter with these few words in praise of our divine Prince in order to drive out of your mind any sadness that may still rest in it, or if your sadness be expelled, then not only to confirm but to raise higher and higher whatever hope you have conceived.

I now come to your letters, dated, one the * * * and the other the 30th of April from Rome.† The first gave me both pleasure and sorrow; pleasure, because you disclosed in a friendly and familiar way your plans and thoughts, your cares and mischances to your Mountjoy; sorrow to find my best of friends so sore hit by the manifold darts of Fortune. I would bid you be of good cheer, if I did not think that without my bidding you are already hopeful, if you have any hope in you. Make up your mind that the last day of your wretchedness has dawned. You will come to a Prince, who will say,

Accept our wealth and be our greatest sage.‡

So much in answer to your first letter. But there is one point upon which I cannot leave you in error. You say you owe me much, whereas it is I who am so indebted to you for giving me immortality by your writings, that I can only declare myself bankrupt.

In your second letter you express your regret at having

† Quarum unas tertio, alteras uero pridie Cal. Maias Romæ ad me dederas. *Farrago*, p. 50. I assume that some words have dropped out between *tertio* and *alteras*, such as *Cal. Octobres Venetiis*. The first letter was apparently written when Erasmus's fortunes were low, before joining the Archbishop, probably from Venice, announcing the despatch of a copy of the Adages; the second after he had heard of Mountjoy's lost letter, acknowledging the receipt of the Adages. See pp. 445 ,459. The copy of this Epistle in the Deventer Manuscript does not supply the missing words.

‡ Accipe divitias et vatum maximus esto.

lost by the same mishap both a letter of mine, and also the messenger who was your friend. I wish the last loss was no worse than the first; for that cannot be repaired. In my letter I scarcely wrote anything, except that I had received your work of the Adages, your work I say, and therefore, as all the learned are agreed, equally full of learning and eloquence, and if my partiality does not deceive me, an absolutely perfect book, worthy in fact of all your labours and exertions; with which you might well have purchased the patronage, not of so small a man as myself, whom you knew to be already yours, but of some important person. But now that you have thought mine the most auspicious name to appear in the dedication of so noble a work, I thank you heartily, for how can I return such a favour, when, as I said before, you have made me eternal. I could wish however that you had been more moderate in your treatment of me. You load me, rather than laud me, with so many praises, that I cannot acknowledge the smallest part of them. For who that knows me will patiently hear me called "most literate," when I have no pretention to have even a taste for letters? I might well be angry with you, but I would fain earn the character of modesty, which you also attribute to me, that your veracity may not be impeached on all points. I also wrote, that I had been hindered from answering some letters of yours until that day by many occupations and by other special causes which I dared not commit to writing, but that my good will and love for you were never thereby altered or diminished, but had grown more in your absence than I could have supposed.

That is what I said in the letter of which you regret the loss. To return to your book, it is extolled to the skies by every one, but above all it is so approved and admired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, that I cannot tear it out of his hands. Nothing, you will say, as yet but praise. Well, the Archbishop promises you a benefice, if you return, and has

given me five Pounds to be sent you for your travelling expenses to England, to which I have added a like amount, not as a present, for we reserve that name for something else, but in order that you may lose no time in coming to us, and not keep us too long on the rack of expectation. One thing more I have to say to you at once, that you must not suppose that anything is more welcome to me than your letters, or that I can possibly take offence at any thing you say. I am sorry to hear that you have become an invalid in Italy. You know I never advised your going to that country; but when I find you have gained so much there both of letters and of fame, I am really sorry I have not been with you. For I think such a mass of learning and of glory were well purchased, not merely by hunger, poverty, and sickness, but even by death itself. You will find the bill for the money inclosed herewith. Therefore take care of your health, and come to us as soon as you can.

The Palace of Greenwich, 27 May [1509].*

Dr. Jortin observes upon this rhetorical Epistle, that this lord writes Latin better than some famous doctors; but there is good reason to believe (see Epistle 277; C. 104 B), that Mountjoy in writing it, made use of the service of an Italian scholar, Andreas Ammonius, of whom more will be seen in this correspondence. In the Deventer Manuscript (see our Introduction, p. xxvi.), the Epistle was at first copied as one of Ammonius, the name of Mountjoy being substituted by a correction, probably made by Erasmus. The latter complains in several of his epistles of the difficulty of getting even a short note from Mountjoy, who appears to have felt some shyness in writing Latin to his old preceptor.

Erasmus lost no time in acting upon the invitation so conveyed. A letter written to him by James Piso (Epistle 211) shows that he had left the city several days before the end of June. He must therefore have prepared to start immediately upon the receipt of Lord Mountjoy's letter, which was probably not unexpected. Forwarded with official dispatches, it probably reached Rome by the middle of June.

* Ex prætorio Grenuuici. vi. Cal. Iunias. *Farrago.*

Before leaving the City, Erasmus felt bound to wait on the learned Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who had expressed a wish to see him. The circumstances of this visit, so characteristic of the place, remained in his memory, and are described in a letter written at Freiburg more than twenty years afterwards. Grimani, as Cardinal of St. Mark, occupied the well-known Palazzo di Venezia, built by Paul II., when Cardinal of that title.

Epistolæ Floridæ. (1531), p. 104. Ep. xxvi. 34; C. 1374, 1375.

Erasmus to Augustinus Eugubinus.

When I was at Rome, after I had been invited to visit him by Cardinal Grimani, and that, if I am not mistaken, through Peter Bembo,* and the invitation had been more than once repeated,—so much did I dislike paying court to the great,—at last I went to his palace rather from shame than inclination. There was no creature to be seen either in the court or in the vestibule. It was afternoon. I gave my horse to my servant, and mounting the stairs by myself, went into the first reception-room. I saw no one. I went on to the second and third. Just the same. I found no door closed, and marvelled at the solitude around me. Coming to the last room, I found one person, keeping watch at an open door. He had the tonsure, and was, I believe, a Greek physician. I asked him, how the Cardinal was engaged. He said, he was within, talking with several gentlemen. I made no reply, and he asked what I wanted. "To pay my respects to him," said I, "if it had been convenient, but as he is not at leisure, I will call again." As I turned to go, I lingered at a window to look at the view; and the Greek came to me again, to inquire whether I wished any message

* M. de Nolhac (*Érasme en Italie*, p. 69) has pointed out that the author's hesitating allusion to Peter Bembo is probably an error, as there is no indication elsewhere of his being in Rome at this time; and Erasmus in a somewhat earlier letter speaks of his knowing the genius of Bembo by report and by his writings. C. 896 c.

to be taken to the Cardinal. "There is no need," said I, "to interrupt his conversation, but I will come back shortly." At last he asked my name, which I gave him. As soon as he heard it, he went hastily in without my noticing it, and coming out directly, bade me not to go. Without further delay I was fetched in, and the Cardinal received me not as a Cardinal, and such a Cardinal, might receive a person of humble rank, but as he might a colleague. A chair being placed for me, we talked together for more than two hours, and all that time I was not allowed to remove my hat, a marvellous act of courtesy from a man of such rank. In the midst of much learned discourse about literary studies, in which he sufficiently showed that he already intended what I now hear he has done about his library,* he began to advise me not to leave Rome, the nursing-mother of intellects. He invited me to share his house and all his fortunes, adding that the climate of Rome being damp and warm would agree with my constitution, especially that part of the city where he had his palace, which had been built by one of the Popes, who had chosen it as the most healthy situation that could be found. After much talk on one side and the other, he sent for his nephew, already an Archbishop, and a young man of noble character. As I offered to rise, he stopped me, saying that a disciple should stand before his master. At last he showed his library, rich in many tongues. If I had happened to become acquainted with this personage earlier, I should never have left the city, where I found more favour than I deserved. But I had already made up my mind to go, and things had gone so far that it was scarcely open for me to stay. When I told him I had been sent for by the King of England, he ceased to press me. Still he begged me over and over again, not to suspect that his promises did not come from his heart, or to judge his character

* The library of Cardinal Grimani was presented to the Convent of S. Antonio in Castello at Venice, where the recipient of the letter was a monk.

by the ordinary manners of a court. It was with difficulty that I had leave to depart, but when he found that I wished to go, he consented not to detain me longer, stipulating with his last words, that I should pay him one more visit before leaving Rome. Unfortunately I did not go, fearing that I might be overcome by his eloquence and change my mind. I never made a more unlucky choice. But what can you do, when driven by destiny? * * *

[Freiburg, 27 March, 1531.]

The writer of Epistle 211, James Piso, is described in a later letter addressed to Beatus Rhenanus, as being at this time the envoy of his sovereign at the Papal Court. See pp. 454, 455. In the Index of letters in *Opus Epistolarum*, 1529, he is described as *præceptor Ludovici quondam Vngariæ Regis*. The first part of the Epistle is occupied with compliments, and apologies for not having already answered a letter which the writer had received from Erasmus. It seems therefore that the departure of the latter from Rome had taken place several days before the date of this Epistle.

EPISTLE 211. Farrago, p. 310; Ep. x. 12; C. 101 (108).

James Piso to Erasmus.

* * *

You will, I hope, make no difficulty in pardoning this delay. I have been so engaged that for a great many days I have not been my own master. Our friends Muschoronus and Thomas, with whom I live on intimate terms as far as my leisure allows, will bear me witness of this. Your friend Christopher I have only met in passing since your departure. You know my character. In friends I hold that nothing is to be compared with sincerity, still less anything preferred. What is his disposition towards you, you know better than I; I think however he is true and constant. Of myself I would have you persuaded, that there is no one to whom I should yield in affection for you. I wish I had the occasion to show it by substantial proof. It is certain that

no fortune will ever so alter my mind as to make it otherwise than everywhere and wholly yours. Make therefore always a free use of your Piso. I shall not disappoint your opinion of me.

I am much pleased to hear that you have an offer from England. My wit is too slow for me to be able to advise you. *Non sus Minervam.* I would have you weigh your position with caution. It is a pleasant thing to be rich, but a much pleasanter thing to be free. If fortune offers both at once, seize them with both hands. Nothing is too good for that mind of yours distinguished by every virtue, or for the Greek and Latin Letters, in which you excel enough to make us all jealous, and which themselves owe so much to you, that they cannot allow their patron to remain long in obscurity. Let others say as they will: I frankly confess that your lucubrations have had the effect of rousing me from torpor. Farewell, most learned and dearest Erasmus. I am well myself.

I am expecting to receive from you the epitaphs on that tipsy buffoon. Pray do not fail me. You will obtain others on the same subject from your learned friends, and will send them to me.

Rome, 30 June, 1509.*

The Christopher named in the above letter was probably Christopher Fisher, an old friend of Erasmus (see p. 374), who was at this time Clerk of the Sacred College, and was employed in the following year to convey to England the Golden Rose sent to Henry VIII. by the Pope. Brewer, *Abstracts*, r. H. VIII., vol. i. Nos. 982, 983.

When Epistle 211 was despatched to England, probably through some diplomatic friend, Erasmus was already far on his way to the same destination. He made the journey for security with a large party of travellers, bound for the Low Countries or for England. We read of him incidentally in a letter written from Bologna by his friend Bombasio to Aldus.

* Roma pridie Cal. Iulias. M.D.IX. *Farrago*, p. 311.

Nolhac, *Les Correspondants d'Alde*, p. 84.

Paulus Bombasius to Aldus Manutius.

* * *

Our Erasmus paid me a visit three days ago on his journey from Rome, but could not be induced to stay more than one night with me. He is hurrying off to his Britain, having been summoned, as he tells me, by his Mæcenas upon no mean terms. He was much inclined to turn off in your direction and pay you a visit; for he said he had written some things which he would like to have printed under your care. But he presently changed his mind, and said he would transact the business by letter, rather than leave his travelling companions and add to the expense of the journey. I parted from him with regret, as one whom I shall never meet again, but am consoled by the hope of seeing Carteromachus, who is soon to be with us, and will in some degree fill the void left by Erasmus. * *

This letter is itself without date, and therefore leaves the dates of Erasmus's journey to England, which on account of their connection with the history of the *Encomium Moriæ* are not altogether without interest, as uncertain as before. We infer that the party, with which Erasmus travelled, had crossed the Apennines between Florence and Bologna, and were proposing to go from Bologna to Milan or Bergamo. The narrative of Beatus (see p. 32) enables us to follow Erasmus across the Alps by the old Via Mala to Coire, from which place he travelled by Constance and the Black Forest to Strasburg, and thence down the Rhine to Holland. Before crossing the Channel he visited his friends at Antwerp and Louvain, meeting at the latter place Adolf of Veer, the son of his old patroness. See Epistle 265, C. 122E. It is probable that he arrived in London about the middle of July, 1509.

APPENDIX I. See p. 169.

This Dedication (Epistle 74), which does not appear in any of the collections of Epistles, is taken from the first edition of the *Libellus de conscribendis epistolis*, printed at Cambridge in 1521, a rare book, of which there is a copy in the British Museum. See pages 169, 170; and as to a fictitious epistle to Peter Paludanus, which is borrowed from this, see p. 170, note. The passage near the end, where the word *studium* is repeated, probably contains some error, but is correctly copied. For the second *studium* we might at least read *studia*.

D. Erasmus Roberto Fischero S.P.D.

Vicisti tu quidem, Roberte: Habes toties efflagitatam a nobis epistolarum scribendarum rationem. At vide interim, dum tuæ morem gero voluntati, quantis calumniis me ipse obiecerim. Quid enim Critici dicent, immo quid non dicent, ubi viderint ausum me tractare rem a tam multis tam eruditis scriptoribus scite diligenterque tractatam. Vin tu, inquient, Penelopes telam retexere? Quid enim tu videas quod illi non viderint? Post tantos autores aut eadem aut deteriora scribas necesse est: quorum alterum supervacuum studiosis, alterum etiam perniciosum. Istis, quum plurima possim, hoc unum duntaxat respondeo, mihi liberum fuisse amicissimo homini gratificari, istis æque liberum esse quæ non probant non attingere. Quanquam id unum tibi uni polliceor, me neque alienis inhæsurum vestigiis, et aptiora certe, si non eruditiora, conscripturum: non quominus ceterorum studium probem, qui scissa, quod aiunt, glacie aliorum studium excitarunt, sed quia nemo sit omnium, in quo non multa desiderem. Id quam ob rem, alias fortasse. Nunc quantum ipsi doctrina, usu, imitatione consequi potuimus, quam brevissime trademus. Vale.

APPENDIX II. See pp. 317, 318.

The Latin text of Epistle 147 is taken from *Officia Ciceronis recognita per Erasmum*, Basileæ, 1520. I am indebted to Mr. C. Bernoulli, the learned librarian of the University of Bâle, for the transcript from which this dedication is printed. The true year-date appears to be 1501.

Erasmus Roterodamus Ornatissimo viro, M. Iacobo Tutori Iuris utriusque prudentissimo
S. D.

Plerique lucubrationes suas primatibus inscribunt, partim ut ab his honestissimarum vigiliarum præmium ferant, partim quo ipsis contra novitatis invidiam magni nominis autoritas suffragetur. Ego vero, candidissime doctissimeque Tutor, non lucubrationes sed cessationes meas, etiam si neutiquam otiosas, nostræ necessitudini malui consecrare, quam cum augurarer fore perpetuam,—propterea quod hanc non vulgares illæ amandi causæ stuppeis funibus, sed honestissimorum studiorum societas et virtus ipsa immortalis adamantinis vinculis nodoque quod aiunt, Herculano colligasset,—consentaneum esse ratus sum, ut eiusdem eternum aliquod extaret monumentum. In rebus autem humanis aut nihil omnino durabile, aut profecto literæ sunt. In proximis igitur meis inambulationibus, quibus ob valetudinis imbecillitatem a cibo crebrius [me] uti solitum scis (nam unus fere correptabas), tres illos M. Tullii de Officiis libellos vere aureos religimus, incertum maiorene voluptate an fructu. Quos quoniam Plinius Secundus negat unquam de manibus deponi oportere, voluminis magnitudinem quoad licuit, contraximus, quo semper in manibus enchiridii vice gestari, et quod scripsit idem, ad verbum edisci possint. Pro Petri Marsi commentis, utinam exquisitis potius quam immanibus, crebras annotatiunculas ascripsimus, quæ velut asterisci quidam commode ad omnem caliginem alluceant. Præterea titulos

illos, quibus nescio quis opus illud intersecuit magis quam distinxit, partim ut otiosos sustulimus, partem ut alienos alio traiecimus, mutavimus omnes, atque uberiores argumentulorum instar reposuimus. Neque minimus in castigando sudor. Mendas offendimus, ut in opere tam trito, plurimas, dum notariorum inter scribendum hic compositionem perturbat, ille pro voce quæ forte fugerat, finitimam reponit, non illas quidem portentosas, sed tamen in tanto autore non ferendas. Eas omnes, partim conferendis exemplaribus, in quibus incredibile quanta dissensio, partim Tulliani characteris sagaci coniectura, correximus, ut hoc certe possim lectori spondere, nullum his exemplar propius ad archetypum accedere. Quapropter te hortor, mi charissime Iacobe, ut hunc pugiunculum semper in manibus gestites, brevem quidem illum, sed non Vulcaniis armis aut Homericus Achilles aut Æneas Vergilianus munitior. Nam et fortius est cum vitiis, quam cum viris congredi, et ut rectissime scripsit ille, ὅπλον μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἡ ᾽ρετὴ βροτοῖς, quod homines nullis armis melius armentur quam virtute. Et quanquam a iurisperitorum latissimis campis opimam frugem demetis, tamen hic agellus licet angustus, si diligenter excolueris, omnia unus suppeditabit. Hinc efficacis succi herbas legas licebit, quibus per media monstra ad vellus aureum penetres. Neque alibi reperies Homericam illam herbam quam Moly nominant, repertu difficillimam, contra omnia Circes veneficia præsentissimam antidotum. Hinc vel laureum surculum, qui consilia tua bene fortunet, vel aureum ramum decerpere poteris, quo tutus etiam Inferos adeas. Hic fons ille divinus honestatis in quatuor rivulos se dividit, qui potus non solum vocalem, ut Aonius ille, verum etiam immortalem faciat, cuius undis si subinde mentis artus tinxeris, velut Achilles alter ad omnia fortunæ tela impenetrabilis evades. Bene vale. Luteciæ, quarto Calendas Maias. Anno M.CCCC.XCVIII.*

* As to the year-date, see note, p. 318.

APPENDIX III.

The following is the Latin text of Epistle 175, which has not been included in any of the collections of Epistles. It is found printed, without date, on the back of the title of an early copy of the *Concio de puero Iesu* etc. See p. 360, where it is attributed to December, 1503; but the incident of Robert Cæsar, the schoolmaster of Ghent, suddenly leaving a convivial party at Louvain is repeated in Epistle vii. 26, c. 238 (238), which appears to belong to April, 1518.

D. Erasmus Roberto Cæsari S.D.P.

Perge, mi Roberte, in instituto omnium meo quidem iudicio pulcherrimo superisque gratissimo, ut iuventutis Gandavorum puro latinæ linguæ sermone pares ad optimas disciplinas percipiendas : lividorumque blatamenta non magis animum tuum permoveant quam culex elephantum : immo magis magisque accendant oblatrationibus suis. Bellum est, esse quos tua virtute male uras. Illud et miror et doleo, quod ita repente nos reliqueris. Doluit maiorem in modum et hospes meus, unicus admirator tui similium. Ostendi nostris tuorum alumnorum scripturas ; at vix ulli persuadeo eas a pueris esse profectas. Scripturus eram Antonio, sed noctes diesque paro quædam in Principis adventum. Mittam ad te brevi quibus ipse fateberis tuum munus abunde fuisse compensatum. Bene vale, mi Roberte iucundissime, et tuum Erasmum sic ama ut ab eo diligeris, diligeris autem plurimum. Ex Lovanio.

APPENDIX IV

EPISTLE OF RABELAIS TO ERASMUS. See p. 442.

The following epistle is the Ninety-second in the book entitled *Clarorum Virorum Epistolae centum ineditae, ex museo Johannis Brant*, Amstelodami, MDCCII., p. 280; where it has the following heading: *Franciscus Rabelæsus Bernardo Salignaco S.P a Jesu Christo Servatore.* It purports to be signed by Rabelais, and there is no reason to doubt its authorship, while its whole purport shows that the person for whom it was intended was Erasmus. This is placed beyond any doubt by the reference to the pamphlet directed against him by Scaliger, and by him attributed to Jerome Aleander. See p. 442, and the references there given. Hilarius Berthulphus, from whom Rabelais had his information, was a useful friend and correspondent of Erasmus (C. 937A, 943B), but appears according to the information received by the last (C. 1456C), to have left Lyons more than a month before the date assigned to Rabelais' letter. Bernard de Salignac appears to be unknown in the history of Rabelais (as he is in that of Erasmus and of Literature), and could not have been addressed in the terms of this epistle, as a Defender of Letters, and unconquered Champion of Truth. It is probable, that he was simply a scholarly French gentleman travelling through Lyons to Germany, to whom Rabelais' Letter and the Bishop of Rodez's copy of Josephus were consigned, to be carried to Freiburg, where Erasmus was living at this time,—possibly accompanied by a message from Rabelais written, with the above address, in Latin. It is curious, that we should know from one of his Epistles, C. 1420, that Erasmus had been trying to obtain a copy of Josephus for the use of Froben, and had written, Nov. 19, 1531, to a learned French Prelate, Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux, to borrow a copy, which he believed to exist in the Bishop's library. The civil offer of the Bishop of Rodez to send this book to Erasmus was probably an indirect answer to the application made to the other bishop.

The Preface of J. Brandt, dated at Amsterdam, July 6, 1702, contains the following sentence: Literas Francisci Rabelesii et A. Riveti mecum communicarunt Johannes Clericus et eruditissimus Scherpezelius. We may conjecture that the Epistle of Rabelais had

been communicated to Le Clerc, who was then preparing his edition of the works of Erasmus, and that he, or the sub-editor of this part of his work, failed to understand why it was put into his hands, and accordingly handed it over to Brandt. The *Clarorum virorum Epistolæ* was republished at Amsterdam in 1715 under a new title: *Epistolæ celiberrimorum virorum ex scriniis Literariis Jani Brantii.* The book is the same (not reprinted), except the title and prefatory sheet.

[*Franciscus Rabelæsus D. Erasmo S.D.*]

Georgius ab Arminiaco, Rutenensis Episcopus Clarissimus nuper ad me misit Φλαυίου Ιωσήφου Ἱστορίαν Ἰουδαϊκὴν περὶ ἁλωσέως, rogavitque pro veteri nostra amicitia ut, si quando hominem ἀξιόπιστον nactus essem qui istuc proficisceretur, eam tibi prima quaque occasione rendendam curarem. Lubens itaque ansam hanc arripui et occasionem tibi, Pater mi Humanissime, grato aliquo officio indicandi quo te animo, qua te pietate, colerem. Patrem te dixi, matrem etiam dicerem, si per indulgentiam mihi id tuam liceret. Quod enim utero gerentibus usui venire quotidie experimur, ut quos nunquam viderunt fætus alant ab aerisque ambientis incommodis tueantur, αὐτὸ τοῦτο σύγ' ἔπαθες, qui me tibi de facie ignotum, nomine etiam ignobilem sic educasti, sic castissimis divinæ tuæ doctrinæ uberibus usque aluisti, ut quidquid sum et valeo, tibi id unum acceptum ni feram, hominum omnium qui sunt aut aliis erunt in annis ingratissimus sim. Salve itaque etiam atque etiam, Pater amantissime, pater decusque patriæ, litterarum assertor ἀλεξίκακος, veritatis propugnator invictissime.

Nuper rescivi ex Hilario Berthulpho, quo hic utor familiarissime, te nescio quid moliri adversus calumnias Hieronymi Aleandri, quem suspicaris sub persona factitii cujusdam Scaligeri adversus te scripsisse. Non patior te diutius animi pendere atque hac tua suspicione falli. Nam Scaliger ipse

Veronensis est ex illa Scaligerorum exsulum familia, exsul et ipse. Nunc vero medicum agit apud Agennates : vir mihi bene notus, *οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί' εὐδοκιμασθείς· ἔστι τοίνυν Διάβολος ἐκεῖνος, ὡς συνέλοντι φάναι, τὰ μέν ἰατρικὰ οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμων, τὰ ἄλλα δὲ πάντῃ πάντως ἄθεος ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος πώποτ' οὐδείς.* Ejus librum nondum videre contigit, nec huc tot iam mensibus delatum est exemplar ullum, atque adeo suppressum puto ab iis qui Lutetiæ bene tibi volunt. Vale, *καὶ εὐτυχὼν διατέλει.*

Lugduni, pridie Cal. Decemb. 1532.

Tuus quatenus suus,

FRANCISCUS RABELÆSUS,

Medicus.

Since the above note was put in type, Mr. Charles Whibley has called attention to this Epistle of Rabelais to Erasmus in the Preface to his edition of Urquhart's translation of the Gargantua.

I am inclined to suspect, that the year-date should be 1531. Scaliger's first Oration against Erasmus is dated, 15 March, 1531. Rabelais is said to have come from Montpellier to Lyons in that year Erasmus was seeking a Greek Josephus in November, 1531. C. 1420 C. Hilarius Bertulphus left Lyons before the 31st of October, 1532. C. 1456 C.

I should add that there is no evidence that this interesting Epistle ever reached the hands of Erasmus. The correspondents had a common friend in Germain Brice.

APPENDIX V.

NOTE ON THE BIRTH-YEAR OF ERASMUS.

See p. 14.

The shortest discussion of this not very important question would have occupied too much space in our commentary, and even here we shall confine ourselves to a slight indication of the evidence on the subject.

Dr. Arthur Richter, in an appendix to his *Erasmus-Studien*, has carefully collated the passages relating to Erasmus's age, both from his own writings and from the statements of his friends; but the latter may be disregarded, as none of them appear to be based upon any independent authority. And no such authority has been found elsewhere, except (so far as it goes) the date of his ordination as priest, which is said to have taken place on the 25th or 27th of April, 1492. (See p. 85.) Assuming him to have reached the canonical age of twenty-four, he must have been born before the corresponding day of April, 1468.

Out of the works of Erasmus himself some four-and-twenty passages are cited by Dr. Richter as bearing upon the date of his birth (besides six more in which his age is more vaguely indicated). To these we may add a passage from the Catalogue of Lucubrations, and the estimate of his age at the commencement of the *Compendium Vitæ* (which has been hitherto overlooked, see p. 5), if we assume this document to be authentic; while on the other hand, if we reject the *Compendium* (see our Introduction), we shall have to exclude,—as derived from that authority,—two of Dr. Richter's citations. Another of these ought clearly to be struck out,—the so-called Epistle to Peter Cursius, dated 9 January, 1535, in which Erasmus is made to describe himself as "a man of seventy, but not without teeth or nails," this writing being certainly not an epistle of Erasmus, but a caricature of his epistolary style by some Roman humourist. Ep. xxx. 68; C. 1496(1276). See C. x. 1756F. The genuine *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem* is another matter. See No. 26, p. 475.

In estimating the evidence before us, it should be borne in mind, that it is highly improbable that a child of retentive memory, brought up among his kindred, and with a full knowledge of his birthday, should grow up in ignorance of his own age; and that Erasmus is accustomed to express himself upon this subject with the confidence that is usual with persons whose childhood has been passed in such circumstances; although upon this point it may be noted, that his friend Beatus Rhenanus, who knew Erasmus's birthday, was not sure of his age. Preface to *Opera Originis*. See pp. 23, 25.

It should also be observed, that Erasmus shows in his correspondence an extremely accurate memory for such dates, and a lively interest in the ages of his friends and others. The ages of Dean Colet and of Sir Thomas More are

both recorded by him. As to the former he is still our chief or only authority; and as to the latter his statement is confirmed by the last corrected version of the year of his birth. See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. xvi. p. 321.

The chief passages relating to this subject are extracted in Dr. Richter's pamphlet; or they may be found by the following references, which are numbered in chronological order. The date of each document is given, and the birthyear inferred is added in a parenthesis.

The inferences, which I have drawn from the several passages, do not always agree with those of Dr. Richter, the received date of the Epistles not being always correct, but the general result is not substantially different.

1. *Carmen de senectutis incommodis*, August, 1506. C. iv. 756A. (1466)
2. Preface to *Methodus*, prefixed to the first edition of the New Testament, published March, 1516 . . (1466 or 1467)
3. Epistle to Urbanus Regius, 24 Feb. 1516. C. 1552F. . (1467)
4. Epistle to Budé, 15 Feb. 1516-7. C. 178B. . . (1466)
5. Epistle to Capito, 26 Feb. 1516-7. C. 186F . . (1466)
6. *Apologia ad Fabrum*, 5 Aug. 1517. C. x. 20 . . (1466)
7. Epistle to Stromer, 24 Aug. 1517. C. 260B. . . (1466)
8. Epistle to John Eck, 15 May, 1518. C. 399, 400 . (1466 or 1467)
9. Preface to *Methodus*, 2nd Edition, 1518. C. v. 79 . . (1466)
10. Epistle to Ambrose Leo, 15 Oct. 1518. C. 507, 508 (Qu. see next p. 1466)
11. Epistle to Rhenanus, early in October, 1518. C. 375E. (1467 or earlier)
12. Epistle to Horn, 17 April, 1519. C. 429A. . . (1466)
13. Same Epistle, upon the building of Deventer Bridge. C. 429A. (1466)
14. Epistle to Jodocus Jonas, 13 June, 1519. C. 456BC. (1466 or 1469)
15. *Compendium Vitæ*, 2 March, 1524. See p. 5. C. i. Præf. . (1466)
16. Ibid. p. 11 . . . . . (1466)
17. Ibid. p. 12 . . . . . (1466)
18. Epistle to Stromer, 10 Dec. 1524. C. 833F. . (1465 or 1466)
19. Catalogue of Lucubrations, 20 Jan. 1524-5. C. Præf. Jortin, ii. 423 . . . . . (After 1465)
20. Epistle to Jodocus Gaverus, 1 Mar. 1524-5. C. 787D. . (1466)
21. The same Epistle. C. 789A. . . . . (1466)
22. Epistle to Budé, 25 August, 1525. C. 885C. . (About 1465)
23. Epistle to Nicolaus Hispanus, 29 April, 1526. C. 932C. (About 1466)
24. Epistle to Baptista Egnatius, 6 May, 1526. C. 935E. (About 1466)
25. Epistle to Gratianus Hispanus, 15 March, 1528-9. C. 1067B. Compare C. 787E. . . . . (1465)
26. *Responsio ad Petri Cursii defensionem*. C. x. 1750E . (1466 or 1467)

It will be seen, that of the twenty-six passages above numbered, thirteen point distinctly to the year 1466 as that of Erasmus's birth, and four others

to a period including the same year with the one preceding or following it. Upon one of these (No. 26) some observations have been made in p. 93. Two other passages (Nos. 23 and 24) point to a date about the year 1466; one (No. 22) to about 1465; No. 19 to 1466 or any later year; and No. 11 to 1467 or any earlier year. No. 14 relates to the age of Colet, who is there said by Erasmus to have been two or three months younger than himself, and who according to the same authority in Epistle 108 (p. 221), had been already towards the end of 1499, when that Epistle was written, three years at Oxford. In the further statement in No. 14, that Colet's age was *then* about thirty, there is some confusion between the time of the commencement of Colet's lectures at Oxford (the principal subject of the sentence) and the commencement of his acquaintance with Erasmus. One construction would place Erasmus's birth in 1466, and that of Colet about the end of the same year, or the beginning of the next; the other would place Erasmus's birth in 1469.

Two of the other authorities appear to indicate more distinctly other years, one (No. 25) the year 1465, another (No. 3) 1467. These two statements, contradictory to the general testimony and to each other, may perhaps be safely regarded as the result of inadvertence.

The one remaining epistle (No. 10), in which an alternative may seem to be expressly offered, is more important, as it may be thought to show the existence of an uncertainty in Erasmus's own mind, which, if established, would weaken the whole of his evidence on the subject. But it may be suggested that the passage admits of another interpretation, which brings it in accordance with the prevailing evidence. The letter being written 15 October, 1518, twelve days before the writer's birthday, the words are these: *Nam ipse nunc annum quinquagesimum secundum aut ad summum tertium ago.* If we bear in mind the Roman epistolary style, in which the writer is accustomed to place himself at the time when the letter would be read, this sentence may be translated as follows: I am now in my fifty-second year, or at most (when you read this) in my fifty-third. If this construction is accepted, this passage must be added to the other authorities in favour of 1466.

With respect to the sentence at the commencement of the Autobiography (No. 15), in which the writer computes his years as *about* fifty-seven (see p. 5), it may be remarked that this estimate agrees with the year-date generally found elsewhere, and implied without any expression of doubt in two other passages in the same document. Nos. 16, 17. If Erasmus wrote the *Compendium* (see Introduction, p. 46), the insertion of the word *circiter* may be regarded merely as an example of that excessive accuracy which borders on uncertainty. His age on the day he wrote was, according to our estimate, a little more than fifty-seven years.

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